

A N
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
ANTIENT AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY;

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of CHURCH POWER

ARE CONSIDERED

In their Connexion with the State of LEARNING and PHILOSOPHY,
and the POLITICAL HISTORY of EUROPE during that Period.

By the late learned

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.

And Chancellor of the University of GOTTINGEN.

Translated from the ORIGINAL,

And accompanied with NOTES and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,

By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, M.A.

Minister of the ENGLISH CHURCH at the HAGUE.

To the whole is added AN ACCURATE INDEX.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

V O L. III.

D U B L I N:

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T H E

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

P A R T I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. SEVERAL attempts were made by the monarchs and princes of the west, set on by the instigation of the Roman pontiffs, to renew the war in *Palestine* against the Turks and Saracens, and to deliver the whole province of *Syria* from the oppressive yoke of these despotic Infidels. The succession of pontiffs that resided at *Avignon* were particularly zealous for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion unemploy'd, that could have the least tendency to engage the kings of *England* and *France*, in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal; and notwithstanding

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Fruitless attempts to renew the crusades.

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standing the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something still happened to prevent their producing the desired effect. CLEMENT V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardor in the years 1307, 1308, and set apart an immense sum of money for carrying it on with alacrity and vigour [a]. JOHN XXII ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into *Palestine* [b], and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of *indulgences* for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprize. These *indulgences* he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in *Europe* that were subject to his ghostly jurisdiction. But under this fair shew of piety and zeal, JOHN is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views, and we find LEWIS of *Bavaria*, who was, at that time, emperor, and several other princes complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition [c]; and indeed the character of this pope was proper to give credit to such complaints. Under the pontificate of BENEDICT XII, a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by PHILIP DE VALOIS, king of *France*, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in *Palestine* [d]; but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from *England* obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprize. In the year 1345, CLEMENT V, at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of *indulgences*, a prodigious number of adven-

[a] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 15. 594. tom. ii. p. 55. 57. 374. 391, &c. ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 577.

[b] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 125. tom. ii. p. 515.

[c] BALUZII *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 175. 786.—MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.

[d] BALUZII *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 200.

turers



turers to embark for *Smyrna*, where they composed a numerous army under the command of GUIDO or GUY, dauphin of *Vienne*; but the want of provisions obliged this army to return with their general into *Europe* in a short time after their departure [e]. This disappointment did not, however, damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of URBAN V, and was to be employed in a new expedition against the Infidels, with JOHN, king of *France*, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his standards [f].

II. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into *China*, *Tartary*, and the adjacent countries in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of Christian churches in these unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, CLEMENT V. erected *Cambalu* (which at this time was the celebrated metropolis of *Cathay*, and is, undoubtedly, the same with *Peking* the capital city, at present, of the Chinese empire) into an archbishopric, which he conferred upon JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after to assist this prelate in his pious labours seven other bishops of the Franciscan order [g]. JOHN XXII exerted in this good cause the same zeal which had distinguished the pontificate of his predecessors. Upon the death of JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO in the year 1330, he sent NICOLAS

The state of
Christianity
in *China* and
Tartary.

[e] *Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 368.

[f] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366. 386. 371. 401.

[g] WADDING. *Annal. Ordin. Minor.* tom. vi. ad. A. 1305. § xii. p. 69. ad. A. 1307. p. 91. 368. tom. vii. p. 53. 221. tom. viii. p. 235.

—J. S. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. § ii. p. 521.

—J. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 537. —*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Januarii*, p. 984. —MOSHEMII *Historia Eccles. Tartar.*

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of BENTRA to fill the vacant archbishopric of *Cambalu*, and charged him with letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who, at that time, was in possession of the Chinese dominions. In the year 1338, BENEDICT XII sent new legates and missionaries into *Tartary* and *China*, in consequence of a solemn embassy [b] with which he was honoured at *Avignon* from the Kan of the Tartars. During the time that the princes of this latter nation maintained themselves in the empire of *China*, the Christian religion flourished in these vast regions, and both Latins and Nestorians not only made a public profession of their faith, but also propagated it without any apprehension of danger, throughout the northern provinces of *Asia*.

Conversion
of the Li-
thuanians.

III. There remained in this century scarcely any European prince, unconverted to Christianity, if we except JAGELLO, duke of *Lithuania*, who continued in the darkness of paganism and worshiped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, until the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, received in baptism the name of VLADISLAUS, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the divine light of the gospel. We shall not pretend to justify the purity of the motives that first engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied, at least with views of policy, interest, and ambition. Upon the death of LEWIS, king of *Poland*, which happened in the year 1382, JAGELLO was named among the competitors who aspired after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretensions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle that lay in his way to the accomplishment of his views. HEDWIGE, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a Pagan, and hence JAGELLO was obliged to

[b] BALUZII *Vita Pontificum Avenionensium*, tom. i. p. 242.

make superstition yield to royalty [i]. On the other hand the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism that were yet to be found in *Prussia* and *Livonia*, and effected, by force, what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

We find also in the annals of this century a great many instances of Jews converted to the Christian faith. The cruel persecutions they suffered in several parts of *Europe*, particularly in *France* and *Germany*, vanquished their obstinacy, and bent their untractable spirits under the yoke of the gospel. The reports (whether false or true we shall not determine) that had been industriously spread abroad, of their poisoning the public fountains, of their killing infants and drinking their blood, of their profaning in the most impious and blasphemous manner the consecrated wafers that were used in the celebration of the eucharist, with other accusations equally enormous, excited every where the resentment of the magistrates and the fury of the people, and brought the most terrible sufferings, that unrelenting vengeance could invent, upon that wretched and devoted nation.

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Many of the
Jews be-
come Chris-
tians
through
compulsion.

IV. The Saracens maintained as yet a considerable footing in *Spain*. The kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*, with the province of *Andalusia*, were subject to their dominion, and they carried on a perpetual war with the kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*, in which, however, they were not always victorious. The African Princes, and particularly the emperor of *Morocco*, became their auxiliaries against the Christians. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs left no means unemploy'd to excite the Christians to unite their forces against the Mahometans, and to drive them out of the Spanish territories: presents, exhortations, promises, in short every allurements that religion, superstition, or avarice could render powerful, were made use of in order to the execution of this arduous project. The Christi-

A scheme
laid for the
expulsion of
the Saracens
out of *Spain*.

[i] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccles. ad A. 1386.* § iv.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 71.—SOLIGNAC *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. iii. p. 241.

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ans, accordingly, united their counsels and efforts for this end; and though for some time the difficulty of the enterprize rendered their progress but inconsiderable, yet even in this century their affairs carried a promising aspect, and gave them reason to hope that they should one day triumph over their enemies, and become sole possessors of the Spanish dominions [k].

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

The Christian religion loses ground in Asia.

I. **T**HE Turks and Tartars, who extended their dominions in Asia with an amazing rapidity, and directed their arms against the Greeks, as well as against the Saracens, destroyed wherever they went the fruits that had sprung up in such a rich abundance from the labours of the Christian missionaries, extirpated the religion of JESUS in several provinces and cities where it flourished, and substituted the impostures of MAHOMET in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly professed the gospel, and still more had tolerated the exercise of that divine religion; but, from the beginning of this century, things put on a new face, and that fierce nation renounced every other religious doctrine, except that of the Alcoran. TIMUR-BEC, commonly called TAMERLANE, their mighty emperor embraced himself the doctrine of MAHOMET, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general [l]. This formidable warrior, after having

[k] See Jo. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. iv, v. vii. — *Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. p. 319. in which however, there is a considerable mixture of truth and falshood. — BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 267.

[l] This great TAMERLANE, whose name seemed to strike terror, even when he was no more, adhered to the sect of the *Sonnites*, and professed the great enmity against their adversaries the *Schiets*. See PETIT CROIX, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 151. tom. iii. p.

having subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, having triumphed over *BAJAZET* the emperor of the Turks, and even filled *Europe* with terror at the approach of his victorious arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of Christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compulsive power of violence and persecution, and treated the disciples of *CHRIST* with the utmost barbarity. Persuaded, as we learn from the most credible writers of his life and actions, that it was incumbent upon the true followers of *MAHOMET*, to persecute the christians, and that the most ample and glorious rewards were reserved for such as were most instrumental in converting them to the Mahometan faith [m]; he employed the most inhuman acts of severity to vanquish the magnanimous constancy of those that persevered in their attachment to the Christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual slavery [n].

II. In those parts of *Asia*, that are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations as yet less known, the Christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at least, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin Church residing in those countries later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciscan missionaries that had been sent thither from *Rome*. We have, indeed, some records from which it would appear that there were Nestorians residing in *China* so far down

The decline
of Christian-
ity in *China*
and in *Tar-
tary*.

228. It is, however, extremely doubtful, what was, in reality, the religion of *TAMERLANE*, though he professed the Mahometan faith. See *MOSHEIM, Hist. Eccles. Tartaror.* p. 124.

[m] *PETIT CROIX, Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 329. tom. iii. p. 9. 137. 243, &c.

[n] Many instances of this we find in a *History of Timur-Bec*, wrote by a Persian who was named *SCHERFEDINUS*, tom. ii. p. 376. 384. 386. tom. iii. p. 243. tom. iv. p. 111. 115. 117. and published at *Delft*, in four volumes 8vo. in the year 1723.—See also *HERBELOT, Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article *Timur*, p. 877.

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as the sixteenth century [o]; but these records are not so clear in relation to this matter, as to remove all uncertainty and doubt. Be that as it may, it is evident beyond all contradiction, that the abolition of Christianity, in those remote parts of the world, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of GENGIS KAN was driven out of *China*, and his throne filled by the *Mim* family, who by a solemn law, refused to all foreigners the privilege of entering into *China*.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

The state of
letters a-
mong the
Greeks.

I. **T**HE Greeks, though dejected by the foreign and intestine calamities in which they were involved, were far from withdrawing their attention and zeal from the cause of learning, as is evident from the great number of learned men who flourished among them during this period. In this honourable class were NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS, MAXIMUS PLANODES, and many others, who, by their indefatigable application to the study of humanity and antiquities, criticism and grammar, acquired considerable reputation. To omit writers of inferior note, THEODORUS METOCHILA, JOHN CANTACUZENUS,

[o] NICOL. TRIGAUTIUS, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116.—JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part. I. p. 592. & part II. p. 445. 536.—HALDE, *Description de la Chine*, tom. i. p. 175.

and NICEPHORUS GREGORAS applied themselves to the composition of history, though with different success. Nor ought we to pass over in silence NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, who compiled an Ecclesiastical History, which notwithstanding its being debased with idle stories, and evident marks of superstition, is highly useful on account of the light it casts on many important facts.

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II. As none of the sages in this century was adventurous enough to set up for a leader in philosophy, such of the Greeks as had a taste for philosophical researches adhered to ARISTOTLE, as their conductor and guide; but we may learn from the tracts of THEODORUS METOCHITA in what manner they explained the principles and tenets of the Stagirite. PLATO also had his followers, especially among those who were fond of mysticism, which had for many ages been held in the highest veneration by the Greeks. In the sublime sciences of mathematics and astronomy NICOLAS CABASILAS surpassed all his contemporaries. BARLAAM adopted the sentiments and precepts of the Stoics with respect to the obligations of morality and the duties of life, and digested them into a work of his, which is known by the title of *Ethica ex Stoicis* [q].

The state of
philosophy
among the
Greeks.

III. In all the Latin provinces schemes were laid and carried into execution with considerable success, for promoting the study of letters, improving taste, and dispelling the pedantic spirit of the times. This laudable disposition gave rise to the erection of many schools and academies, at *Coborn, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence,* and *Pisa*, in which all the liberal arts and sciences, distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent persons founded and amply endowed particular colleges in the public universities, in which, besides the monks, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and glory, by the prospect of honourable rewards. It must be confessed indeed that the advantages arising to

The state of
learning a-
mong the
Latins.

[q] HENRICI CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405.

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the church and state, from so many professors and learned men, did not wholly answer the expence and care bestowed on this undertaking, by men of rank and fortune: yet we are by no means to conclude, as many have rashly done, that all the doctors of this age, who rose gradually from the lower to the higher, and more honourable stations, were only distinguished by their stupidity and ignorance.

The state of
languages.

IV. CLEMENT V, who was now raised to the pontificate, ordered the Hebrew, and other oriental languages, to be taught in the public schools, that the church might never want a sufficient number of missionaries properly qualified to dispute with the Jews and Mahometans, and to diffuse the divine light of the gospel throughout the east [*r*]: in consequence of which appointment, some eminent proficients in those tongues, and especially in the Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was now revived, and taught with general applause, first of all by LEONTIUS PILATUS, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon HOMER, and a few others [*s*], but afterwards, with far greater success and reputation, by MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS [*t*], a native of *Constantinople*. Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the restoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and justly-renowned PETRARCH held the first place [*v*], and DANTE ALIGHIERI II. Full of this

[*r*] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 156. 159.

[*s*] See HUMPH. HODY, *De Græcis illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Litterarumque humaniorum instauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5. Londini 1742. in 8vo.—CALOGERA, *Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 258.

[*t*] HODY *loc. cit.* lib. i. p. 10.—ANGELI CALOGERÆ *loc. cit.* p. 248.—And more especially CHRIST. FRID. BORNERI *Lib. de Græcis Litterarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*.

[*v*] See JAC. PHIL. THOMASINI *vita Petrarchi* in Jo. GERH. MEUSCHEN *Vitæ claror. viror.* tom. iv. who in his Preface enumerates all the other writers of his life. Of the celebrated poet DANTE, several have treated, particularly his translator BENEVENUTUS of *Imola*, from whence MURATORIUS has borrowed large extracts in his *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. f.

worthy

worthy design, they both acted as if they had received an extraordinary commission to promote the reign of true taste and the progress of polite learning; and their success was answerable to the generous ambition that animated their efforts; for they had many followers and admirers, not only among their countrymen, but also among the French and Germans.

V. The writings of this age furnish us with a long list of grammarians, historians, lawyers and physicians, of which it would be easy to give a circumstantial account: but as it is quite foreign to our purpose, it will be sufficient to inform our readers that there were but few of this vast multitude, whose labours were in any great degree useful to society. Great numbers applied themselves to the study of the *civil* and *canon* law, because it was the readiest way to preferment both in church and state. Such as have any tolerable acquaintance with history, cannot be entire strangers to the fame of **BAR- TOLUS**, **BALDUS**, **ANDREAS**, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the universities of *Italy*. But after all, it is certain that the jurisprudence of this age was a most intricate disagreeable study, unenlivened either by history or language, and destitute of every allurements that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many, yet, if we except **THOMAS BRAD- WARDINE**, the acute and learned archbishop of *Canter- bury*, there were but few who acquired any reputation worth mentioning by this kind of study.

VI. The vast number of philosophers, who rather dis- graced than adorned this century, looked upon **ARIS- TOTLE** as their infallible oracle and guide; though they stript him of all those excellences that really belonged to him, and were incapable of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peri- patetic philosophy, that, in order to diffuse the know- ledge of it as widely as possible, even kings, and em- perours, ordered the works of **ARISTOTLE** to be trans- lated into the native language of their respective domi- nions. Among the most eminent of this class was

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CHARLES V, king of *France*, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of ARISTOTLE, to be translated into French by NICHOLAS ORESME [u]. Those, however, who professed themselves philosophers, instead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of disputation, which led them to perplex, and deform the pure, simple doctrines of reason and religion, by a multitude of idle subtilties, trifling questions, and ridiculous distinctions. It is needless to enlarge on the barbarity of their phraseology, in which they supposed the whole strength of their art consisted; as also on that utter aversion to every branch of polite learning in which they foolishly gloried. Those who have a mind to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever else relates to this wrangling tribe, need only consult JOHN SCOTUS, or WALTER BULÆUS. But though they all followed one common track, there were several points on which they differed among themselves.

The Realists
and Nominalists.

VII. The old disputes between the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived with unextinguishable ardor, by an English Franciscan friar of the severer order, named WILLIAM OCCAM, who was a follower of the great SCOTUS, and a doctor of divinity at *Paris*. The Greeks and Persians never fought against each other with more hatred and fury, than was expressed in their contentions by these two discordant sects, whose angry disputations subsisted without any abatement, till the appearance of LUTHER, who soon obliged the scholastic divines to terminate their mutual wranglings, and establish a peace. The *Realists* despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, branding them with the name of *Moderns*, while, through a great mistake, they ascribed a very high antiquity to the tenets of their own party. The *Nominalists* on the other hand, inveighed against them as a set of doating visionaries, who, despising substantial matters,

[u] JO. LAUNOIUS *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. Opp. part. I. p. 504.—BOULAY *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 379.—LE BOEUF, *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile, Par.* tom. iii. p. 456. 463. f.

were pursuing mere shadows. The *Nominalists* had the most eloquent, acute, and subtle doctors of *Paris* for their leaders, among whom, besides OCCAM, the famous JOHN BURIDAN[*], was very eminent; nevertheless, through the countenance given them by successive popes, the *Realists* prevailed. For when OCCAM joined the party of the Franciscan monks, who strenuously opposed JOHN XXII, that pope himself, and his successors after him, left no means untried to extirpate the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the interests of the church [y]: and hence it was, that, in the year 1339, the university of *Paris*, by a public edict, solemnly condemned and prohibited the philosophy of OCCAM, which was that of the *Nominalists* [z]. But, as it is natural for men to love and pursue what is forbidden, the consequence was, that the party of the *Nominalists* flourished more than ever.

VIII. Among the philosophers of these times, there were many who mingled astrology with their philosophy, i. e. the art of telling fortunes, by the aspect of the heavens, and the influence of the stars; and notwithstanding the obvious folly and absurdity of this pretended science, all ranks of people, from the highest down to the lowest, were fond of it even to distraction. Yet, in spite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, these astrological philosophers, to avoid being impeached of witchcraft, and to keep themselves out of the hands of the inquisitors, were obliged to behave with great circumspection. The neglect of this caution was remarkably fatal to CECILIUS ASCULANUS, a famous peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, and mathematician, first of all physician to pope JOHN XXII, and afterwards to CHARLES SINETERRA, duke of *Calabria*. This unhap-

Astrology
mingles it-
self with the
philosophy of
the times,
and is consid-
ered as magi-
c.

[*] ROB. GUAGINUS wrote a particular account of this famous man, as we learn from Jo. LAUNOIUS, in his *Historia Gymnasii Navarreni*, tom. iv. Opp. part. i. p. 722. see also p. 296. 297. 330. and BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 282. 307. 341, &c.

[y] STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

[z] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 257. tom. v. p. 108.—CAR. PLESS D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, &c. see MOSHEIM.

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py man having performed some experiments in mechanics, that seemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having also offended many, and among the rest his master, by giving out some predictions, which were said to have been fulfilled, was universally supposed to deal with infernal spirits, and burnt for it by the inquisitors at *Florence*, in the year 1337 [a]. There is yet extant a commentary of his upon the *Sphere of John de Sacrobusco*, otherwise named *Holywood*, which shews its author to have been deeply tainted with superstition [b].

The philosophy of Lully.

IX. RAYMUND LULLY was the author of a new and very singular kind of philosophy, which he endeavoured to illustrate and defend by his voluminous writings. He was a native of *Majorca*, and a man of an admirable, fruitful genius, yet, at the same time, a strange compound of reason and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and having performed many voyages, and undergone various hardships to promote it, he was slain at *Bugia*, in *Africa*, in the year 1315, by the Mahometans whom he was attempting to convert. The Franciscans, to whose third order it is said he belonged, extol him to the skies, and have taken great pains to persuade several popes to canonize him, while many on the contrary, and especially the Dominicans, inveigh bitterly against him, calling him a hair-brained chemist, a hot-headed fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler of the works of the more learned Mahometans. The popes entertained different opinions of him; some esteeming him a harmless pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruses the writings of LULLY without prejudice, will not be biased by either of these parties. It is at least certain, that he would have been a great man, had the warmth and

[a] PAUL ANTON. APPIANUS wrote a Defence of this unhappy man, which is inserted in DOMEN. BERNINI *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, tom. iii. sæc. xiv. cap. iii. p. 210. f. We have also a further account of him in JO. MARIA CRESCIMBENUS *Commentarij della volgar. Poësia*, vol. ii. part. II. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

[b] GABR. NAUDÆUS, *Apologie pour les-grands hommes qui ont été soupçonnez de Magie*, p. 270. f.

fertility of his imagination been tempered with a sound judgment [c].

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CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and government of the church during this century.

I. **T**HE governors of the church in this period; from the highest to the lowest orders, were addicted to vices peculiarly dishonourable to their sacred character. We shall say nothing of the Grecian and Oriental Clergy, who lived for the most part, under a rigid, severe, and oppressive government, though they deserve their part in this heavy and ignominious charge. But with regard to the Latins our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them, were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion and the well-being of civil society. It is, however, necessary to observe, that there were, even in those degenerate times, several pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in *its head and members*, as they used to express themselves [d]. Laudable as these desires undoubtedly were, many circumstances occurred to prevent their accomplishment; such as the exorbitant power of the popes, so confirmed by length of time that it seemed immovable, the excessive superstition that enslaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every spark of truth, was stifled, as it were in its very

The corrupt
state of the
clergy.

[c] See JOHN SALZINGER'S Preface to RAYMUND LULLY'S Works, which JOHN WILLIAM, elector *Palatine*, caused to be collected at a great expence, and to be published, in 1720, in five volumes. LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 421. tom. v. p. 157. 316. tom. vi. p. 229. Concerning the famous invention of LULLY, see DAN. GEORG. MORHOFIUS, *Polybistore*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352. f.

[d] MATT. FLACIUS, *Catalogo testium veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. JO. LAUNOIUS, *De varia forma Aristotelis*, p. 217. JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Historia Eccles. Sæc. xiv.* p. 754.

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birth. Yet firm and lasting as the dominion of the Roman pontiffs seemed to be, it was gradually undermined and weakened, partly by the pride and rashness of the popes themselves, and partly by several unexpected events.

Philip king
of France
opposes the
papal tyr-
anny.

II. This important change may be dated from the quarrel which arose between BONIFACE VIII, who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and PHILIP the Fair, king of *France*. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced *Europe*, that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the bishop of *Rome*, notwithstanding many crowned heads had attempted it without success. BONIFACE sent PHILIP the haughtiest letters imaginable, in which he asserted, that the king of *France*, with all other kings and princes whatsoever, were obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in that famous *bull*, *unam sanctam*, which he published about this time, asserted that JESUS CHRIST had granted a twofold power to his church, or, in other words, *the spiritual and temporal sword*; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation [e]. The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered WILLIAM DE NOGARET, a celebrated lawyer [f], to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he

[e] This *bull* is yet extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun. lib. i. tit. De majoritate et obedientia.*

[f] Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before LUTHER, none have given us a fuller account than the Benedictine monks. *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 114. 117. *f.* PHILIP made him chancellor of *France* for his resolute opposition against the pope.

publicly

publicly charged him with *heresies, simony*, and many other vices, demanding, at the same time, an œcumenical council to depose such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king, and all his adherents.

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III. PHILIP, shortly after he received his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this he sent WILLIAM DE NOGARET, with some others into *Italy*, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and then to convey him to *Lyons*, where the king was determined to hold the above-mentioned council. NOGARET, being a resolute active man, soon drew over to his assistance the powerful family of the Colonnas, then at variance with the pope, levied a small army, seized BONIFACE, who lived in perfect security at *Anagni*, and as soon as he had got him into his power treated him in the most shocking manner, and even carried his outrage so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of *Anagni*, rescued him out of the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, conducted him to *Rome*, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him [g].

The event
of this
warm con-
test.

IV. BENEDICT XI, who succeeded him, and whose name before his accession to the papal chair, was NICOLAS BOCCACINI, learned prudence by this fatal example, and pursued more moderate and gentle measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication that his predecessor had thundered out against the king of *France* and his dominions, but never could

The papal
residence
removed to
Avignon.

[g] See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII, Bened. XI, Clement. V, Philippum Pulchrum*, published A. D. 1614, by PETER PUTEANUS.—ADR. BAILLET, *Hist. de Demelez du Boniface VIII, avec Philippe de Bel*, printed at *Paris* in 4to. in 1718.—JO. RUBEUS in *bonifacio*, cap. xvi. p. 137.—The other writers on this subject are mentioned by BAILLET, in his Preface, p. 9.—See also BOULAY, *Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 4.

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be prevailed upon to absolve NOGARET of his treason against the ghostly majesty of the pontificate. NOGARET, on the other hand, set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman Court, the accusation that he had formerly brought against BONIFACE, and, in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. While this was transacting BENEDICT died A.D. 1304; upon which PHILIP, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of *Rome* for a French prelate BERTRAND DE GOT, archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June 1305. This step was so much the more necessary, in that the breach between the king and the court of *Rome* was not yet entirely healed, and, as NOGARET was not as yet absolved, might easily be renewed. Besides, the French monarch, inflamed with the desire of revenge, insisted upon the formal condemnation of BONIFACE by the court of *Rome*, the abolition of the order of *Templars*, and other concessions of great importance, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontiff in whose zeal and compliance he could confide, as necessary to the execution of his designs. BERTRAND assumed the name of CLEMENT V, and, at the king's request, remained in *France*, and removed the papal residence to *Avignon*, where it continued during the space of seventy years. This period the Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity [b].

The diminution of the papal authority.

V. There is no doubt, but that the continued residence of the popes in *France*, greatly impaired the au-

[b] For an account of the French popes consult chiefly STEPHAN BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionensium*, published at *Paris* in two volumes 4to. in the year 1693. The reader may also peruse, but must be with the utmost caution, LONGUEVAL'S *History of the Gallican Church*, and those who continued that work after his death. See more especially tom. xii. This jesuit, and his successors, have shewn great industry and eloquence in the composition of this history; but they, for the most part, artfully conceal the vices and enormities of the Roman pontiffs.

thor

thority of the Roman see. For during the absence of the pontiffs from *Rome*, the faction of the *Gibellines*, their inveterate enemies, rose to a greater height than ever; insomuch, that they not only invaded, and ravaged *St. Peter's patrimony*, but even attacked the papal authority, by their writings. This caused many cities to revolt from the popes: even *Rome* itself was the grand source and fomentor of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch, that the laws and decrees sent thither from *France*, were publicly treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles [i]. The influence of this example was propagated from *Italy* through most parts of *Europe*; it being evident, from a vast number of instances, that the Europeans in general did not pay near so much regard to the decrees and thunders of the Gallic popes, as they did to those of *Rome*. This gave rise to various seditions against the pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even with the aid of the *inquisitors*, who exerted themselves with the most barbarous fury.

VI. The French pontiffs finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by sedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpose they not only sold *indulgences* to the people, more frequently than they had formerly done, whereby they made themselves extremely odious to several potentates, but also disposed publicly of scandalous licences, of all sorts, at an excessive price. JOHN XXII. was remarkably shrewd and zealous in promoting this abominable traffic; for though he was not the first inventor of the *taxes and rules of the apostolical chancery*, yet the Romish writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extensively profitable to the

New
schemes
invented by
the popes to
acquire
riches.

[i] See BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 290, 291. 301. 309. 323. and many other places.—MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 397. 401. 409, &c.—GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 280.

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holy treasury [k]. It is certain, that the origin of the tribute paid to the popes under the name of *Annates*, and which is generally affirmed to have been first imposed by him, is of a much earlier date [l]. Besides the abuses now mentioned, these Gallic popes, having abolished the right of elections, arrogated to themselves a power of conferring all the offices of the church, whether greater or smaller, according to their fancy, by which they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also under their government that *reserves*, *provisions*, *expectatives*, and other impositions of the like odious nature, that had seldom or never been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all *Europe* with bitter complaints [m]. These complaints exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly JOHN XXII. CLEMENT VI, and GREGORY X, openly declared that they had *reserved* to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that sovereign authority and *plenitude of power* which CHRIST had conferred upon them, his vicars, to *provide* for them and dispose of them without exception [n]. It was by these and other such mean and selfish contrivances, which had no other end than the acquisition of riches, that these inconsiderate pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire which had been visibly upon the decline from the time of BONIFACE.

[k] JO. CIAMPINUS, *De Vicecancellario ecclesiæ Rom.* p. 39.—CAR. CHAIS, *Lettres sur les Jubiles*, tom. ii. p. 673, and others.

[l] BERNH. VAN ESPEN, *Jus Eccles. universale*, tom. ii. p. 876.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 213.—GUIL. FRANC. BERTHIER, *Diff. sur les Annates*, tom. xii. *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic*, p. 1.

[m] STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 479. 518. *Ejus Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 60. 63. 65. 74. 154. 156. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. i. Append. p. 13. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202. BOULEY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911.

[n] BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873. tom. i. p. 285. 311. 681. f. ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 349. f. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. 1208. *Histoire du droit Eccles. Française*, tom. ii. p. 129. f.

VII. CLEMENT V was a mere creature of PHILIP the Fair, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. WILLIAM DE NOGARET, the implacable enemy of BONIFACE VIII, notwithstanding he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause, and his own, against BONIFACE, even in the pope's court; an instance of assurance this, not easy to be paralleled. PHILIP insisted, that the dead body of BONIFACE should be dug up, and publicly burnt; but CLEMENT averted this infamy by his advice and intreaties, promising implicit obedience to the king in every thing else. In order therefore to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by BONIFACE, to grant the king a bounty of five years tithes, fully to absolve NOGARET of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance (which, however, he never performed) to restore the citizens of *Anagni* to their reputation and honour, and to call a general council at *Vienne* in the year 1311, in order to condemn the Templars, on whose destruction PHILIP was most ardently bent. In this council every thing was determined as the king thought proper. For CLEMENT, terrified by the melancholy fate of BONIFACE, durst not venture to oppose this intrepid and obstinate monarch [o].

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XIV.The obsequiousness
of Clement
V. to Philip.

VIII. Upon CLEMENT's death, which happened in the year 1314, many fierce contentions arose in the conclave about choosing a successor, the French cardinals insisting upon a French, and those of *Italy* demanding an Italian pope. After two years altercations however, the French party prevailed, and, in the year 1316, elected JAMES DE EUSE, a native of *Cahors*, and cardinal bishop of *Porto*. He assumed the name of JOHN XXII, and had a tolerable share of learning, but was at the same time crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous, which is allowed even by those writers who,

John XXII.
Nicholas V.

[o] Besides the common writers already cited, see GUIL. FRANC. BERTHIERII *Discours sur le Pontificat. de Clement V.* tom. iii. *Histoire Eccles. Gallic.* COLONIA, *Hist. Litter. de Lyon*, tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Christiana Benedict.* tom. i. p. 1189. & tom. ii. p. 829.

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in other respects, speak well of him. He is deservedly censured on account of his temerity, and the ill success that attended him, through his own imprudence, in many of his enterprizes; but he is more especially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy war into which he entered against LEWIS of *Bavaria*. This powerful prince disputed the imperial throne of *Germany* with FREDERIC, duke of *Austria*, and they had been both chosen to that high dignity, in the year 1314, by their respective partisans among the electors and princes of the empire. JOHN took it for granted, that the decision of this contest came under his ghostly jurisdiction. Put, in the year 1322, the duke of *Bavaria* having vanquished his competitor by force of arms, took upon him the administration of the empire without asking the pope's approbation, and would by no means allow, that their dispute, already determined by the sword, should be again decided by the judgment of the pope. JOHN interpreted this refusal as a heinous insult upon his authority, and, by an edict issued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But his impotent resentment was very little regarded; nay, he was even accused of heresy by the emperor, who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly exasperated by these and other deserved affronts, the pontiff presumes, in the year 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a second time, and even to publish a sentence of excommunication against the chief of the empire. This new mark of papal arrogance was severely resented by LEWIS, who, in the year 1328, published an edict at *Rome*, by which JOHN was declared unworthy of the pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies PETER DE CORBIERI, a Franciscan monk, who assumed the name of NICOLAS V, and crowned the emperor at *Rome* in a solemn and public manner. But, in the year 1330, this imperial pope voluntarily abdicated the chair of *St. Peter*, and surrendered himself to JOHN, who kept him in close confinement at *Avignon* for the rest of his days. Thus ended the contest between the duke of *Bavaria* and

and JOHN XXII, who, notwithstanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the possession of their respective dignities [p].

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IX. The numerous tribes of the *Fratricelli*, *Beg-* John XXII, accused of heresy.
bards, and *Spiritual Franciscans* adhered to the party of LEWIS. Supported by his patronage, and dispersed throughout the greatest part of *Europe*, they attacked every where the reigning pontiff, as an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with the heaviest accusations and the bitterest invectives, both in their writings and in their ordinary conversation. These attacks did not greatly affect the pontiff, as they were made only by private persons, by a set of obscure monks, who, in many respects, were unworthy of his notice; but towards the conclusion of his life he incurred the disapprobation and censures of almost the whole Catholic church. For in the year 1331 and 1332, having asserted, in some public discourses, that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold CHRIST as man, but not the *face of God*, or the divine nature, before their reunion with the body at the last day: this doctrine highly offended PHILIP VI, king of *France*, was opposed by the pope's friends as well as by his enemies, and unanimously condemned by the divines of

[p] The particulars of this violent quarrel may be learnt from the *Records* published by STEPH. BALUZ. in his *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 512. f.—EDM. MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 641. f.—JO. GEORG. HERWART in *Ludovico Imperatore defenso contra Bzovium, Monachii* 1618, in 4to. et CHRIST. GEWOLD. in *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro, Ingolstadt* 1618, in 4to. against the same *Bzovius*, who, in the *Annals* he had published, basely aspersed the memory of the emperor. See also LUC. WADDINGUS in *Annalib. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 77. 106, f. &c. Whoever attentively peruses the history of this war, will perceive that LEWIS of *Bavaria* followed the example of PHILIP the Fair, king of *France*. As PHILIP brought an accusation of heresy against BONIFACE, so did LEWIS with respect to JOHN XXII. The French monarch made use of NOGARET and other accusers against the one pontiff. LEWIS employed OCCAM and the Franciscans in that quality against the other. Each of them insisted upon the assembling a general council, and upon the deposition of the pontiffs who had incurred their displeasure. I omit other circumstances that might be alledged to render the parallel more striking.

Paris,

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Paris, in the year 1333. This favourite tenet of the pope was thus severely treated, because it seemed highly prejudicial to the felicity of happy spirits in their unembodied state; otherwise the point might have been yielded to a man of his positive temper, without any material consequence. Alarmed by these vigorous proceedings, he immediately offered something by way of excuse for having espoused this opinion; and afterwards in the year 1334, when he lay at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he, in some measure, softened it, by saying he believed that the unembodied souls of the righteous *beheld the divine essence as far as their separate state and condition would permit* [q]. This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor BENEDICT XII, after many disputes had been held about it, put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state, did fully and perfectly contemplate the divine nature [r]. BENEDICT's publishing this resolution could be in no way injurious to the memory of JOHN; for when the latter lay upon his death-bed, he submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, that he might not be deemed a *heretic* after his decease [s].

[q] See STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 175. 177. 182. 197. 221. 786, &c.—LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 760. *ed. Vet.*—JO. LAUNOII *Historia gymnas. Navarreni*, part. I. cap. vii. p. 319. tom. iv. part. I. Opp.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 235. 250.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 371. tom. vii. p. 145.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 599. 608.

[r] BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 197. 216. 221. 224. 236.

[(s)] All this pope's heretical fancies about the *Beatific Vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, *viz.* five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in *specie*, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xciv. § 39.]

X. JOHN dying in the year 1334, new contentions arose in the conclave between the French and Italian cardinals about the election of a pope; but towards the end of the year they chose JAMES FOURNIER, a Frenchman and cardinal of *St. Prisca*, who took the name of BENEDICT XII. The writers of these times represent him as a man of great probity, who was neither chargeable with that avarice, nor that ambition that dishonoured so many of his predecessors [1]. He put an end to the papal quarrel with the emperor LEWIS: and though he did not restore him to the communion of the church, because prevented, as it is said, by the king of *France*, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He carefully attended to the grievances of the church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the mendicant, or more opulent orders; and died in the year 1342, while he was laying the most noble schemes for promoting a yet more extensive reformation. In short, if we overlook this superstition, the prevailing blemish of this barbarous age, it must be allowed that he was a man of integrity and merit.

XI. He was succeeded by a man of a quite different disposition, CLEMENT VI, a native of *France*, whose name was PETER ROGER, and who was cardinal of *St. Nereus* and *St. Achilles*, before his elevation to the pontificate. Not to insist upon the most exceptionable parts of this pontiff's conduct, we shall only observe that he trod faithfully in the steps of JOHN XXII, in providing for vacant churches and bishoprics, by reserving to himself the disposal of them, which shewed his sordid and insatiable avarice; that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of the highest consequence upon strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of *England* and *France*, and lastly, that by renewing the dissensions that had formerly subsisted between LEWIS of *Bavaria* and the Ro-

[1] See the *Fragmenta Histor. Roman. in MURATORII Antiquit. Italic. tom. iii. p. 275.*—BALUZII *Vit. Pont. Avenion. tom. i. p. 203. 218. 240, &c.*—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 253.*

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man see, he displayed to the world his excessive vanity and ambition in the most odious colours. In the year 1343, he assailed the emperor with his thundering edicts, and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmost contempt, his rage augmented, and he not only threw out new maledictions, and published new sentences of excommunication against him, in the year 1346, but also excited the German princes to elect HENRY VII, son to CHARLES IV, emperor in his place. This violent measure would infallibly have occasioned a civil war in *Germany*, had it not been prevented by the death of LEWIS, in year 1347. CLEMENT did not long survive him, for he died in the year 1352, famous for nothing but his excessive zeal for extending the papal authority, and for his having added *Avignon*, which he purchased of JOAN, queen of *Naples*, to the patrimony of *St. Peter*.

Innocent VI.

XII. His successor INNOCENT VI, whose name was STEPHEN ALBERT, was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and before his election had been bishop of *Ostia*. He died in the year 1362, after having governed the church ten years. His greatest blemish was that he promoted his relations with an excessive partiality, but in other respects he was a man of merit and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks closely to their duty, carefully abstained from *reserving churches*, and, by many good actions, acquired a great and deserved reputation. He was succeeded by WILLIAM GRIMOARD, abbot of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*, who took the name of URBAN V, and was entirely free from all the grosser vices, if we except those which cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity. This pope, being prevailed on by the entreaties of the Romans, returned to *Rome* in the year 1367, but, in 1370, he came back to *Avignon*, to reconcile the differences that had arisen between the kings of *England* and *France*, and died there the same year.

Gregory XI.

XIII. He was succeeded by PETER ROGER, a French ecclesiastic of illustrious descent, who assumed

the

the name of GREGORY XI, a man, who, though inferior to his predecessors in virtue, exceeded them far in courage and assurance. In his time *Italy* in general, and the city of *Rome* in particular, was distressed with most outrageous and formidable tumults. The Florentines carried on successfully a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state [u]. Upon which, GREGORY, in hopes of quieting the disorders of *Italy*, and also of recovering the cities and territories which had been taken from *St. Peter's patrimony*, transferred the papal seat from *Avignon* to *Rome*, in the year 1376. To this he was in a great measure determined by the advice of one CATHERINE, a virgin of *Sens*, who, in this credulous age, was thought to be inspired with a spirit of prophecy, and made a journey to *Avignon* on purpose to persuade him to take this step [w]. It was not, however, long before GREGORY repented that he had followed her advice: for by the long absence of the popes from *Italy*, their authority was reduced to such a low ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to *Avignon*; but before he could execute his determination he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

XIV. After the death of GREGORY XI, the cardinals assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of *Rome*, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with many outrageous threatenings, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals terrified by this uproar immediately proclaimed BARTHOLOMEW DE PREGNANO, who was a Neapolitan, and archbishop of *Bari*, and assumed the name of URBAN VI. This new pontiff, by his un-

A great
schism arises
in the Ro-
mish church.

[u] See chiefly, COLUCHI SALUTATI *Epistolæ*, written in the name of the Florentines, part I. p. 47—100. p. 148. 162. See also *Præfat.* ad part. II. p. xviii. the new Florentine edition by LAUR. MEHUS.

[w] See LONGUEVAL *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 159. 192.

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polite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had made himself many enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. These latter therefore tired of his insolence, withdrew from *Rome* to *Anagni*, and from thence to *Fondi*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*, where they elected to the pontificate ROBERT count of *Geneva*, who took the name of CLEMENT VII, and declared at the same time that the election of URBAN was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is, to this day matter of doubt, nor will the *records* and writings, alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty [x]. URBAN remained at *Rome*: CLEMENT went to *Avignon* in *France*. His cause was espoused by *France* and *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Sicily*, and *Cyprus*, while all the rest of *Europe* acknowledged URBAN to be the true vicar of CHRIST.

Its bad consequences.

XV. Thus the union of the Latin church under one head was destroyed at the death of GREGORY XI, and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism* [y]. This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success,

[x] See the acts and documents in CÆS. EGASS. DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463. f.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12. f.—STEPH. BALUZII *Vit. Pontiff. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 442. 998. f. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. April, p. 728. I have also some documents never yet published, which throw a great light upon this controversy, though they do not absolutely determine the point in dispute.

[y] An account of this dissension may be seen in PIERRE DU PUY *Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'An. 1378, jusqu' en l' An. 1428*, which, as we are informed in the *Preface*, was compiled from the Royal Records of *France*, and entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject LEWIS MAIMBOURG'S *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, though in general it is deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. A great many documents are to be met with in BOULAY *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and also in EDM. MARTENE *Thesauri Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as ALEXANDER, RAYNALD, BZOVIVS, SPONDANUS, and DU PIN.

and

and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times is beyond all power of description: for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes was the true successor of CHRIST, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and in consequence of all this, many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of CHRIST, were over-whelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepest distress of mind [z]. Nevertheless these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for by these dissensions the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the popes on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained and the interests of religion secured and promoted without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy.

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of URBAN VI, upon the death of that pope in the year 1389, set up for his successor, at Rome, PETER THOMAS ACCELLI, a Neapolitan, who took the name of BONIFACE IX, and CLEMENT VII, dying in the year 1394,

Proposals
for abolishing the
schism.

[z] Concerning the mischievous consequences of this schism, we have a large account in the *Histoire du droit public Ecclésiastique Française*, tom. ii. p. 166. 193. 202. f.

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the French cardinals raised to the pontificate PETER DE LUNA, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of BENEDICT XIII. During these transactions various methods were proposed and attempted for healing this melancholy breach in the church. Kings and princes, bishops and divines, appeared with zeal in this salutary project. It was generally thought that the best course to be taken in this matter was, what they then stiled, the *Method of cession*: but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by entreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced solemnly, in a council held at *Paris* in the year 1397, all subjection and obedience to both pontiffs; and upon the publication of this resolution in the year 1398, BENEDICT XIII. was, by the express orders of CHARLES VI, detained prisoner in his palace at *Avignon* [a].

The enormities of the monks, especially Mendicants.

XVII. Some of the popes, and especially BENEDICT XII, were perfectly acquainted with the prevailing vices and scandalous conduct of the greatest part of the monks, which they zealously endeavoured to rectify and remove: but the disorder was too inveterate to admit of a cure. The *Mendicants*, and more especially the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, were at the head of the monastic orders, and were, indeed, become the heads of the church; so extensive was the influence they had acquired, that all matters of importance, both in the court of *Rome* and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on under their supreme and absolute direction. The multitude had such a high notion of the sanction of these sturdy beggars, and of their credit with the supreme Being, that great numbers of both sexes, some in health, others in a state of infirmity, others at the point of death, earnestly desired to be admitted into the *Mendicant* order, which they looked upon as a sure and infallible method of rendering heaven propitious. Many made it an essential part of their last wills, that their

[a] Besides the common historians, and LONGUEVAL's *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. see the *acts* of this council in BOU-LAY's *Histoir. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 829.

carcases, after death, should be wrapped in old, ragged Dominican or Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendicants. For such was the barbarous superstition, and wretched ignorance of this age, that people universally believed they should readily obtain mercy from CHRIST, at the day of Judgment, if they appeared before his tribunal associated with the mendicant friars.

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XVIII. The high esteem in which the Mendicant orders were held, and the excessive degree of authority they had acquired, only served to render them still more odious to such as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies and the public universities. So universal was this odium, that there was scarcely a province or university in *Europe* in which the bishops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who employed the power and authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient discipline of the church, and assuming to themselves a certain superintendence in religious matters. In *England* the university of *Oxford* made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the Dominicans [b], while RICHARD, archbishop of *Armagh*, HENRY CRUMP, NORIS, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders with great vehemence and severity [c]. But RICHARD, whose animosity against them was much keener than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of INNOCENT VI, in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cause of the church against them with prodigious fervor, both in his writings and discourse, until the year 1360, in which he died [d]. They had also many

They fall
under a ge-
neral odium.

[b] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150. 154. 196, &c.

[c] See WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 181, 182. tom. ii. p. 62.—BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338. 950.—BOULAY *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 336.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

[d] See SIMON *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. i. p. 164.—I have in my possession a manuscript treatise of BARTHOLOMEW DE BRISAC, entitled, *Solutiones oppositæ Ricardi, Armachani episcopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et cardinalibus actis, Anno 1360.*

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opponents in *France*, who together with the university of *Paris*, were secretly engaged in contriving means to overturn their exorbitant power [d]: but JOHN DE POLLIAC set himself openly against them, publicly denying the validity of the absolutions granted by the Dominicans and Franciscans to those who confessed to them, maintaining, that the popes were disabled from granting them a power of absolution, by the authority of the *canon* entitled, *Omnis utriusque sexus*; and proving from these premises, that all those, who would be sure of their salvation, ought to confess their sins to their own parish priests, even though they had been absolved by the monks. They suffered little or nothing, however, from the efforts of these numerous adversaries, being resolutely protected against all opposition, whether open or secret, by the popes, who regarded them as their best friends, and most effectual supports. Accordingly, JOHN XXII, by an extraordinary decree, condemned the opinions of JOHN DE POLLIAC, in the year 1321 [e].

John Wick-
liff.

XIX. But among all the enemies of the Mendicant orders, none has been transmitted to posterity with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than JOHN WICKLIFF, an English doctor, professor of divinity at *Oxford*, and afterwards rector, of *Lutterworth*; who, according to the testimony of the writers of those times, was a man of an enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of RICHARD, archbishop of *Armagh*, he first of all defended the statutes and privileges of the university of *Oxford* against all the orders of the Mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of *Canterbury-Hall* in the university

[d] See SIMON *Lettres Choïses*, tom. i. p. 164.

[e] See JO. LAUNOIUS, *De Canone: Omnis utriusque Sexus*, tom. i. part. i. Opp. p. 271. 274. 287, &c.—BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 10, & *Miscellaneor.* tom. i. p. 153.—DACHERII *Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 112. f.—It was published by ED. MARTENE in *Thesauro-Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 1368. See also BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 132. 182, &c.

Oxford, by SIMON LANGHAM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who substituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to pope URBAN V, who confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted, with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English those divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal. Though neither the doctrine of WICKLIFF was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it must be confessed that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and discipline of the church, were, in many respects, wise, useful, and salutary [f].

XX. The monks, whom WICKLIFF had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of GREGORY XI, who, in the year 1377, ordered SIMON SUDBURY, archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take cognizance of the affair in a council held at *London*. Imminent as this danger evidently was, WICKLIFF escaped it by the interest of the duke of *Lancaster*, and some other peers, who had an high regard for him. And soon after the death of GREGORY XI, the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at *Rome*, and another at *Avignon*; so that of course this controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by WILLIAM DE COURTENAY, arch-

His adversaries.

[f] A work of his was published at *Leipsic* and *Francfort* in 4to. in the year 1753, entitled, *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*; which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrine, yet shews sufficiently the spirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.

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bishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence, in two councils held at *London* and *Oxford*. The event was, that of the *twenty-three* opinions, for which *WICKLIFF* had been prosecuted by the monks, ten were condemned as heretics, and *thirteen* as errors [g]. He himself, however, returned in safety to *Lutterworth*, where he died peaceably, in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got safely through it, whether by the interest of the court, or by denying, or abjuring his opinions, is to this day a secret [h]. He left many followers in *England*, and other countries, who were styled *Wickliffites* and *Lollards*, which last was a term of popular reproach translated from the Flemish tongue into English. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the *inquisitors*, and other instruments of papal vengeance, and, in the council of *Constance*, in the

[g] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM says, that, of eighteen articles imputed to *WICKLIFF*, nine were condemned as *heresies*, and fifteen as *errors*. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an oversight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen heresies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by *WILLIAM WODFORD* in a letter to *ARUNDEL*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the twenty-three propositions that had been condemned by his predecessor *COURTNEY* at *London*, of which ten were pronounced *heretical*, and thirteen *erroneous*. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* ORTHUINI GRATII, published first at *Cologne*, by the compiler, in the year 1535, and afterwards at *London* in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments by the learned Mr. EDWARD BROWN. The letter of *WODFORD* is at full length in the first volume of this collection, p. 191.]

[h] We have a full and complete *History of the Life and sufferings of John Wickliff*, published in 8vo. at *London* in the year 1720, by Mr. JOHN LEWIS, who also published, in the year 1731, *WICKLIFF's* English translation of the *New Testament* from the Latin version, called the *Vulgate*. This translation is enriched with a learned *Preface* by the editor, in which he enlarges upon the life, actions, and sufferings of that eminent reformer. The pieces, relative to the controversies which were set on foot by the doctrines of *WICKLIFF*, are to be found in the learned work of *WILKINS*, entitled, *Concilium Magnæ Britanniae et Hibern. tom. iii. p. 116. 156.*—See also *BOULAY, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 450.*—*ANT. WOOD. Antiqq. Oxoniens. tom. i. p. 183. 186, & passim.*

year

year 1415, the memory and opinions of WICKLIFF were condemned by a solemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

XXI. Notwithstanding the Mendicants were thus vigorously attack on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, to set bounds to their superstition, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majesty of the Supreme Being. The Franciscans forgetting, in their enthusiastic frenzy, the veneration that they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their Order and its founder, impiously maintained, that the latter was a *second* CHRIST, in all respects similar to the *first*; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of JESUS. Yet shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert that the absurd fable of the *stigmæ*, or five wounds impressed upon FRANCIS by CHRIST himself, on mount *Alvernus*, was worthy of credit, because matter of undoubted fact [i]. Nor was this all; for they not only

The impiety
of the Franciscans.

[i] The story of the *marks*, or *stigmæ*, impressed on FRANCIS is well known, as are also the letters of the Roman Pontiffs, which enjoin the belief of it, and which WADDING has collected with great care and published in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. viii. & ix. The Dominicans formerly made a public jest of this ridiculous fable, but, being awed into silence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in secret, while the Franciscans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the most fervent zeal. That St. FRANCIS had upon his body the *marks* or impressions of the five great wounds of CHRIST, is not to be doubted, since this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses. But as he was a most superstitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident, that he *imprinted* on himself those *holy* wounds, that he might resemble CHRIST, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's sufferings. It was customary in those times for such as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies marks of this kind, that having thus contin-

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ities of St.
Francis.The enor-
mities of the
Fratricelli.

only permitted to be publish without any mark of their disapprobation, but approved, and even recommended, an impious piece stuffed with tales yet more improbable and ridiculous than either of the abovementioned fictions, and entitled, *The Book of the conformities of St. Francis with JESUS CHRIST*, which was composed, in the year 1383, by BARTHOLOMEW ALBIZI, a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a wretched miserable mortal, is an eternal monument of the outrageous enthusiasm, and abominable arrogance of the Franciscan order; and not less so of the excessive imprudence of the popes in extolling and recommending it [k].

XXII. The Franciscans, who adhered to the genuine and austere rule of their founder, and opposed the popes, who attempted to mitigate the severity of its injunctions,

were

ally before them a lively representation of the death of CHRIST, they might preserve a becoming sense of it on their minds. The words of St. PAUL, *Galat. vi. 17.* were sufficient to confirm, in this wretched delusion, an ignorant and superstitious age in which the scriptures were neither studied nor understood. A long list of these *stigmatised fanatics* might be extracted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other records of this and the following century; nor is this antient piece of superstition entirely abolished, even in our times. Be that as it may, the Franciscan monks having found these *marks* upon the dead body of their founder, took this occasion of making him appear to the world as honoured by heaven above the rest of mortals, and invented, for this purpose, the story of CHRIST's having miraculously transferred his wounds to him.

[k] Concerning ALBIZI and his book, see WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 158.—J. A. FABRICII *Biblioth. Lat. medii. ævi.* tom. i. p. 131.—SCHELHORNII *Amæn. Litter.* tom. iii. p. 160.—BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article FRANCIS, and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. at the article ALBIZI, p. 217. ERASMUS ALBERT made several extracts from this book, and published them under the title of the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, which was frequently printed in Latin, German, and French; and in the year 1734. was published at *Amsterdam* in two volumes 8vo. in French and in Latin with elegant cuts.

[The *Conformities* between CHRIST and St. FRANCIS are carried to forty in the book of ALBIZI, but they are multiplied to 4000 by a Spanish monk of the Order of observants, in a book published at *Madrid* in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratiæ Portentum*. The *Conformities* mentioned

were not a whit wiser than those of the order, who acknowledged the jurisdiction and respected the decisions of the Roman pontiffs. By these antipapal Franciscans, I mean the *Fratricelli* or Minorets, and the Tertiaries of that order, otherwise called *Beghards*, together with the *Spirituals*, who resided principally in *France*, and embraced the opinions of PIERRE D'OLIVE. These monastic factions were turbulent and seditious beyond expression; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time disturbed, wherever they went, the tranquillity both of church and state. About the beginning of this century [1], the less austere Franciscans were outrageous in their resentment against the *Fratricelli*, who had deserted their communion [m]; upon which such of the latter, as had the good fortune to escape the fury of their persecutors, retired into *France* in the year 1307, and associated themselves with the *Spirituals* or followers of PIERRE D'OLIVE in *Provence*, who had also formerly abandoned the society. Soon after this the whole Franciscan order in *France*, *Italy*, and other countries was divided into two parties. The one, which embraced the severe discipline and absolute poverty of St. FRANCIS, were called *Spirituals*; the other, which insisted upon mitigating the austere injunctions of their founder, were styled the *Brethren of the community*. The latter, being by far the most and powerful, exerted themselves to the utmost to oppress the former, whose faction as yet was but weak, and, as it were, in its infancy; but notwithstanding this, they cheerfully submitted to these hardships, rather than return to the society of those who had deserted the rules, of their master. Pope CLEMENT V having drawn the leaders of these two parties to his court, took great pains to compose their dissensions; nevertheless, his pacific scheme advanced but slowly, on account of the inflexible obsti-

by PEDRO DE ALVA ASTORGA the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tom. iv. p. 318.]

[1] In the years 1306 and 1307.

[m] WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. ad An. 1307. p. 91.

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composing
the differences
among the
Franciscans.

nacy of each sect, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the mean while the *Spirituals* of *Tuscany*, instead of waiting for the decision of his holiness, chose themselves a president, and inferior officers, while those of *France*, being in the neighbourhood of *Avignon*, patiently expected the papal determination [n].

XXIII. After many deliberations, CLEMENT V, in a general council held at *Vienne*, in *Dauphine*, where he issued out the famous bull, *Exiivi de paradiso* [o], proposed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wise concessions on both sides. He gave up many points to the *Spirituals*, or rigid Franciscans, enjoining upon the whole order the profession of *absolute poverty* according to their primitive rule, and the solemn *renunciation of all property, whether common or personal*, confining them to what was necessary for their *immediate subsistence*, and allowing them even for that a very *scanty pittance*. He, however, on the other hand, permitted the Franciscans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the necessities of life, to erect *granaries* and *store-houses* where they might deposite a part of their alms as a *stock* in case of want; and ordered that all such *granaries and store-houses* should be under the inspection and management of inspectors and store-keepers who were to determine what quantity of provisions should be laid up in them. And finally, in order to satisfy the *Brethren of the community*, he condemned some opinions of PIERRE D'OLIVE [p]. These proceedings silenced the monastick commotions in *France*; but the Tuscan and Italian *Spirituals* were so exceeding perverse and obstinate, that they could not be brought to consent to any method of reconciliation. At length, in the year 1313, many of them, not thinking themselves any longer safe in *Italy*, went into *Sicily*, where they met with a very

[n] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. iv. 1310, p. 172.—ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1480.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 129.—ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 508, 509.

[o] This bull is inserted in the *Jus Cononicum inter Clementinas*, tit. xi. *De verbor. signif.* tom. ii. p. 1095. ed. Behmeri.

[p] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 194. 197. 199.

friendly reception from king FREDERIC, the nobility and bishops [q].

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XXIV. Upon the death of CLEMENT V, the tumult which had been appeased by his authority, was revived in France with as much fury as ever. For, in the year 1314, an hundred and twenty of the *Spirituals* made a violent attack upon the *Brethren of the community*, drove them out of the convents of *Narbonne* and *Beziers* by force of arms, and inflamed the quarrel in a yet higher degree, by laying aside their antient habits, and assuming such as were short, strait, and coarse. They were soon joined by a considerable number from other provinces, and the citizens of *Narbonne*, where OLIVE was interred, enlisted themselves in the party. JOHN XXII, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1317, took great pains to heal this new disorder. The first thing he did for this purpose was to publish a special bull, by which he ordered the abolition of the *Fratricelli* or *Minorites*, and their *Tertiaries*, whether *Beguines*, or *Beghards*, who were a body distinct from the *Spirituals* [r]. In the next place he admonished the king of Sicily to expel all the *Spirituals* who had taken refuge in his dominions [s]: and then ordered the French *Spirituals* to appear at *Avignon*, where he exhorted them to return to their duty; and, as the first step to it, to lay aside their short, strait habits with the small hoods. The greatest part of them obeyed, but FR. BERNARD DE-LITIOSI, who was the head of the faction, and twenty-four of the Brethren, boldly refused to submit to the injunction. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged that the rules prescribed by St. FRANCIS were the same with the gospel of JESUS CHRIST; that the popes therefore had no authority to alter them; that

[q] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 213. 214.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 152. 165.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 392. f.

[r] This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is to be found among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII.* tit. vii. *De religiosis domibus*, tom. ii. *Jur. Canon.* p. 1112.

[s] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 265. f.

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the popes had acted sinfully in permitting the Franciscans to have *granaries and store-houses*; and that they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits to be worn that were enjoined by St. FRANCIS. JOHN, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave orders that these obstinate Brethren should be proceeded against as *heretics*. And surely they deserved to be ranked among the *vilest heretics*, for daring thus audaciously to oppose the authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for F. DELITIOSI, who was at the head of this sect, and who is sometimes called DELLI CONSI, he was imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of his adherents were condemned to the flames, in the year 1318, at *Marseilles* [t], which odious sentence was accordingly executed without mercy.

The ridiculous disputes of the Franciscans.

XXV. Thus these unhappy friars, and many more of their fraternity who were afterwards cut off by this cruel persecution, suffered merely for their contempt of the decisions of the pontiffs, and for maintaining that the institute of St. FRANCIS, their founder, which they imagined he had established under the direction of an immediate inspiration, was the very *Gospel of Christ*, and therefore not to be altered by the pope's authority. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than important, since it did not affect religion in the least, but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the habits to be worn by the Franciscan order, and their *granaries and store-houses*. The *Brethren of the community*, or the less rigid Franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods; but the *Spirituals* went in strait, short, and very coarse ones, which they asserted to be precisely the dress enjoined by the institute of St. FRANCIS, and what therefore no power upon earth had a right to alter. And whereas

[t] BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116. tom. ii. p. 341. et *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195, 272. WADDINGUS *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 267. f. 316. f. MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 175. MARTINUS *Fuldensis*, in ECCARDI *Corpore Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1725. et HERM. CORNERUS, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 981. *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 179. f. ARGENTRE *Collectio Judicior. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 294. f.

the *Brethren of the community*, immediately after the harvest and vintage, were accustomed to lay up a stock of corn and wine in their granaries and cellars, the *Spiritual* Franciscans resolutely opposed this practice as entirely repugnant to the profession of absolute poverty that had been embraced by the *Fratricelli* or *Minorites*. In order to put an end to these broils, pope JOHN, this very year, published a long mandatory letter, in which he ordered the contending parties to submit their disputes upon the two points abovementioned, to the decision of their superiors [u].

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XXVI. The effects of this letter, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of JOHN XXII, whose cruelty was condemned and detested even by his adherents. For the *Spiritual* Franciscans and their votaries, being highly exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained, that JOHN XXII, by procuring the destruction of these holy men, had rendered himself utterly unworthy of the papal dignity, and was the true *Antichrist*. They moreover revered their four brethren who were burnt at *Marseilles*, as so many martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes, and inveighed yet more vehemently than ever against *long habits, large hoods, granaries, and store-houses*. The inquisitors on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended as many of these people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and sacrificed them without mercy to papal resentment and fury. So that from this time a vast number of those zealous defenders of the institute of St. FRANCIS, viz. the *Minorites, Beggards, and Spirituals* were most barbarously put to death, not only in *France*, but also in *Italy, Spain, and Germany* [w].

Excite
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ons.

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[u] It may be seen in the *Jus Canon. inter Extravag. communes de verbor. signif. cap. i.* See also WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 273.

[w] Besides many other pieces that serve to illustrate the intricate history of this persecution, I have in my possession a treatise, entitled, *Martyrologium Spiritualium et Fratricellorum*, which was delivered to the tribunal of the inquisition at *Carcaffone*, A. D. 1454. It contains the names of an hundred and thirteen persons of both sexes, who, from the year 1318 to the time of INNOCENT VI, were burnt in *France and Italy*, for their inflexible attachment to the poverty

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A new dispute arises concerning the poverty of Christ.

XXVII. This dreadful flame continued to spread, till it invaded the whole Franciscan order, which, in the year 1321, had received the old contentions concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apostles. A certain *Beguin*, or monk of the third order of St. FRANCIS, who was apprehended this year at *Narbonne*, taught, among other things, *That neither Christ, nor his apostles, ever possessed any thing, whether in common or personally, by right of property or dominion.* JOHN DE BELNA, an inquisitor of the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion erroneous; but BERENGARIUS TALONI, a Franciscan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly consonant to the bull, *Exiit qui seminet*, of NICOLAS III. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the determination of the latter was adhered to by the Franciscans. At length the matter was brought before the pope, who prudently endeavoured to put an end to the dispute. With this view he called into his council UBERTINUS DE CASALIS, the patron of the *Spiritual*, and a person of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk gave captious, subtile, and equivocal answers to the questions that were proposed to him. The pontiff, however, and the cardinals, persuaded that his decisions, equivocal as they were, might contribute to terminate the quarrel, acquiesced in them, seconded them with their authority, and enjoined, at the same time, silence and moderation on the contending parties[*x*].

XXVIII. But the Dominicans and Franciscans were so exceedingly exasperated against each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themselves to this order. JOHN XXII perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controversy in the year 1322; nay, he himself, proposed to some of the most celebrated divines of the age, and especially to those of *Paris*, the verty of St. FRANCIS. I reckon that from these and other records, published and unpublished, we may make out a list of two thousand martyrs of this kind. Compare *Codex inquis. Tolosanae*, à LIMBORCHIO editus, p. 298. 302. 319. 327, &c.

[*x*] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 361. STEPH. BALUZII *Micellan.* tom. i. p. 307. GERH. DU BOIS, *Histor. Eccles. Paris.* p. 611. f.

deter-

determination of this point, viz. *Whether or no those were to be deemed heretics who maintained that Jesus Christ, and his apostles, had no common or personal property in any thing they possessed?* The Franciscans, who held an assembly this year at *Perugia*, having got notice of this proceeding, unanimously decreed, that those who held this tenet were not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the decisions and mandates of the popes. They also sent a deputy to *Avignon* to defend this unanimous determination of their whole order against all opponents whatever. The person they commissioned for this purpose was F. BONAGRATIA, of *Bergamo*, who also went by the name of BONCORTESE [y], one of their fraternity, and a man famous for his extensive learning. JOHN XXII being highly incensed at this step, issued out a decree in the month of November, wherein he espoused an opinion diametrically opposite to that of the Franciscans, and pronounced them heretics, for obstinately maintaining *that Christ, and his apostles, had no common or personal property in what they possessed, nor a power of selling, or alienating, any part of it.* Soon after he proceeded yet farther, and in another constitution published in December following, exposed the weakness and inefficacy of those arguments, commonly deduced from a bull of NICHOLAS III, concerning the property of the Franciscan possessions being transferred to the church of *Rome*, whereby the monks were supposed to be deprived of what we call *right*, and were only allowed the *simple use* of what was necessary for their immediate support. In order to confute this plea, he shewed that it was absolutely impossible to separate *right* and *property*, from the *lawful use* of such things as were immediately consumed by that use. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects, which had been reserved to the church of *Rome* by former popes, their churches and some other things

[y] I insert this caution, because I have observed that some eminent writers, by not attending to this circumstance have taken these two names for two different persons.

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between the
Franciscans
and John
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excepted. And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto received and administered by procurators on the part of the Roman church, he dismissed these officers, and abolished all the decrees of his predecessors, and all the antient constitutions relating to this affair [z].

XXIX. By this method of proceeding the dexterous pontiff entirely destroyed that boasted *expropriation*, which was the main bulwark of the Franciscan order, and which its founder had esteemed the distinguishing glory of the society. It was therefore natural that these measures should determine the Franciscans to an obstinate resistance. And such indeed was the effect they produced, for, in the year 1323, they sent their brother BONAGRATIA in quality of legate to the papal court, where he vigorously and openly opposed the latter constitution of JOHN, boldly affirming, that it was contrary to all law both human or divine [a]. The pope, on the other hand, highly exasperated against this audacious defender of the Franciscan poverty, threw him into prison; and by a new edict, which he published about the end of the year, enacted that all who maintained that CHRIST, and his apostles, had no common nor special property in any of their possessions should be deemed heretics, and corruptors of the true religion [b]. Finding, however, that the Franciscans were not terrified in the least by this decree, he published another yet more flaming constitution about the end of the year 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and pronounce-

[z] These constitutions are recorded in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* and also among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *de verbor signific.* cap. ii. iii. p. 1121. Concerning the transaction itself, the reader should chiefly consult that impartial writer ALVARUS PELAGIUS, *De planctu ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. c. 60. f. 145. as also LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 394. f. each of them blames JOHN BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 191. f.

[a] WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2. 22.—AVAR. PELAGIUS, *De planctu ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. f. 167.—TRITHEMIUS, *Annal. Hirsug.* tom. ii. p. 157.—THEOD. DE NIEM, in ECCARDI *Corpor. Hist. med. ævi*, tom. vii. p. 1491.

[b] WADDINGUS, tom. vii. p. 36.—*Contin. de NANGIS*, in DUCHERII *Spicilegio*, tom. iii. p. 83.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205.—*Benedictinor. Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515.

ed that tenet concerning the expropriation of Christ and his apostles, a pestilential, erroneous, damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the catholic faith, and declared all such as adhered to it, obstinate heretics and rebels against the church [c]. In consequence of this merciless decree, great numbers of those who persisted in asserting that CHRIST and his apostles were exactly such Mendicants as FRANCIS would have his brethren to be, were apprehended by the Dominican inquisitors, who were implacable enemies of the Franciscans, and committed to the flames. The history of France and Spain, Italy and Germany, during this and the following century, abound with instances of this deplorable cruelty.

XXX. The zealous pontiff pursued this affair with great warmth for several years successively, and as this contest seemed to have taken its rise from the books of PIERRE D'OLIVE, he branded with infamy, in the year 1325, the *Postilla*, and the other writings of that author as pernicious and heretical [d]. The next step he took was to summon to *Avignon* some of the more learned and eminent brethren of the Franciscan order, of whose writings and eloquence he was the most apprehensive, and to detain them at his court : and then to arm himself against the resentment and indignation of this exasperated society, and to prevent their attempting any thing to his prejudice, he kept a strict guard over them in all places, by means of his friends the Dominicans. MICHAEL DE CÆSENAS, who resided in *Italy*, and was the head of the order, could but ill dissemble the hatred he had conceived against the pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to *Avignon*, in the year 1327, and there deprived him of his office [e]. But prudent

The attempts of the Franciscans against the pope.

[c] This constitution, as well as the two former already mentioned, is published among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *De verbis. signif.* WADDINGUS, tom. vii. p. 36. vigorously opposes this law, which is pretty extraordinary in a man so immoderately attached to the cause of the popes as he was.

[d] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 47.—JO. GEORG. ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 592 and 1491.

[e] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 69. 74.

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as this violent measure might be, it served only to inflame the enraged Franciscans more than ever, and to confirm them in their attachment to the scheme of absolute poverty. For no sooner did the bitter and well-known contest between JOHN XXII, and the emperor LEWIS of *Bavaria*, break out, than the principal champions of the Franciscan cause, such as MARSILIUS of *Padua*, and JO. DE JANDUNO, or GENOA, fled to the emperor, and under his protection published the most virulent pieces imaginable, in which they not only attacked JOHN personally, but also levelled their satires at the power and authority of the popes in general [f]. This example was soon followed by others, particularly by MICH. CÆSENAS, and WILLIAM OCCAM, who excelled most men of his time in subtilty and acuteness of genius, and also by F. BONAGRATIA of *Bergamo*. They made their escape by sea from *Avignon*, in the year 1327, went first to the emperor, who was, at that time, in *Italy*, and from thence proceeded to *Munich*. They were soon joined by many others, such as BERENGARIUS, FRANCIS DE ESCULO, and HENRY DE HALEM, who were highly and deservedly esteemed on account of their eminent parts and extensive learning [g]. All these learned fugitives defended the institute of their founder in long and laboured treatises, in which they reduced the papal dignity and authority within a very narrow compass, and loaded the pontiffs with reproaches

[f] LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85. *f. Bullar. Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167. EDM. MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695. 704. BOULAY. *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 216. There is a very noted piece on this subject written by MARSILIUS of *Padua* who was professor at *Vienna*, which was published in 8vo. at *Francfort*, by FRANC. GOMARUS, 1592, and is entitled *Defensor pro Ludovico Bavaro adversus usurpatam Romani Pontificis jurisdictionem*.

[g] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 81.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 749. 757. *f. 781.*—TRITHEMI *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 167.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 217.—ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1034.—BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 293. 315.—The reader may also consult those writers who have compiled *Indexes* and *Collections* of Ecclesiastical Historians.

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and invectives. OCCAM surpassed them all in the keenness and spirit of his satire, and hence his *Dialogues*, together with his other productions, which were perused with avidity, and transmitted down to succeeding generations, gave, as it were, a mortal blow to the ambition and majesty of the Roman pontiffs.

XXXI. On the other hand, the emperor, LEWIS of *Bavaria*, to express his gratitude to these his defenders, not only made the cause of the Franciscans his own, but also adopted their favourite sentiment concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apostles. For among the heresies and errors of which he publicly accused JOHN XXII, and for which he deprived him of the pontificate, the principal and most pernicious one, in the opinion of the emperor, was his maintaining that the poverty of CHRIST did not exclude all right and property in what he used as a subsistence [b]. The *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, *Beguines*, and *Spirituals*, then at variance with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor, in Germany, against the attempts of the inquisitors; so that during his reign that country was over-run with shoals of Mendicant friars. There was scarce a province or city in the empire that did not abound with *Beghards* and *Beguines*, that is, monks professing the third rule of St. FRANCIS, and who placed the chief excellence of the Christian life in a voluntary and absolute poverty [i]. The Dominicans, on the other hand, as enemies to the Franciscans, and friends to the pope, were treated with great severity by his imperial majesty, who banished them with ignominy out of several cities [k].

XXXII. The rage of the contending parties subsided greatly from the year 1329. The pope caused a diet

Peace is made between the Franciscans and the pope.

[b] See *Processus Ludovici contra Johannem*, A. 1328. d. 12 Dec. datus, in BALUZII *Miscellanies*, tom. ii. p. 522. and also his *Appellatio*, p. 494.

[i] I have many pieces upon this subject that were never published.

[k] MART. DIEFENBACH. *De mortis genere, quo Henricus VII.* obiit, p. 145. and others.—ECCARDI *Corpus. Histor. medii. ævi*, tom. i. p. 2103.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 220.

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of the Franciscans to be held that year at *Paris*, where, by means of cardinal BERTRAND, who was president of the assembly, and the Parisian doctors, who were attached to his interests, he so far softened the resentment of the greatest part of the brethren, that they ceased to defend the conduct of MICHAEL CÆSENAS and his associates, and permitted another president, GERARD ODDO, to be substituted in his room. They also acknowledge JOHN to be a true and lawful pope, and then terminated the dispute concerning the poverty of Christ in such an ambiguous manner, that the constitutions and edicts of NICHOLAS III and JOHN XXII, however contradictory, maintained their authority [l]. But notwithstanding these pacific and mutual concessions, there were great numbers of the Franciscans in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, who would by no means consent to this reconciliation. After the death of JOHN, BENEDICT XII, and CLEMENT VI took great pains to close the breach, and shewed great clemency and tenderness towards such of the order as thought the institute of their founder more sacred than the papal bulls. This lenity had some good effects. Many who had withdrawn themselves from the society were hereby induced to return to it, in which number were FRANCIS DE ESCULO, and others, who had been some of JOHN's most inveterate enemies [m]. Even those who would not be prevailed on to return to their order ceased to insult the popes, observed the rules of their founder in a quiet and inoffensive manner, and would have no sort of connexion with those *Fratricelli* and *Tertiaries* in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, who contemned the papal authority [n].

The distresses of the
Spirituals,
Beghards,
&c. in *Germany*.

XXXIII. The German Franciscans, who were protected by the emperor LEWIS, held out their opposition

[l] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. vii. p. 94.—DACHERI *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 91.

[m] ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 281.—WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 313.

[n] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 116. 126.—ARGENTRE *l. c.* tom. i. p. 343, &c.

much

much longer than any of the rest. But in the year 1347, their imperial patron being dead, the halcyon days of the Franciscan *Spirituals*, as also of their associates the *Beghards*, or *Tertiaries*, were at an end in Germany. For in the year 1345, his successor CHARLES IV, having been advanced to the imperial throne by the interest of the pope, was ready, in his turn, to gratify the desires of the court of Rome, and accordingly supported, both by his edicts and by his arms, the inquisitors who were sent by the Roman pontiff against his enemies, and suffered them to apprehend and put to death all of these enemies that came within their reach. These ministers of papal vengeance exerted their power chiefly in the district of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*, *Thuringia*, *Saxony*, and *Hesse*, where they extirpated all the *Beghards*, as well as the *Beguines*, or *Tertiaries*, the associates of those Franciscans, who held that CHRIST and his apostles had no property in any thing. These severe measures were approved by CHARLES IV, who then resided in Italy, at *Lucca*, from whence, in the year 1369, he issued out severe edicts, commanding all the German princes to extirpate out of their dominions the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, or, as he himself interpreted the name, the *voluntary beggars* [o], as enemies of the church and of the Roman empire, and to assist the *inquisitors* in their proceedings against them. By another edict published not long after, he gave the houses of the *Beghards* to the *tribunal* of the *inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for *heretics*: and, at the same time, ordered all the effects of the *Beguines* to be sold publicly, and the profits arising from thence to be equally divided between the *inquisitors*, the magistrates, and the poor of those towns and cities where such sale should be made [p]. The *Beghards*, being reduced to great straits

[o] In High Dutch *Die wilgen Armen*.

[p] I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of CHARLES IV, enacted on this occasion, as also many of the papal constitutions, and other records which illustrate this affair, and which doubtless deserve to see the light. It is certain, that CHARLES IV himself,

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straits by this, and other mandates of the emperor, and by the constitutions of the popes, sought a refuge in those provinces of *Switzerland* that border upon the *Rhine*, and also in *Holland*, *Brabant*, and *Pomerania* [9]. But the edicts and mandates of the emperor, together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, followed them wherever they went, and distressed them in their most distant retreats; so that during the reign of CHARLES IV, the greatest part of *Germany* (*Switzerland* and those provinces that are contiguous to it excepted) was thoroughly purged of the *Beggards*, or rebellious *Franciscans*, both *perfect* and *imperfect*.

Their divisions so far from being extinguished by these proceedings, that the *Franciscan* order is split into two considerable parties.

XXXIV. But neither edicts, bulls, or inquisitors, could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate discord. For so ardently were many of the brethren bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous manner, the institute of St. FRANCIS, that numbers were to be found in all places who either withstood the president of the society, or, at least, obeyed him with reluctance. At once therefore to satisfy both the laxer and more rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that PAULUTIUS FULGINAS, who was the chief of the more rigid *Franciscans* in *Italy*, together with his associates, who were pretty numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the in-

himself, in his edicts and mandates clearly characterizes those people whom he there styles *Beggards* and *Beguines* as *Franciscan Tertiaries* belonging to that party of the order then at variance with the pope. They are (to use the emperor's own words, in his edict issued out of *Lucca*, and bearing date the 16th of June 1369) *a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and who are under vow that they neither ought to have, nor will have any property, whether special or common, in the goods they use* (this is the poverty of the *Franciscan* institute, which JOHN XXII. so strenuously opposed which they extended even to their wretched habits.—For so the Spirituals and their associates used to do.

[9] See ODOBR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccles. ad. A. 1372*, § XXXI. p. 513. See also the books of FELIX MALLEOLUS, written in the following century against the *Beggards* in *Switzerland*.

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stitute of their founder in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The *Spirituals* and the followers of OLIVE, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the *severer discipline* continually encreased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which subsist to this day, viz. the *Conventual Brethren*, and the *Brethren of the observation*. Those who gave up the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontiffs, were called by the former name; and the council of *Constance* conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than any explications of it [r]. But the *Fratricelli*, together with the *Beghards*, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of the church, during this and the following century, in the marquissate of *Ancona*, and in other places.

XXXV. This century gave rise to other religious societies; some of which were but of short duration, and the rest never became famous. JOHN COLOMBINI, a nobleman of *Sienna*, founded, in the year 1368, the order of the *Apostolic Clercs*, who, because they frequently pronounced the name of JESUS, were afterwards called *Jesuates*. This institution was confirmed by URBAN V. the following year, and subsisted till the last century, when it was abolished by CLEMENT IX [s]. The brethren belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the institute of St. AUGUSTINE. They were not, however, admitted to holy orders, but assisted the

New religious orders
are founded.

[r] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 209. 298. 326. 336. tom. ix. p. 59. 65. 78. &c.

[s] In the year 1668.

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poor by their prayers, and other pious offices, and prepared medicines for them, which they distributed gratis [t]. But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when CLEMENT dissolved the order.

The sect of
the Cellite
brethren and
sisters. The
Lollards.

XXXVI. Soon after the commencement of this century, the famous sect of the *Cellite brethren and sisters* arose at *Antwerp*; they were also styled the *Alexian brethren and sisters*, because St. ALEXIUS was their patron; and they were named *Cellites*, from the cells in which they were used to live. As the clergy of this age took little care of the sick and dying, and deserted such as were seized with those pestilential disorders which were then very frequent, some compassionate and pious persons at *Antwerp* formed themselves into a society for the performance of those religious offices which the Sacerdotal orders so shamefully neglected. Pursuant to this agreement, they visited and comforted the sick, assisted the dying with their prayers and exhortations, took care of the interment of those who were cut off by the plague, and on that account forsaken by the affrighted clergy, and committed them to the grave with a solemn funeral dirge. It was with reference to this last office, that the common people gave them the name of *Lollards* [u].

The

[t] HIPPI. HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 411. f.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189. f.—BONANNI and others who have compiled histories of the religious orders.

[u] Many writers have given us large accounts concerning the sect and name of the *Lollards*, yet none of them are to be commended for their fidelity, diligence, or accuracy on this head. This I can confidently assert, because I have carefully and expressly inquired into whatever relates to the *Lollards*; and from the most authentic records concerning them, both published and unpublished, have collected copious materials from whence their true history may be compiled. Most of the German writers, as well as those of other countries, affirm, that the *Lollards* were a particular sect, who differed from the church of *Rome* in many religious points, and that WALTER LOLLHARD, who was burnt in this century at *Cologn*, was their founder. How so many learned men came to adopt this opinion is beyond my comprehension. They indeed refer to JO. TRITHEMIUS as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain, that no such account of these people is to be found in his writings. I shall therefore endeavour

The example of these good people had such an extensive influence, that in a little time societies of the same sort of *Lollards*, consisting both of men and women, were formed in most parts of *Germany* and *Flanders*, and were

deavour, with all possible brevity; to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of ecclesiastical history may have a just notion of it.

The term *Lollhard* or *Lullhard*, or, as the ancient Germans write it, *Lollert*, *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *Lullen*, *Lollen*, *Lallen*, and the well known termination *hard*, with which many of the old High Dutch words end. *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, signifies to sing with a low voice. It is yet used in the same sense among the the English, who say, *lull a sleep*, which signifies to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet indistinct voice. See FRANC. JUNII *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, ab EDVARDO LYE, Oxon. 1743, fol. under the word *Lollard*. The word is also used in the same sense among the Flemings, Swedes and other nations, as appears by their respective *Dictionaries*. Among the Germans, both the sense and pronunciation of it have undergone some alteration: for they say, *Lallen*, which signifies to pronounce indistinctly, or stammer. *Lollhard* therefore is a *singer*, or one who frequently sings. For as the word *Beggen*, which universally signifies to request anything fervently, is applied to devotional requests, or prayers, and in the stricter sense in which it is used by the high Dutch, denotes *praying fervently to God*; in the same manner, the word *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, is transferred from a common to a sacred song, and signifies, in its most limited sense, to sing a hymn. *Lollhard* therefore, in the vulgar tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a person who is continually praising God with a song, or singing hymns to his honour. HOSEMIUS, a canon of Liege, has well apprehended and expressed the force of this word in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. xxxi. in JO. CHAPEA-VILLI *Gestis Pontificum Tungrensiū et Leodiensium*, tom. ii. p. 350. f. In the same year (1309), says he, certain strolling hypocrites, who were called *LOLLARDS*, or praisers of God, deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant. Because those who praised God, generally did it in verse, therefore in the Latin style of the middle age, to praise God meant to sing to him, and such as were frequently employed in acts of adoration were called *religious singers*. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external sign of piety towards God, therefore those who aspired after a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpose were more frequently occupied in singing hymns of praise to God than others, were in the common popular language, called *Lollhards*. Hereupon this word acquired the same meaning with that of the term *Beghard*, which denoted a person remarkable for piety; for in all the old records, from the eleventh century these two words are synonymous: so

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were supported partly by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious persons. The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns, where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them peculiar marks of

that all who are styled *Beggards* are also called *Lollhards*, which may be proved to a demonstration from many authors, and particularly from many passages in the writings of FELIX MALLEOLUS against the *Beggards*: so that there are precisely as many sorts of *Beggards* as *Lollards*. Those whom the monks now call *Lay Brothers*, were formerly named *Lollard Brethren*, as is well observed by BARTHOL. SCHOBINGER, *Ad Joach. Vadianum de collegiis monasteriisque Germaniæ Veter.* lib. i. p. 24. in *GOLDASTI Scriptor. rerum Alemannicarum*, tom. iii.

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of favour and protection on account of their great usefulness to the sick and needy. But the clergy, whose reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the Mendicant friars, who found their profits diminished by the growing credit of these new comers, persecuted them vehemently, and accused them to the popes of many vices and intolerable errors. Hence it was, that the word *Lollard*, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a person who, under the mask of extraordinary piety, concealed either enormous vices, or pernicious sentiments. But the

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magistrates, by their recommendations and testimonials, supported the *Lollards* against their malignant rivals, and obtained many papal constitutions by which their institute was confirmed, their persons exempted from the cognizance of the inquisitors, and subjected entirely to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But as these measures were insufficient to secure them from molestation, CHARLES, duke of *Burgundy*, in the year 1472, obtained a solemn bull from pope SIXTUS IV, ordering that the *Cellites*, or *Lollards*, should be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the jurisdiction of the bishops: and pope JULIUS II granted them yet greater privileges in the year 1506. Many societies of this kind are yet subsisting at *Cologne*, and in the cities of *Flanders*, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules [w]

Greek
writers.

XXXVII. Among the Greek writers of this century the following were the most eminent:

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, whose *Ecclesiastical History* we have already mentioned;

MATTHÆUS BLASTARES, who illustrated and explained the canon laws of the Greeks;

BARLAAM, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cause against the Latins;

GREGORIUS ACINDYNUS, an inveterate enemy of the *Palamites*, of which sect we shall give some account in its proper place;

JOHANNES CANTACUZENUS, famous for his history of his own time, and his confutation of the Mahometan law;

NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, who compiled the Byzantine history, and left some other monuments of his genius to posterity;

[w] Besides many others whom it is not proper to mention here, see ÆGID. GELLENUS, *De admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. *Syntagm.* li. p. 534. 598. 603.—JO. BAPT. GRAMAYS, in *Antiquit. Belgicis*.—ANTON. SANDERUS, in *Brabantia et Flandria illustratis*.—AUB. MIRÆUS, in *operibus Diplomatico-Historicis*, and many other writers of this period in many places of their works. I may add, that those who are styled *Lollards*, are by many called *die Nollbrüder*, from *Nollen*, an ancient German word.

THEOPHANES,

THEOPHANES, bishop of *Nice*, a laborious defender of the truth of Christianity against the Jews, and the rest of its enemies; CENT.
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NILUS CABASILAS, NILUS RHODIUS, and NILUS DAMYLA, who most warmly maintained the cause of their nation against all the Latin writers;

PHILOTHEUS, several of whose tracts are yet extant, and seem well adapted to excite a devotional temper and spirit;

GREGORY PALAMAS; of whom more hereafter.

XXXVIII. From the prodigious number of the Latin writers of this century, we shall only select the most famous. Latin writers. Among the scholastic doctors, who blended philosophy with divinity, JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, a Franciscan, and the great antagonist of THOMAS, held the first rank, and though not entitled to any praise for his candour and ingenuity, was by no means inferior to any of his contemporaries in acuteness and subtilty of genius [*].

After him the most celebrated writers of this class were DURANDUS of St. PORTIAN, who combated the commonly received doctrine of the divine co-operation with the human will [y]. ANTONIUS ANDRÆAS, HERVÆUS NATALIS, FRANCIS MAYRONIUS, THOMAS BRADWARDINE, an acute ingenious man [z], PETER AUREOLUS, JOHN BACON, WILLIAM OCCAM, WALTER BURLÆUS, PETER DE ALLIACO, THOMAS of *Strasburg*, and GREGORY DE RIMINI [a].

[*] The very laborious and learned LUC. WADDINGUS favoured the public with an accurate edition of the works of SCOTUS, which was printed at *Lyons* 1639, in twelve volumes, folio.—Compare WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86. f. but especially WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor. fratr.* tom. vi. 40. 107.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c.

[y] See JO. LAUNCIUS in a small treatise entitled, *Syllabus rationum quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. Opp.—*Gallia Christ.* tom. ii. p. 723.

[z] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choieses*, tom. iv. p. 232. & *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 360.—STEPH. SOUCIETUS, in *Observationibus ad b. l.* p. 703.—*Nov. DiA. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 500. f.

[a] For a full account of all these persons, see *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 11, 12. f.

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Among the Mystic divines Jo. TAULERUS, and Jo. RUYSBROCKIUS; though not entirely free from errors, were eminent for their wisdom and integrity;

NICHOLAS LYRANUS acquired great reputation by his *Compendious Exposition of the whole Bible*;

RAYNERIUS PISANUS is celebrated for his *Summary of Theology*, and ASTESANUS for his *Summary of Cases of Conscience*.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century.

The corrup-
tion of reli-
gion.

I. **A**LL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times must acknowledge, that religion, whether as taught in the schools, or inculcated upon the people as the rule of their conduct, was so extremely adulterated and deformed, that there was not a single branch of the Christian doctrine, which retained the least trace of its primitive lustre and beauty. Hence it may easily be imagined, that the *Waldenses*, and others, who longed for a reformation of the church, and had separated themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Rome*, though every where exposed to the fury of the *inquisitors* and monks, yet encreased from day to day, and baffled all the attempts that were made to extirpate them. Many of these poor people having observed, that great numbers of their party perished by the flames and other punishments, fled out of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, into *Bobemia* and the adjacent countries, where they afterwards associated with the *Hussites* and other Separatists from the church of *Rome*.

The state of
exegetical or
explanatory
theology.

H. NICHOLAS LYRANUS deservedly holds the first rank among the commentators on the Holy Scriptures, having explained the Books both of the Old and New Testament in a manner far superior to the prevailing taste and spirit of his age. He was a perfect master of the Hebrew language, but not well versed in the Greek;
and

and was therefore much happier in his exposition of the Old Testament, than in that of the New [b]. All the other divines, who applied themselves to this kind of writing, were servile imitators of their predecessors. They either culled choice sentences from the writings of the more antient doctors; or else, departing from the obvious meaning of the words, they tortured the sacred writers to accommodate them to senses that were mysterious and abstruse. They who are desirous of being acquainted with this art, may have recourse to VITALIS à FURNO, his *Moral Mirrour of the Scriptures* [c], or to LUDOLPHUS of Saxony, in his *Psaltery Spiritualized* [d]. The philosophers, who commented upon the sacred writing, sometimes proposed subtile questions drawn from what was called, in this century, *Internal Science*, and solved them in a dexterous and artful manner.

III. The greatest part of the doctors of this century, both Greek and Latin, followed the rules of the peripatetic philosophy in expounding and teaching the doctrine of religion; and the Greeks, from their commerce with the Latins, seemed to have acquired some knowledge of those methods of instruction used in the western schools. Even to this day the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the works of THOMAS, and other capital writers of the scholastic class, which in this age were translated and introduced into the Greek church by DEMETRIUS CYDONIUS, and others [e]. Prodigious numbers among the Latins were fond of this subtile method, in which JOHN SCOTUS, DURANDUS à S. PORTIAN, and WILLIAM OCCAM peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourse to the decisions of *Scripture* and *Tradition* in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immense tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

[b] RICH. SIMON, *Histoire de principaux Commentateurs du Nos*, p. 447. & *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclef. par M. Du PIN*, tom. i. p. 352.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 264. f.

[c] *Speculum Morale totius Scripturæ.*

[d] *Psalterium juxta Spiritualem sensum.*

[e] RICH. SIMON, *Creance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

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saries of the
school-di-
vines.
The Biblical
divines,

IV. This superiority of the schoolmen did not, however, prevent some wise and pious men among the *Mystics*, and elsewhere, from severely censuring this presumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of philosophy matters of pure revelation. Many, on the contrary, were bold enough to oppose the reigning passion, and to recal the youth designed for the ministry, to the study of the scriptures, and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost every where; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in some of the more famous universities, especially in those of *Paris* and *Oxford*, where many sharp disputes were continually carried on against the *philosophical* divines by those of the *biblical* party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagonists in point of number, were sometimes victorious. For the *philosophical* legions, headed by Mendicants, Dominicans, and Franciscans, were often extremely rash in their manner of disputing; they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion, in such a way as really overturned them, and fell often into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety by flight; some had their writings publicly burnt, and others were thrown into prison [f]. However, when these commotions were quelled, most of them returned, though, with prudence and caution to their former way of thinking, perplexed their adversaries by various contrivances, and deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and many of their followers.

[f] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. passim.—In the year 1340, several opinions of the schoolmen, concerning the Trinity and other doctrines, were condemned, p. 266.—In the year 1347, M. JO. DE MERCURIA and NICH. DE ULTRICURIA were obliged to adjure their errors, p. 298. 308.—In 1348, one SIMON was convicted of some horrible errors, p. 322.—The same fate, A. 1354, befel GUIDO of the Augustine order, p. 329. A. 1362, the like happened to one LEWIS, p. 374. to JO. DE CALORE, p. 377. A. 1365, to DION. SOULLECHAT, p. 382. *Oxford* also had its share in transactions of this nature. See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 153. 183. f.

V. It

V. It is remarkable, that these *scholastic* doctors, or *philosophical* theologians, far from agreeing among themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations with each other concerning many points. The flame of their controversy was, in this century, supplied with plentiful accessions of fuel, by JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, an Englishman, of the Franciscan order, who was extremely eminent for the subtilty of his genius, and who, animated against the Dominicans by a warm spirit of jealousy, had attacked and attempted to disprove several doctrines of THOMAS AQUINAS. Upon this, the Dominicans taking the alarm, united from all quarters, to defend their favourite doctor, whom they justly considered as the common leader of the scholastics; while the Franciscans, on the other hand, espoused with ardor the cause of SCOTUS, whom they looked upon as a divine sage sent down from heaven to enlighten bewildered and erring mortals. Thus these powerful and flourishing orders were again divided; and hence the origin of the two famous sects, the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, which, to this day, dispute the field of controversy in the Latin schools. The chief points about which they disagree are, the *Nature of the divine co-operation with the human will*, the *Measure of divine grace* that is necessary to salvation, the *Unity of form in man*, or personal identity, and other abstruse and minute questions, the enumeration of which is foreign to our purpose. We shall only observe, that what contributed most to exalt the reputation of SCOTUS, and to cover him with glory, was his demonstration and defence of, what was called, the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*, against the Dominicans, who entertained different notions of that mysterious event [g].

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denominated *Mystics*, resided and propagated their tenets in almost every part of *Europe*. There were, undoubtedly, among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of

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among the
school-men,
The Scotists
and Thomists.

The Mystics.

[g] See WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52.

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God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such among others were TAULERUS, RUYSBROCKIUS, SUSO, and GERARD of *Zutphen* [b], who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, is a defect common to them all. But there were also some senseless fanatics belonging to this party, who ran about, from place to place, recommending a most unaccountable extinction of all the rational faculties, whereby they idly imagined the human mind would be transfused into the divine essence, and thus led their proselytes into a foolish kind of piety, that in too many cases bordered nearly upon licentiousness. The religious frenzy of these enthusiasts rose to such a height, as rendered them detestable to the sober sort of *Mystics*, who charged their followers to have no connexions with them [i].

Moral writers.

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those who applied themselves to the study of morality, seeing their merit is much of the same kind with that of authors whom we have already mentioned: though it may be proper to mention two circumstances by which the reader may ascertain the true state of this science. The first is, that about this time more writers, than in any former century, made it their business to collect and solve, what they styled, *Cases of conscience*, by which ASTESANUS, an Italian, MONALDUS, and BARTHOLOMEW of St. CONCORDIA, acquired a reputation superior to any of their contemporaries. This kind of writing was of a piece with the education then received in the schools, since it taught people to quibble and wrangle instead of forming them to a sound faith and a suit

[b] Concerning these authors, see PETR. POIRET, *Biblioth. Mysticorum*; and GODOFR. ARNOLD, *Histor. et description Theol. Mysticae*. Concerning TAULERUS and SUSO, ECHARDUS treats expressly in his *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 653. 677. See also *Acta Sanctorum. Januar.* tom. ii. p. 652.

[i] JOH. RUYSBROCKIUS inveighed bitterly against them, as appears from his *Work* published by LAUR. SURIUS, p. 50. 378. as also from his treatise *De vera contemplatione*, cap. xviii. p. 608.

able practice. A second thing worthy of notice is, that moral duties were explained and their practice enforced by allegories and comparisons of a new and whimsical kind, even by examples drawn from the natures, properties, and actions of the brute creation. These writers began, for instance, by explaining the nature and qualities of some particular animal, and then applied their description to human life and manners, to characterize the virtues and vices of moral agents. The most remarkable productions of this sort are NIEDER'S *Formicarius*, a treatise concerning *Bees*, by THOMAS BRABANTINUS, HUGO DE ST. VICTOR'S dissertation upon *Beasts*, and a tract of THOMAS WALLEY'S entitled, *The Nature of Brute Animals moralized*.

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VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, generally speaking, unequal to the glorious cause they undertook to support, nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, dexterity, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned BRADWARDING, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things towards the confirmation of the truth of Christianity in general, in a *Book upon Providence*. The book, entitled, *Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos*, or, *Eye-salve of Faith against the Heretics*, shews that its author ALVARUS PELAGIUS was a well-meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhausted the subject in this performance. NICHOLAS LYRA wrote against the Jews, as did also PORCHETUS SALVATICUS, whose treatise, entitled *The triumph of Faith*, is chiefly borrowed from the writings of RAYMOND MARTIN. Both these writers are much inferior to THEOPHANES, whose *Book against the Jews*, and his *Harmony between the Old and New Testament*, contain many observations that are by no means contemptible.

Controversialists.

IX. During this century there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of

State of the controversy between the Greeks and Latins,

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the Turks, which about this time was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, ANDRONICUS, the Younger, sent BARLAAM as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349, another Grecian embassy was sent to CLEMENT VI. for the same purpose, and, in 1356, a third was dispatched upon a like errand to INNOCENT VI, who resided at *Avignon*. Nor was this all; for in the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at *Rome* in order to negotiate this important matter, and was followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himself JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, who undertook a journey into *Italy*, and, in order to conciliate the friendship and good-will of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman pontiff. But, notwithstanding these prudent and pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks could not be persuaded by any means to drop the controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of *Rome*, though several of them, from views of interest or ambition, expressed a readiness to submit to its demands; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations [k].

The contention between the university of *Paris* and the Dominicans.

Occasioned by Montesonus.

X. In the year 1384, a furious controversy arose at *Paris*, between the University there and the Dominican Order. The author of it was JOHN DE MONTESONO, a native of *Arragon*, a Dominican friar and professor of divinity, who, pursuant to the decisions and doctrine of his Order, publicly denied that the blessed Virgin MARY was conceived without any stain of original sin, and moreover asserted, that all who believed the *immaculate conception* were enemies of the true faith. The quarrel occasioned by this proceeding would certainly have been soon compromised, had not JOHN, in a public discourse, held some time in the year 1387, revived this

[k] See HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369.—LEO. ATTATIUS, *De perpetua consensione eccles. orient. et occident.* lib. ii. cap. xvi, xvii. p. 782.—LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29. 40. 107. 201. 289. 303. 312.—STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 348. 380. 388. 403. 407. 410. 772.

opinion with more violence than ever. For this reason the college of divines, and afterwards the whole university, condemned this, and some other tenets of MONTESONUS. For it may be proper to inform the reader, that the university of *Paris*, principally induced thereto by the discourses of JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, had, from the beginning almost of this century, publickly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the holy Virgin [l]. Upon this, the Dominicans, together with their champion MONTESONUS, appealed from the sentence of the university to pope CLEMENT VII. at *Avignon*, and raised an outcry, that St. THOMAS himself was condemned by the judgment passed upon their brother. But before the pope could decide the affair, the accused friar fled from the court of *Avignon*, went over to the party of URBAN VI, who resided at *Rome*, and thus, during his absence, was excommunicated. Whether or no the pope approved the sentence of the university of *Paris* we cannot say. The Dominicans, however, deny that he did, and affirm, that MONTESONUS was condemned purely on account of his flight [m]; though there are many others, who assert that his opinion was also condemned. And as the Dominicans would not acknowledge the sentence of the university to be valid, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not restored to their ancient honours in that learned body till the year 1404 [n].

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concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

WE must confine ourselves to a general and superficial view of the alterations that were introduced in the celebration of the jubile.

[l] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52. f.

[m] See JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 691.

[n] CÆS. EGAÏSS DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 618. 638.—STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 521. tom. ii. p. 992.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis* tom. i. p. 61.—JAC. DE LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise* tom. xiv. p. 347.

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roduced into the ritual of the church during this century since it cannot reasonably be expected we should insist largely upon this subject within the narrow limits of such a work as this. One of the principal circumstances that strikes us here, is the change that was made in the time of celebrating the jubile. In the year 1350, CLEMENT VI, in compliance with the requests of the people of Rome, enacted, that the *jubile*, which BONIFACE VIII had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century [o]. In favour of this alteration, he might have assigned a very plausible pretext; since it is well known that the Jews, whom the Roman pontiffs were always ready to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majesty, celebrated this sacred solemnity every fiftieth year. But URBAN VI, SIXTUS VI, and other popes, who ordered a more frequent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution, would have had more difficulty in attempting to satisfy those who might have demanded sufficient reasons to justify this inconstancy.

Festivals.

II. INNOCENT V instituted festivals sacred to the memory of the *lance* with which our Saviour's side was pierced, the *nails* that fastened him to the cross, and the crown of thorns he wore at his death [p]. This, though evidently absurd, was nevertheless pardonable upon the whole, considering the gross ignorance and stupidity of the times. But nothing can excuse the impious fanaticism and superstition of BENEDICT XII, who, by appointing a festival in honour of the marks of CHRIST'S wounds, which the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder by a miraculous interposition of the divine power, gave credit to that grossly ridiculous and blasphemous fable. Pope JOHN XXII besides the sanction he gave to many other superstitions ordered Christians to add to their prayers those words

Prayers.

[o] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247. 287. 387.—MURATORII *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344. 481.

[p] See JO. HENR. à SEELEN, *Diss. de festo Lanceæ et clavæ Christi.*—Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 328. *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 417.

with which the angel GABRIEL saluted the virgin MARY. CENT.
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Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

DURING some part of this century the *Hesychasts*, or, as the Latins call them, the *Quietists*, gave the Greek church a great deal of trouble. To assign the true source of it we must observe, that BARLAAM, a native of Calabria, who was a monk of St. BASIL, and afterwards bishop of Gieraci, in Calabria, made a progress through Greece to inspect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehensible. He was more especially offended at the *Hesychasts* of mount Athos, in Thessaly, who were the same with the Mystics, or more perfect monks, and who, by a long course of intense contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a tranquillity of mind entirely free from every degree of tumult and perturbation. These *Quietists*, in compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal doctors (who imagined that there was a celestial light concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind) used to sit every day, during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immovably fixed upon the middle region of the belly, or navel, and boasted, that, while they remained in this posture, they found, in effect, a *divine light* beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of pleasure and delight [q]. To such as inquired

[q] We have no reason to be surprized at, and much less to disbelieve this account. For it is a fundamental rule with all those people in the eastern world, whether Christians, Mahometans, or Pagans (who maintained the necessity of abstracting the mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God, which is exactly the same thing with the *contemplative* and *mystic life* among the Latins) that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours upon some particular object; and that he who complies with this

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quired what kind of *light* this was, they replied, by way of illustration, that it was the *glory of God*, the same celestial radiance that surrounded CHRIST during his transfiguration on the mount. BARLAAM, entirely unacquainted with the customs and manners, looked upon all this as highly absurd and fanatical, and therefore styled the monks, who adhered to this institution, *Massalians* and *Euchites* [r], and also gave them the new name of *Umbilicani* [s]. On the other hand, GREGORY PALAMAS, archbishop of *Thessalonica*, defended the cause of these monks against BARLAAM [t].

The state of
the contro-
versy be-
tween the
Hesychasts
and Barla-
amites.

II. In order to put an end to this dissension, a council was held at *Constantinople* in the year 1341, in which the emperor himself, ANDRONICUS the younger, and the

precept will be thrown into an extasy, in which, being united to God, he will see wonderful things, and be entertained with ineffable delights. See what is said concerning the *Siamese* monks and *Mystics* by ENGELB KEMPFER, in his *History of Japan*, tom. i. p. 30. and also concerning those of *India*, in the *Voyages of Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily admit, that they who continue long in the abovementioned posture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in his senses ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combinations they form of the unconnected notions that arise to their fancy while their minds are in this odd and unnatural state, must be most singular and whimsical; and that so much the more, as the rule itself which prescribes the contemplation of a certain object as the means of arriving at a *vision of the Deity*, absolutely forbids all use of the faculty of reason during that extatic and sublime interval. This total suspension of reason and reflection, during the period of contemplation, was not, however, peculiar to the eastern Quietists; the Latin Mystics observed the same rule, and inculcated it upon their disciples. And from hence we may safely conclude, that the many surprizing visions, of which these fanatics boast, are fables utterly destitute of reason and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

[(r) The *Massalians* (so called from a Hebrew word which signifies *prayer*, as *Euchites* from a Greek word of the same signification) formed themselves into a sect during the fourth century under the reign of CONSTANTINUS. Their tenets resembled those of the Quietists in several respects.]

[s] Ομολογῆχοι.

[t] For an account of these two famous men, BARLAAM and GREGORY PALAMAS, see, in preference to all other writers, JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Græca* tom. x. p. 427. and 454.

patriarch

patriarch presided. Here PALAMAS and the monks triumphed over BARLAAM, who was condemned by the council; whereupon he left *Greece*, and returned to *Italy*. Not long after this another monk, named GREGORY ACINDYNUS, renewed the controversy, and, in opposition to the opinion maintained by PALAMAS, denied that God dwelt in an eternal light distinct from his essence, as also that such a light was beheld by the disciples on mount *Tabor*. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks, but of the light seen at mount *Tabor*, and of the nature of God. Nevertheless, he was condemned as a follower of BARLAAM, in another council held at *Constantinople*. Many assemblies were convened about this affair; but the most remarkable of them all, was that held in the year 1351, in which the Barlaamities, and their adherents, received such a fatal wound, in consequence of the severe decrees enacted against them, that they were forced to yield, and leave the victory to PALAMAS. This prelate maintained, that God was incircled, as it were, with an *eternal light*, which might be styled his *energy* or *operation*, and was distinct from his nature and essence; and that he favoured the three disciples with a view of his light upon mount *Tabor*. Hence he concluded, that his divine *operation* was really different from the *substance* of the Deity; and further, that no Being could possibly partake of the divine *substance* or *essence*, but that finite natures might possess a share of his divine light, or *operation*. The Barlaamites, on the contrary, denied these positions, affirming, that the properties and operations of the Deity were not different from his *essence*, and that there was really no difference between the attributes and essence of God considered in themselves, but only in our conceptions of them, and reasonings upon them [u].

III. In

[u] See JO. CANTACUZENUS, *Historia*, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 3. and GREGOR. PONTANUS, NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. xi. cap. x. p. 277. and in many other places. But these two writers disagree in many circumstances. Many materials

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The severity
of the in-
quisition in the
western
world,

III. In the Latin church the *inquisitors*, those active ministers and executioners of papal justice, extended their vigilance to every quarter, and most industriously hunted out the remains of those sects who opposed the religion of *Rome*; even the *Waldenses*, the *Catharists*, the *Apostolists*, and others; so that the history of those times abounds with numberless instances of persons who were burnt, or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by those unrelenting instruments of superstitious vengeance. But none of these enemies of the church gave the *inquisitors* and bishops so much employment of this bloody kind, as the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, who went under the common name of *Beggards* and *Beguines* in *Germany* and *Flanders*, and were differently denominated in other provinces. For as this sort of people professed an uncommon sublime sort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external and sensible parts of religion, and to win them over to the inward and spiritual worship of God, they were greatly esteemed by many plain well-meaning persons, whose piety and simplicity were deceived by a profession so seditious, and thus made many converts to their opinions. It was on this account that such numbers of this turn and disposition perished in the flames of persecution during this century in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*.

Severe edicts
against the
Catharists,
Beggards,
Beguines,
&c.

IV. This sect was most numerous in those cities of *Germany* that lay upon the *Rhine*, especially at *Cologne*, which circumstance induced HENRY I, archbishop of that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them, A. D. 1306 [w]; an example, that was soon followed by the

relative to this controversy are yet unpublished (see MONTFAUCON *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 156. 174. 404.) Nor have we ever been favoured with an accurate and well digested history of it. In the mean time the reader may consult LEO ALLATIUS, *De perpetua consensione Orient. et Occid. ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 824.—HENRICUS CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. 361.—DION. PETAVIUS, *De doctr. mat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 76.—STEPH. DE ALTIMORE *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcor.* p. 381, &c.

[w] See *Statuta Colonienſia*, published in 4to. at *Cologne*, A. D. 1554. p. 58.

bishe

bishops of *Mentz, Triers, Worms, and Strasburg* [x]. And as there were some subtle acute men belonging to this party, that eminently keen logician, JOHN DUNS SCOTUS [y] was sent to *Cologne* in the year 1308, to dispute against them, and to vanquish them by dint of syllogism. In the year 1310, the famous MARGARET PORETTA, who made such a shining figure in this sect, was burnt at *Paris* with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in an elaborate treatise, *That the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from the restraint of every law, and may freely gratify all its natural appetites without contracting any guilt* [z]. Pope CLEMENT V, exasperated by this and other instances of the pernicious fanaticism, that had got among this sect, published in a general council held at *Vienne* A. D. 1311, a special constitution against the *Beggards and Beguines of Germany*. And though the edict only mentions imperfectly the opinions of this sect, yet, by the enumeration of them, we may easily perceive that the *Mystic brethren and sisters of the free spirit* are the persons principally intended [a]. CLEMENT, in the same council, issued another constitution, by which he dissolved another and very different sort of *Beguines* [b], who had hitherto been considered as a lawful and regular society, and lived every where in fixed habitations appropriated to their order, but were now corrupted by the fanatics abovementioned. For the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* had insinuated themselves into the greatest part of the convents of the *Beguines*, where they inculcated, with great success, their mysterious and sublime system of religion to these simple women. And

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[x] JOHANNIS, *Scriptor. rerum Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 298.—
MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 250.

[y] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 108.

[z] LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 63.—Jö.
BALEUS, *De Scriptor. Britann. Centur.* iv. n. 88. p. 367. published
in folio at *Basil*, A. D. 1557.

[a] It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. inter Clementinas*, lib.
lib. v. tit. iii. *De Hæreticis*, cap. iii. p. 1088.

[b] *In Jure Canonico inter Clementinas*, lib. iii. tit. xi. *De religio-*
sis demibus, cap. i. p. 1075. ed. Böhmer.

these

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Neverthe-
less the Bre-
thren and
Sisters of
the free spi-
rit could not
be extirpat-
ed.

these simple women were no sooner initiated into this brilliant and chimerical system, than they were captivated with its delusive charms, and babbled in the most absurd and impious manner concerning the true worship of the deity [c].

V. *The Brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed the design of removing from *Upper Germany* into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was so far put in execution, as that *Westphalia* was the only province which refused admission to these dispersed fanatics, and was free from their disturbances. This was owing to the provident measures of HENRY, archbishop of *Cologne*, who having called a council, A. D. 1322, seriously admonished the bishops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent any of these people from coming into *Westphalia*. About the same time the *Beggards* [d] upon the *Rhine*, lost their chief leader and champion, WALTER, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from *Mentz* to *Cologne*, where he was apprehended and burnt [e]. The death

[c] For this reason, in the German records of this century, we often find a distinction of the *Beguines* into those of the right and approved class, and those of the sublime or free spirit: the former of whom adhered to the public religion; while the latter were corrupted by the opinions of the *Mystics*.

[(d) By *Beggards* here Dr. MOSHEIM means particularly the *Brethren of the free spirit*, who frequently passed under this denomination.]

[e] JO. TRITHEMI *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 155.—SCHATEN, *Annal. Paderborn.* tom. ii. p. 250.—This is that famous WALTER whom so many ecclesiastical historians have represented as the founder of the sect of the *Lollards*, and as an eminent martyr to their cause. Learned men conclude all this, and more from the following words of TRITHEMIUS. *But that same WALTER Lobareus* (so it stands in my copy, though I fancy it ought to have been *Lollhardus*; especially as TRITHEMIUS, according to the custom of his time, frequently uses this word when treating of the sects that dissented from the church) *a native of Holland, was not well versed in the Latin tongue.* I say, from this short passage learned men have concluded that WALTER's surname was *Lollhard*, from whence, as from its

founder

death of this person was highly detrimental to the affairs of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, but did not however ruin their cause nor extirpate their sect. For it appears from innumerable testimonies, that these people, for a long time afterwards, not only held their private assemblies at *Cologne*, and in many other provinces of *Germany*, but also that they had several men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number HENRY AYCARDUS, or ECCARD, a Saxon, was the most famous. He was a Dominican, and also the superior of that order in *Saxony*; a man of a subtile genius, and one who had acquitted himself with reputation as professor of divinity at *Paris* [f]. In the year 1330, pope JOHN XXII. endeavouring to suppress this obstinate sect by a new and severe constitution, in which the errors of the sect of the *free spirit* are marked out in a more distinct and accurate manner than in the *Clementina* [g]. But this attempt was fruitless, the disorder continued, and was combated both by the inquisitors and bishops in most parts of *Europe* to the end of this century.

VI. The *Clementina*, or constitution of the council of *Vienne* against the *Beguines*, or those female societies, founder and master, they supposed his sect derived the name of *Lollards*. But it is very evident, not only from this, but from many other passages of TRITHEMIUS, that *Lollhard* was no surname, but merely a term of reproach applied to all heretics whatever who concealed the poison of error under the appearance of piety. TRITHEMIUS speaking of the very same man, in a passage which occurs a little before that we have just quoted, calls him *the head of the Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*: but the term *Minorites* was a very extensive one, including people of various sects. This WALTER embraced the opinions of the *Mystics*, and was the principal doctor among those *Brethren of the free spirit*, who lived on the banks of the *Rhine*.

The persecution of the
Beguines,
and its tra-
gical conclu-
sion.

[f] See ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 507.—ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1329. § lxx. p. 389.

[g] This new constitution of JOHN XXII. was never published entire, it began with the following words: *In agro Dominico*, and was inscribed thus, *contra singularia, dubia, suspecta, et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghinæ prædicant et observant*. We are favoured with a summary of it by HERM. CÖRNERUS, in *Chronico*, in ECCARDI *Corpore Histor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by PAUL LANGIUS, in *Chronico Citizenfi*, in JO. PISTORII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. i. p. 1206.

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who lived together in fixed habitations under a common rule of pious discipline and virtuous industry, gave rise to a persecution of these people, which lasted till the reformation by LUTHER, and ruined the cause both of the *Beguines* and *Beggards* in many places. For though the pope in his last *constitution* had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a state of celibacy with, or without, taking the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of them as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren of the free spirit*; yet the vast number of enemies which the *Beguines* and *Beggards* had, partly among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and partly among the priests and monks, took a handle from the *Clementina* to molest the *Beguines* in their houses, to seize and destroy their goods, to offer them many other insults, and to involve the *Beggards* in the like persecution. The Roman pontiff JOHN XXII afforded the *Beguines* some relief under these oppressions, in the year 1324, by means of a special *constitution*, in which he gave a favourable explication of the *Clementina*, and ordered that the goods, chattels, habitations, and societies of the innocent *Beguines* should be preserved from every kind of violence and insult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. On the other hand, the *Beguines*, in hopes of disappointing more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies, and avoiding their snares, embraced in many places the third rule of St. FRANCIS, and of the AUGUSTINES. Yet all these measures in their favour could not prevent the loss both of their reputation and substance, for from this time they were oppressed in several provinces by the magistrates, the clergy, and the monks, who had cast a greedy eye upon their treasures, and were extremely eager to divide the spoil [b].

VII. Some

[b] I have collected a great number of particulars relating to this long persecution of the *Beguines*. But the most copious of all the writers who have published any thing upon this subject, (especially if we consider his account of the persecution at *Basil*, and MÜLBER-

VII. Some years before the middle of this century, while *Germany* and many other parts of *Europe* were distressed with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a sect forgotten almost every where, and especially in *Germany*, made their appearance anew, and, rambling through many provinces, occasioned great disturbances. These new *Flagellants*, whose enthusiasm infected every rank, sex, and age, were much worse than the old ones. They not only supposed that God might be prevailed upon to shew mercy to those who underwent voluntary punishments, but propagated other tenets highly injurious to religion. They held, among other things, "That flagellation was of equal virtue with baptism, and the other sacraments: that the forgiveness of all sins was to be obtained by it from God, without the merits of JESUS CHRIST; that the old law of CHRIST was soon to be abolished, and that a new law enjoining the baptism of blood, to be administered by whipping, was to be substituted in its place," with other tenets more or less enormous than these; whereupon CLEMENT VII thundered out anathemas against the *Flagellants* who were burnt by the *inquisitors* in several places. It was, however, found as difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to suppress the other sects of wandering fanatics [i]

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the Flagellants appears
again.

VIII. Directly the reverse of this melancholy sect was the merry one of the *Dancers*, which, in the year 1373, arose at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, from whence it spread through the district of *Liege*, *Hainault*, and other parts of *Flanders*. It was customary among the fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly, as well as in private, to

The sect of
the Dancers.

GIUS, the most inveterate enemy of the *Beguines*) in CHRISTIANUS WURSTISEN, or URSTISIUS, in his *Chronicum Basiliense*, written in German, lib. iv. cap. ix. p. cci. published in folio at *Basil* 1580. There are now in my hands, and also in many libraries, MSS tracts of this celebrated MULBERGIUS, written against the *Beguines* in the following century.

[i] See BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 160. 316. 319. & *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 50.—MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 50. tom. iii. p. 241. tom. iv. p. 145.—HERM. GYGIS *Flores tempor.* p. 139.

fall

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fall a dancing all of a sudden, and, holding each others hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together, and they affirmed, that, during these intervals of vehement agitation, they were favoured with wonderful visions. Like the *Flagellants*, they wandered about from place to place, had recourse to begging for their subsistence, treated with the utmost contempt both the priesthood, and the public rites and worship of the church, and held secret assemblies. Such was the nature, and such the circumstances of this new frenzy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who possessed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly the priests of *Liege* endeavoured to cast out the devils, which rendered these fanatics so merry, by singing hymns and applying fumigations of incense, and they gravely tell us, that the evil spirit was entirely vanquished by these powerful charms [k].

The Knights
Templars
extirpated.

IX. The most heinous and abominable tribe of heretics that infected this century (if the enormities, with which they stand charged, be true) were the *Knights Templars*, who had been established in *Palestine* about two hundred years before this period, and who are represented as enemies and deriders of all religion. Their principal accuser indeed was a person whose testimony ought not to be admitted without caution. This accuser was PHILIP the Fair, who addressed his complaints of the Templars to CLEMENT V, who was himself an avaritious, vindictive, and turbulent prince. The pope, though at first unwilling to proceed against them, was under a necessity of complying with the king's pleasure ;

[k] See BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 485.—ANT. MATTHEI *Analeſta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 51. where we find the following passage in the Belgic chronicle, which gives but an obscure account of the sect in question: *A. 1374. Gingen. DE DANCERS*, and then in Latin, *Gens impacata cadit, cruciata ſalvat.* The French *convulſionists* [or prophets] who in our age were remarkable for the vehemence and variety of their agitations, greatly resembled *theſe brethren and ſiſter Dancers*.

that, in the year 1307, upon an appointed day, and for some time afterwards, all the knights who were dispersed throughout *Europe*, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending evil, were seized and imprisoned. Such of them as refused to confess the enormities of which they were accused, were put to death; and those who, by tortures and promises, were induced to acknowledge the truth of what was laid to their charge, obtained their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was extinguished by the council of *Vienné*. A part of the rich revenues they possessed was bestowed upon other orders, especially on the knights of St. JOHN, now of *Malta*, and the rest confiscated to the respective treasuries of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their possessions lay.

X. The *Knights Templars*, if their judges be worthy of credit, were a set of men who insulted the majesty of God, turned into derision the gospel of CHRIST, and sampled upon the obligation of all laws human and divine. For it is affirmed, that candidates, upon their admission to this order, were commanded to spit, as a mark of contempt, upon an image of CHRIST; and that, after admission, they were bound to worship either a cat, or a wooden head covered with gold. It is farther affirmed, that, among them, the odious and unnatural act of sodomy was a matter of obligation; that they committed to the flames the unhappy fruit of their lawless amours, and added to these, other crimes too terrible to be mentioned, or even imagined. It will indeed be readily allowed that in this order, as in all the other religious societies of this age, there were shocking examples of impiety and wickedness; but that the whole order of the *Templars* was thus enormously corrupt, is so far from being proved, that the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and records, yet extant, in the tribunals, before which they were tried and examined. If to this we add, that many of the accusations advanced against them flatly contradict each other, and that many members of this unfortunate order, soon after they avowed their innocence, while languishing under the

The intolerable impiety of the Knights Templars is assigned as the cause of this severity.

A reflexion concerning the crimes laid to their charge.

the

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the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath, it would seem probable, that king PHILIP set on foot this bloody tragedy, with a view to gratify his avarice, and glut his resentment against the Templars, and especially against their grand master, who had highly offended him [1].

[1] See the *Actes* annexed to PUTEAN's *Histoire de la condamnation des Templiers*, and other writings of his relating to the history of France, published in 4to. at Paris 1654. Another edition of this book was printed in 8vo. at Paris 1685: another at Brussels 1713, two volumes in 8vo. The fourth, and most valuable of all, was published in 4to. at Brussels 1751, enlarged by the addition of a great number of proofs, by which every diligent and impartial reader will be convinced that the Templars were greatly injured. See also NICOLAI GURTLEI *Historia Templariorum*, Amstelod. 1703, in 8vo. If the reader has opportunity, he would do well to consult STEPH. BALUZIUS, *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 8. 11, 12, &c. GERH. DU BOIS, *Histor. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king PHILIP's indelible hatred against the Templars was that, in his quarrel with BONIFACE VIII, the knights espoused the cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the war; an offence this, which PHILIP could never pardon.

T H

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

THE new subjects, that were added to the kingdom of CHRIST in this century, are altogether unworthy of that sublime title, unless we prostitute it by applying it to those who made an external, though insincere, profession of Christianity. FERDINAND, surnamed the *Catholic*, by the conquest of *Granada* in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens, in *Spain*. Some time after this happy revolution, he issued out a sentence of banishment against a prodigious multitude of Jews, who, to avoid the execution of this severe decree, dissembled their sentiments, and feigned an assent to the Gospel of CHRIST [a]; and it is well known that, to this very day, there are both in *Spain* and *Portugal* an immense number of that dispersed and wretched people, who wear the outward mask of Christianity to secure them against the rage of persecution, and to advance their worldly interests. The myriads of Saracens, that

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The Moors
and Jews
converted
in *Spain* by
force.

[a] JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hist. Generale d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 23. 132, &c.

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remained in *Spain* after the dissolution of their government, were at first solicited by exhortations and intreaties to embrace the Gospel. When these gentle methods proved ineffectual to bring about their conversion, the famous XIMENES, arch-bishop of *Toledo*, and prime minister of the kingdom, judged it expedient to try the force of the secular arm, in order to accomplish that salutary purpose. But even this rigorous measure was without the desired effect; the greatest part of the Mahometans persisted, with astonishing obstinacy, in their fervent attachment to their voluptuous prophet [b].

The Samo-
getæ and
Indians con-
verted.

II. The light of the Gospel was also carried in this century among the Samogetæ and the neighbouring nations, but with less fruit than was expected [c]. Towards the conclusion of this age, the Portuguese, who cultivated with ardor and success the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as *Æthiopia* and the *Indies*. In the year 1492, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by discovering the islands of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, and *Jamaica*, opened a passage into *America* [d], and after him AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a citizen of *Florence*, landed on the continent of that vast region [e]. The new Argonauts, who discovered these nations, that had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of *Europe*, judged it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The first attempt of this pious nature was made by the Portuguese among those Africans, who inhabit the kingdom of *Congo*, and who, together with their monarch, were converted all of a sudden to the Roman faith in the year 1491 [f]. But what must

[b] ESPRIT FEECHIER, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89.—GEDDES, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. 8.

[c] JO. HENRY HOTTINGER. *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xv.* p. 856.

[d] See CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de l'Isle de St. Domingo*, tom. i. p. 64.

[e] See the *Life of Americus Vesputius*, written in Italian by the learned ANGELO MARIA BANDINI.

[f] LABAT. *Relation de l'Ethiopie Occidentale*, tom. ii. p. 366.—JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU, *Histoire des decouvertes et conquêtes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 72.

we think of a conversion brought about with such astonishing rapidity, and of a people which all at once without hesitation abandon their ancient and inveterate prejudices? Has not such a conversion a ridiculous, or rather an afflicting, aspect? After this religious revolution in *Africa*, ALEXANDER VI. gave a rare specimen of papal presumption in dividing *America* between the Portuguese and Spaniards, but shewed at the same time his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel by the ardor with which he recommended to these two nations the instruction and conversion of the Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of that immense region [g]. In consequence of this exhortation of the pontiff, a great number of Franciscans and Dominicans were sent into these countries to enlighten their darkness, and the success of their missions is abundantly known [h].

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. IN the vast regions of the eastern world, Christianity lost ground from day to day, and the Mahometans, whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts to extinguish its bright and salutary lustre. *Asiatic Tartary, Mogol, Tangut*, and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of Jesus had long flourished, were now become the dismal seats of superstition, which reigned among them under the vilest forms. Nor in these immense tracts of land were there at this time any traces of Christianity visible except in *China*, where the Nestorians still preserved some scattered remains of their former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper in the midst of a dark and gloomy fir-

The decline
of Christianity
in the
East.

[g] See the *Bull* itself, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 466.

[h] See THOM. MARIA MAMACHIUS, *Orig. et Antiquitat. Christianar.* tom. ii. p. 326. where we have an account of the gradual introduction of the Christian religion into *America*.—See also WADING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. xv. p. 10.

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mament. That some Nestorian churches were still subsisting in these regions of darkness is undoubtedly certain; for in this century the Nestorian pontiff, in *Chaldaea*, sent missionaries into *Cathay* and *China*, who were empowered to exercise the authority of bishops over the Christian assemblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of these great empires [i]. It is at the same time almost equally certain, that even these assemblies did not survive this century.

*Constantino-
ple taken by
the Turks.*

II. The ruin of the Grecian empire was a new source of calamities to the Christian church in the greatest part of *Europe* and *Asia*. When the Turks headed by MAHOMET II, an accomplished prince and a formidable warrior, had made themselves masters of *Constantinople* in the year 1453; the cause of Christianity received a blow from which it has never, as yet, recovered. Its adherents in those parts had no resources left which could enable them to maintain it against the perpetual insults of their fierce and incensed victors, nor could they stem that torrent of barbarism and ignorance that rushed in with the triumphant arms of MAHOMET, and overspread *Greece* with a fatal rapidity. The Turks took one part of the city of *Constantinople* by force of arms; the other surrendered upon terms [k]. Hence it was that in the former the public profession of the Gospel was prohibited, and every vestige of Christianity effaced; while the inhabitants of the latter were permitted to retain their churches and monasteries during the whole course of this century, and to worship God according to the precepts of the gospel and the dictates of their consciences. This precious liberty was, indeed, considerably dimi-

[i] This circumstance was communicated to the author in a letter from the learned Mr. THEOPHILUS SIGIFRED BAYER, one of the greatest adepts in Eastern History and Antiquities, that this or any other age has produced.

[(k) In this account Dr. MOSHEIM has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose, that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true.]

nished

ished under the reign of SELIM I, and the Christian worship was loaded with severe and despotic restrictions [1]. The outward form of the Christian church was not, indeed, either changed or destroyed by the Turks, but its lustre was eclipsed, its strength was undermined, and it was gradually extenuated to a mere shadow under their tyrannic empire. The Roman pontiff PIUS II. wrote a warm and urgent letter to MAHOMET II, to persuade that prince to profess the Gospel; but this letter is equally destitute of piety and prudence [m].

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

THE Grecian and Oriental Muses languished under the despotic yoke of the Mahometans, Learning flourishes among the Latins. their voices were mute, and their harps unstrung. The public of letters had a quite different aspect in the Latin world, where the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with zeal and spirit under the most auspicious encouragements, and recovered their antient lustre and glory. Several of the popes became their zealous patrons and protectors, among whom NICHOLAS V. deserves an eminent and distinguished rank; the munificence and authority of kings and princes were also nobly exerted in this excellent cause, and animated men of learning and genius to display their talents. The illustrious

[1] DEMET. CANTEMIR, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 46, 54, 55.

[2] BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article MAHOMET II.

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trious family of the Medicis in *Italy* [n], ALPHONSUS VI, king of *Naples*, and the other Neapolitan monarchs of the house of *Aragon* [o] acquired immortal renown by their love of letters, their liberality to the learned, and their ardent zeal for the advancement of science. Hence the academies that were founded in *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, the libraries that were collected at a prodigious expence, and the honours and rewards that were proposed to the studious youth to animate their industry by the views of interest and the desire of glory. To all these happy circumstances, in favour of the sciences, was now added an admirable discovery which contributed as much as any thing else to their propagation, I mean the *art of printing* first with wooden, and afterwards with metal types, which was invented about the year 1440, at *Mentz*, by JOHN GUTTEMBERG. By the succours of this incomparable art the productions of the most eminent Greek and Latin writers, which had lain concealed, before this interesting period, in the libraries of the monks, were now spread abroad with facility, and perused by many, who could never have had access to them under their primitive form [p]. The perusal

[n] We have a full account of the obligations, which the republic of letters has to the family of Medicis in a valuable work of JOSEPH BIANCHINI DE PRAIO, *Dei gran Duchi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici, Protettori delle Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Historici*, published in folio at *Venice* in 1741.

[o] See GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 500 628.—ANTON. PANORMITANI *Dicta et Facta memorabilia Alphonfi I, denuo Edita à Jo. GERH. MEUSCHENIO Vit. Erud. Viror.* tom. ii p. 1.

[(p)] DR. MOSHEIM decides here, that GUTTEMBERG of *Mentz* was the first inventor of the art of printing; but this notion is opposed with zeal by several men of learning. Among the many treatises that have been published upon this subject, there is none composed with more erudition and judgment than that of professor Schoepflin of *Straßbourg*, in which the very learned author undertakes to prove, that the art of printing, by the means of letters engraved on plates of wood, was invented at *Harlem* by COSTER; that the method of printing, by moveable types, was the discovery of JOHN GUTTEMBERG, a discovery made during his residence at *Straßbourg* and that the still more perfect manner of printing with types of me

perusal of these noble compositions purified the taste, excited the emulation of men of genius, and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in the same way [q].

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II. The downfall of the Grecian empire contributed greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning in the west. For after the reduction of *Constantinople*, the most eminent of the Greek *Literati* passed into *Italy*, and were from thence dispersed into the other countries of *Europe*, where, to gain a subsistence, these venerable exiles instructed every where the youth in Grecian erudition, and propagated throughout the western world the love of learning, and a true and elegant taste for the sciences. Hence it was that every noted city and university possessed one or more of these learned Greeks, who formed the studious youth to literary pursuits [r]. But they received no where such encouraging marks of protection and esteem as in *Italy*, where they were honoured in a singular manner in various cities, and were more especially distinguished by the family of Medicis, whose liberality to the learned had no bounds. It was consequently in *Italy*, that these ingenious fugitives were most numerous; and hence that country became, in some measure, the centre of the arts and sciences, and the general rendezvous of all who were ambitious of literary glory [s].

The calamities of the Greeks conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins.

III. The

tal cast in a mould, was the contrivance of JOHN SCHOEFFER, and was first practised at *Mentz*. This learned work, in which the author examines the opinions of MARCHAND, FOURNIER, and other writers, was published in the year 1760, at *Strasbourg*, under the following title, JO. DANIELIS SCHOEFFLINI *Consil. Reg. ac Franciæ Historiogr. VINDICIÆ TYPOGRAPHICÆ, &c.*

[q] MICH. MATTAIRE, *Annales Typographici*.—PROSP. MARCHAND, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, Hays 1740.

[r] JO. HENR. MAII *Kita Reuchlini*, p. 11. 13. 19. 28. 152, 153. 165.—CASP. BARTHII *ad Statium*, tom. ii. p. 1008.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad.* tom. v. p. 692.

[s] For a farther account of this interesting period of the History of Learning, the reader may consult the learned Work of HUMPHR. HODY, *De Græcis illustribus literarum instauratoribus*, published in 8vo at London in 1742, by Mr. SAMUEL JEBB; as also the most accurate and entertaining treatise of Mr. CHRISTIAN FREDERIC

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XV.Philology,
poetry, and
languages
cultivated.

III. The greatest part of the learned men, who adorned, at this time, the various provinces of *Italy*, were principally employed in publishing accurate and elegant editions of the most eminent Greek and Latin authors, in illustrating those authors with useful commentaries, in studying them as their models both in poetry and prose, and in casting light upon the precious remains of antiquity, that were discovered from day to day. In all these branches of literature many arrived at such degrees of excellence, as it is almost impossible to surpass, and extremely difficult to equal. Nor were the other languages, and sciences neglected. In the university of *Paris*, there was now a public professor not only of the Greek, but also of the Hebrew tongue [t]; and in *Spain* and *Italy* the study of that language, and of Oriental learning and antiquities in general, was pursued with the greatest success [u]. JOHN REUCHLINUS, otherwise called CAPNION, and TRITHEMIUS, who had made a vast progress both in the study of the languages and of the sciences, were the restorers of solid learning among the *Germans* [w]; Latin poetry was revived by ANTONIUS PANORMITANUS, who excited a spirit of emulation among the favourites of the Muses, and had many followers in that sublime art [x]; while CYRIAC of *Ancona*, by his own example, introduced a taste for coins, medals, inscriptions, gems, and other precious monuments of antiquity, of which he himself made a large collection in *Italy* [y].

IV. It

BÖRNER, *De doctis hominibus Græcis Litterarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*, published in 8vo. at *Leipsic* in the year 1750. To which may be added, SAM. BATTIERII *Oratio de instauratoribus Græcarum Litterarum*, published in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163.

[t] R. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles. par DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 502. 512.—BOULAY, *Hist. Paris.* tom. v. p. 852.

[u] PAULI COLOMESII *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4. et *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 212.

[w] R. SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 262. tom. iv. p. 131. 140.

[x] BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article PANORMIT.

[y] See the *Itinerarium* of CYRIAC of *Ancona*, published at *Flo-*

rence

IV. It is not necessary to give here a particular and minute account of the other branches of literature that flourished in this century; nevertheless, the state of philosophy deserves a moment's attention. Before the arrival of the Greeks in *Italy*, ARISTOTLE reigned unrivaled there, and captivated, as it were by a sort of enchantment, all without exception, whose genius led them to philosophical inquiries. The veneration that was shewn him degenerated into a foolish and extravagant enthusiasm; the encomiums with which he was loaded surpassed the bounds of decency; and many carried matters so far as to compare him with the respectable precursor of the Messiah [z]. This violent passion for the Stagirite was, however, abated, or rather was rendered less universal, by the influence which the Grecian sages, and particularly GEMISTIUS PLETHO acquired among the Latins, many of whom they persuaded to abandon the contentious and subtle doctrine of the Peripatetics, and to substitute in its place the mild and divine wisdom of PLATO. It was in the year 1439, about the time of the famous council of *Florence*, that this revolution happened in the empire of philosophy. Several illustrious personages among the Latins, charmed with the sublime sentiments and doctrines of PLATO, had them propagated among the studious youth, and particularly among those of a certain rank and figure. The most eminent patron of this *divine* philosophy, as it was termed by its votaries, was COSMO DE MEDICIS, who had no sooner heard the lectures of PLETHO, than he formed the design of founding a Platonic academy at *Florence*. For this purpose he ordered MARSILIUS FICINUS, the son of his first physician, to be carefully instructed in the doctrines of the Athenian sage, and,

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the Aristot-
elian and
Platonic
Philosophy.

rence in the year 1742, in 8vo. by Mr. LAWRENCE MEHUS, from the original manuscript, together with a Preface, Annotations, and several Letters of this learned man, who may be considered as the first antiquarian that appeared in *Europe*.—See also LEONH. ARETINI *Epistolæ*, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

[z] See CHRIST. AUG. HEUMANNI *Acta Philosophorum*, tom. iii. p. 345.

in

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in general, in the language and philology of the Greeks, that he might translate into Latin the productions of the most renowned Platonists. FICINUS answered well the expectations, and executed the intentions of his illustrious patron, by translating successively into the Latin language the celebrated works of HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, PLOTINUS, and PLATO. The same excellent prince encouraged by his munificence, and animated by his protection, many learned men, such as AMBROSE of *Camaldoli*, LEONARDO BRUNO, POGGE, and others to undertake works of a like nature, even to enrich the Latin literature with translations of the best Greek writers. The consequence of all this was, that two philosophical sects arose in *Italy*, who debated for a long time (with the warmest animosity in a multitude of learned and contentious productions) this important question, which of the two was the greater philosopher, ARISTOTLE or PLATO [a].

The Platon-
ic Syncret-
ists,

V. Between these two opposite factions certain eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class belong JOHANNES PICUS DE MIRANDOLA, BESSARION, HERMOLAUS BARBARUS, and others of less renown, who indeed considered PLATO as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer ARISTOTLE to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two

[a] BOIVIN, *Dans l'Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. iv. p. 381.—LAUNOIUS, *De varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 225.—LEO ALLATIUS, *De Georgiis*, p. 391.—LA CROZE, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets*, p. 384.—JOSEPH BIANCHINI, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of *Medicis*, which we have mentioned note [n].—BRUCKER *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 62.

[(a) It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, considered in that point of light, that was debated in this controversy: The principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity; and here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by PLETHO and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of ARISTOTLE lead directly to atheism.]

famous

famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern Platonic school, of which AMMONIUS was the original founder [b]. Their sect was, for a long time, held in the utmost veneration, particularly among the Mystics, while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the Peripatetics. But after all, these reconciling Platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflexion or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

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VI. Their system of philosophy, was, however, much less pernicious than that of the Aristotelians, their adversaries, who still maintained their superiority in *Italy*, and instructed the youth in all the public schools of learning. For these subtle doctors, and more especially the followers of AVERROES (who maintained that all the human race were animated by one common soul) sapped imperceptibly the foundations of both natural and revealed religion, and entertained sentiments very little, if at all, different from that impious pantheistical system, which confounds the Deity with the universe, and acknowledges but one self-existent Being, composed of *infinite matter* and *infinite intelligence*. The most eminent among this class of sophists was PETER POMPONACE, a native of *Mantua*, a man of a crafty turn, and an arrogant, enterprizing spirit, who, notwithstanding the pernicious tendency of his writings (many of which are yet extant) to undermine the principles and to corrupt the doctrines of religion [c], was almost universally followed by all the professors of philosophy in the Italian academies. These intricate doctors did not, however, escape the notice of the inquisitors, who, alarmed both

The followers of Aristotle maintain their superiority.

[b] See BESSARION'S Letter in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. v. p. 456.—THOMASIUS, *De Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in *Orationibus ejus*, p. 340.

[c] See the very learned BRUCKER'S *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 158.

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by the rapid progress and dangerous tendency of their metaphysical notions, took cognizance of them, and called the Aristotelians to give an account of their principles. The latter, tempering their courage with craft, had recourse to a mean and perfidious stratagem to extricate themselves out of this embarrassing trial. They pretended to establish a wide distinction between philosophical and theological truth, and maintaining that their sentiments were *philosophically true* and conformable to right reason, they allowed them to be esteemed *theologically false*, and contrary to the declarations of the Gospel. This miserable and impudent subterfuge was condemned and prohibited in the following century by LEO X, a council held at the Lateran.

The controversy between the Realists and Nominalists continued.

VII. The *Realists* and *Nominalists* continued their disputes in *France* and *Germany* with more vigour and animosity than ever, and, finding reason and argument, but feeble weapons, they had recourse to mutual invectives and accusations, penal laws, and even to the force of arms; a strange method, surely, of deciding a metaphysical question. The contest was not only warm, but also universal in its extent, for it infected, almost without exception, all the *French* and *German* academies. In most places, however, the *Realists* maintained a manifest superiority over the *Nominalists*, to whom they also gave the appellation of *Terminists* [d]. While the famous GERSON and the most eminent of his disciples were living, the *Nominalists* were in high esteem and credit in the university of *Paris*. But upon the death of these powerful and respectable patrons, the face of things was entirely changed, and that much to their disadvantage. In the year 1473, LEWIS XI, by the instigation of his confessor the bishop of *Auranches*, issued out a severe edict against the doctrines of the *Nominalists*, and ordered all their writings to be seized, and secured in a sort of imprisonment, that they might not be

[d] See BRUCKER'S *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 904.—JO. SALABERTI *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*. cap. i.—BALUZII, *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 531.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio documentar. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220.

perused by the people [e]. But the same monarch mitigated this edict the year following, and permitted some of the books of that sect to be delivered from their confinement [f]. In the year 1481, he went much farther; and not only granted a full liberty to the *Nominalists* and their writings, but also restored that philosophical sect to its former authority and lustre in the university [g].

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

THE most eminent writers of this century unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the Christian church was reduced by the corruption of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if providence did not interpose, by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation. The vices that reigned among the Roman pontiffs, and, indeed, among all the ecclesiastical order were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear, at all, exaggerated, or their apprehensions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the sharpness of their censures and of their complaints. Nay, the more eminent rulers of the church, who lived in a luxurious indolence and in the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance and even to commend these bold censors who declaimed against the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was almost nothing sound either in its visible head, or in its members, and demanded the aid of the se-

The vices of
the clergy.

[e] NAUDÉ's *Additions à l'Histoire de Louis XI*, p. 203.—DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. v. 678. 705. 708.—LAUNOY's *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. Opp. par. I. p. 201. 378.

[f] BOULAY *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 710.

[g] The proofs of this we find in SALABERT's *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104.—See also BOULAY *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 739. 747.

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cular arm and the destroying sword to lopp off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervor against the court of *Rome*, its lordly pontiff, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

The great
western
schism fo-
mented and
continued.

II. At the commencement of this century the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, BONIFACE IX, who remained at *Rome*, and BENEDICT XIII, who resided at *Avignon*. Upon the death of the former the *Cardinals* of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, COSMAT DE MELIORATI, who assumed the name of INNOCENT VII [b], and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease ANGELI CORRARIO, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of GREGORY XII. A plan of reconciliation was however formed, and the contending pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step were necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both violated this solemn obligation in a scandalous manner. BENEDICT XIII, besieged in *Avignon* by the king of *France*, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight; retiring first into *Catalonia*, his native country, and afterwards to *Perpignan*. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals, who adhered to his cause, seeing themselves deserted by their pope, went over to the other side, and, joining publicly with the cardinals of GREGORY

[b] Besides the ordinary writers, who have given us an account of the transactions that happened under the pontificate of INNOCENT VII. see LEON. ARETIN. *Epistol.* lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 6. 19. 21. lib. ii. p. 30. et COLLUC. SALUTAT. *Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. i. p. 18. ed. *Flórent.*—We have also an account of the pontificate of GREGORY, in the *Epistles* of the same ARETIN, lib. ii. iii. p. 32. ep. vii. p. 39. 41. 51. lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54. 56. 59.—Jo. LAM.

Deliciæ Eruditorum, tom. x. p. 494.

XII. they agreed together to assemble a council at *Pisa* on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings, indeed, were vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced the 5th day of June, against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and separated *ipso facto* from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of *one* pontiff in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon PETER of CANDIA, known in the papal list by the name of ALEXANDER V [i]; but all the decrees and proceedings of the famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. BENEDICT assembled a council at *Perpignan*; and GREGORY, another at *Austria* near *Aquileia*, in the district of *Friuli*. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians [k], made his escape in a clandestine manner from the territory of *Aquileia*, arrived at *Cateta*, where he threw himself upon the protection of LADISLAUS, king of *Naples*, and, in the year 1412, fled from thence to *Rimini*.

III. Thus was the Christian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on

The council
of *Constance*
assembled by
the emperor
Sigismund.

[i] See L'ENFANT'S *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, published in 4to. at Amsterdam, in the year 1724.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350.—BOSSUET, *Defensio Decreti Gallicani de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

[(k) He had offended the Venetians by deposing their patriarch ANTONY PANCIARINI, and putting ANTHONY DU PONT, the bishop of *C Concordia*, in his place.]

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by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. ALEXANDER V, who had been elected pontiff at the council of *Pisa*, died at *Bologna* in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy by choosing as his successor BALTHASAR COSSA, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles both of religion and probity, and who assumed the title of JOHN XXIII. The duration of this schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations, where the flame raged. Hence it was, that the emperor SIGISMUND, the king of *France*, and several other European princes employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expence, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. On the other hand, the pontiffs could not be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other possible method of accommodating this weighty matter remained, than the assembling of a general council, in which the controversy might be examined and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at *Constance*, in the year 1414, by JOHN XXIII, who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of SIGISMUND, and also from an expectation that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended by a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this famous council, which was also honoured with the presence of the emperor SIGISMUND, and of a great number of German princes, and with that of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision of this important controversy [1].

IV. The

[1] The *Acts* of this famous council were published in six volumes in folio, at *Francfort*, in the year 1700, by HERMAN von der HARDT.

This

IV. The great purpose, that was aimed at in the convocation of this grand assembly, was the healing of the schism that had so long rent the papacy; and this purpose was happily accomplished. It was solemnly declared in the iv and v sessions of this council, by two decrees that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal church, and the authority of councils was vindicated and maintained, in the same decrees, in the most effectual manner [m]. This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of JOHN XXIII, who, during the xii session, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate [n] on account of several flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge, and more especially on account of the scandalous violation of a solemn engagement, he had taken about the beginning of the council, to resign the papal chair, if that measure should appear necessary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke some weeks after by a clandestine flight. In this same year (1415), GREGORY XII sent to the council CHARLES DE MALATESTA to make, in his name, and as his proxy, a solemn and voluntary resignation of the pontificate. About two years after this, BENEDICT XIII was deposed by a solemn resolution of the council [o], and

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and issue of
this grand
council.

This collection, however, is imperfect, notwithstanding the pains that it cost the laborious editor. Many of the *Acts* are omitted, and a great number of pieces stuffed in among the *Acts*, which by no means deserve a place there. The history of this council by LENFANT is composed with great accuracy and elegance. It appeared in a second edition at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1728, in two volumes, quarto, the first was published in 1714. The Supplement that was given to this history by BOURGEOIS DE CHASTENET, a French lawyer, is but an indifferent performance. It is entitled *Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'extinction du Schisme*.

[m] For an account of these two famous decrees, which set such wide limits to the supremacy of the pontiffs, see NATALIS ALEXAND. *Hist. Eccl. Sæc. xv. Diff. iv.*—BOSSUET, *Defens. Sententiæ Cleri Gallican. de Potest. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 2. 23.—LENFANT, *Dissert. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerson, et le Concile de Constance*, which is subjoined to his history of that council.

[n] On the 29th of May, 1415.

[o] On the 26th of July, 1417.

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OTTO DE COLONNA raised, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, to the high dignity of head of the church, which he ruled under the title of MARTIN V. BENEDICT, who resided still at *Perpignan*, was far from being disposed to submit either to the decree of the council, which deposed him, or to the determination of the cardinals with respect to his successor. On the contrary, he persisted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in assuming the title, the prerogatives, and the authority of the papacy. And when this obstinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard named GILES MUNIOS, was chosen pope in his place by two cardinals, under the auspicious patronage of ALPHONSUS, king of *Sicily*, and adopted the title of CLEMENT VIII; but this sorry pontiff, in the year 1429, was persuaded to resign his pretensions to the papacy, and to leave the government of the church to MARTIN V.

John Huss.

V. If from the measures, that were taken in this council to check the lordly arrogance of the Roman pontiffs we turn our eyes to the proceedings that were carried on against those that were called *heretics*, we shall observe in this new scene nothing worthy of applause, but several things on the contrary that are proper to excite our indignation, and which no pretext, no consideration can render excusable. Before the meeting of this council, there were great commotions raised in several parts of *Europe*, and more especially in *Bohemia*, concerning religious matters. One of the persons that gave occasion to these disputes was JOHN HUSS, who lived at *Prague* in the highest reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners and the purity of his doctrine, who was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and who performed, at the same time, the functions of professor of divinity in the university, and of ordinary pastor in the church of that famous city [p]. This eminent ecclesiastic

[(p) A Bohemian jesuit, who was far from being favourable to JOHN HUSS, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his real character, described, him thus: *He was more subtle*

ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices that had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy, nor was he singular in this respect; such remonstrances were become very common, and they were generally approved of by the wise and good. Huss, however, went still farther; and, from the year 1408, used his most earnest and assiduous endeavours to withdraw the university of *Prague* from the jurisdiction of GREGORY XII, whom the kingdom of *Bohemia* had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. The archbishop of *Prague*, and the clergy in general, who were warmly attached to the interests of GREGORY, were greatly exasperated at these proceedings. Hence arose a violent quarrel between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented, from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations against the court of *Rome*, and the corruptions, that prevailed among the Sacerdotal order.

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VI. Such were the circumstances that first excited the resentment of the clergy against JOHN HUSS. This resentment, however, might have been easily calmed and perhaps totally extinguished, if new incidents of a more important kind had not arisen to keep up the flame, and increase its fury. In the first place, he adopted the philosophical opinions of the *Realists*, and shewed his warm attachment to their cause, in the manner that was usual in this barbarous age, even by persecuting to the utmost of his power their adversaries the *Nominalists*, whose number was great, and whose influence was considerable in the university of *Prague* [q]. He also multiplied

The reasons
that excited
the resentment
of the
clergy against
John
Huss.

than eloquent; but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive, than any eloquence could be. See BOHUS, BALBINUS, *Epitom. Rer. Bohem.* lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.]

[q] See the *Litteræ Nominalium ad Regem Franciæ Ludovicum VI.* in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 534. where we read the following passage: *Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici*

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multiplied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages, that their respective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in the university of *Prague*. That the nature of this contest may be better understood, it will be proper to observe, that this famous university was divided, by its founder CHARLES IV, into four nations, to wit, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, of which, according to the original laws of the university, the first had *three suffrages*; and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the *German nation*, only *one*. This arrangement, however, had not only been altered by custom, but was entirely inverted in favour of the Germans, who were vastly superior to the Bohemians in number, and assumed to themselves the three suffrages, which, according to the original institution of the university, belonged, undoubtedly, to the latter. Huss therefore, whether animated by a principle of patriotism, or by an aversion to the *Nominalists*, who were peculiarly favoured by the Germans, raised his voice against this abuse, and employed, with success, the extraordinary credit, he had obtained at court, by his flowing and masculine eloquence, in depriving the Germans of the privilege they had usurped, and in reducing their three suffrages to one. The issue of this long and tedious contest [*r*] was so offensive to

hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum Regnum suis hæresibus inficere.—Quum dicti hæretici non possent disputando superare impetraverunt ab Abbisesslao (Whencellao) Principe Bohemiæ, ut gubernarentur studio Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edito coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragæ civitatem relinquere, et se transtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem et ibidem erexerunt universitatem solemnissimam.

[(*r*) WENCESLAUS, king of *Bohemia*, who was bribed by both of the contending parties, protracted instead of abridging this dispute, and used to say with a smile, that he had found a good goose which laid every day a considerable number of gold and silver eggs. This was playing upon the word *Huss*, which, in the German language, signifies a goose.]

the Germans, that a prodigious number of them, with JOHN HOFFMAN the rector of the university at their head [s], retired from *Prague*, and repaired to *Leipsick*, where FREDERIC, surnamed the *Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, erected for them, in the year 1409, the famous academy which still subsists in a flourishing state. This event contributed greatly to render Huss odious to many, and, by the consequences that followed it, was certainly instrumental in bringing on his ruin. For no sooner had the Germans retired from *Prague*, than he began, not only to inveigh with greater freedom than he had formerly done against the vices and corruptions of the clergy, but even went so far as to recommend, in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of the famous WICKLIFF, whose new doctrines had already made such a noise in *England*. Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of JOHN XXIII, by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. He treated, indeed, this excommunication with the utmost contempt, and, both in his conversation and in his writings, laid open the disorders that preyed upon the vitals of the church, and the vices that dishonoured the conduct of its ministers [t], and the fortitude and zeal he discovered in this matter were almost universally applauded.

VII. This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal perhaps was rather too violent, and his prudence not always equally consummate, was summoned to appear before the council of *Constance*. Obedient to this order, and thinking himself secured from the rage of his enemies by the safe-conduct which had been granted him by the emperor SIGISMUND, both for his journey to *Constance*, his resi-

John Huss is
burnt alive.

[(s) Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of *Prague* upon this occasion. *Aeneas Sylvius* reckons 5000, *Trithemius* and others 2000, *Mubravius* 24,000, *Lupacius* 44,000, *Lauda*, a contemporary writer, 36,000.]

[t] See LAUR. BYZINII *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in LUDWIG'S *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 127.

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dence in that place, and his return to his own country, JOHN HUSS appeared before the council to demonstrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deserted the church of *Rome* was entirely groundless. And it may be affirmed with truth, that his religious opinions, at least in matters of moment and importance, were conformable to the established doctrine of the church in this age [*u*]. He declaimed, indeed, with extraordinary vehemence against the Roman pontiffs, the bishops and monks; but this freedom was looked upon as lawful in those times, and it was used every day in the council of *Constance*, where the tyranny of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders were censured with the utmost severity. The enemies, however, of this good man, who were very numerous both in the kingdom of *Bohemia* and also in the council of *Constance*, coloured the accusation that was brought against him, with such artifice and success, that, by the most scandalous breach of public faith, he was cast into prison, declared a heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council in pleading guilty against the dictates of his conscience, and was burnt alive the 6th of July, 1415, which dreadful punishment he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation, expressing in his last moments the noblest feelings of love to God, and the most triumphant hope of the accomplishment of those transporting promises with which the Gospel arms the true Christian at the approach of eternity. The same unhappy fate was borne with the same pious fortitude and constancy of mind by JEROM of *Prague*, the intimate companion of JOHN HUSS, who came to this council with the generous design of supporting and

[[*u*)] It was observed in the preceding section, that JOHN HUSS adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of WICKLIFF; but this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the clergy; for in other respects, it is certain that he adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two Sermons he had prepared for the council of *Constance*.]

seconding

seconding his persecuted friend. Terrified by the prospect of a cruel death, JEROM at first appeared willing to submit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which it had condemned in his writings. This submission, however, was not attended with the advantages he expected from it, nor did it deliver him from the close and severe confinement in which he was kept. He therefore resumed his fortitude, professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions, which he had deserted for a while from a principle of fear, and maintained them in the flames in which he expired on the 30th of May, 1416 [w].

Many learned men have endeavoured to investigate the reasons that occasioned the pronouncing such a cruel sentence against HUSS and his associate; and as no adequate reasons for such a severe proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude, that he fell a victim to the rage and injustice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this conclusion is both natural and well-grounded; nor will it be difficult to shew how it came to pass, that the reverend fathers of the council of *Constance* were so eagerly bent to stigmatize and burn as a heretic, a man who neither deserved such an injurious title, nor such a dreadful fate. In the first place, JOHN HUSS had excited, both by his discourse and by his writings, great commotions in *Bohemia*, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The bishops, therefore, together with the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were very sensible, that their honours and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greatest danger of being reduced to nothing, if this reformer should return again to his country, and continue to write and declaim against the clergy with the same freedom that he had formerly done. Hence they left no means unemployed to accomplish his ruin; they laboured night

The true
causes of
these violent
proceeding
against John
Huss and
Jerom of
Prague.

[(w) The translator has here inserted into the text the large note [a] of the original, which relates to the circumstances that precipitated the ruin of these two eminent reformers; and he has thrown the citations therein contained into several notes.]

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and day, they formed plots, they bribed men in power, they used, in short, every method that could have any tendency to rid them of such a formidable adversary [x]. We observe, *secondly*, that, in the council of *Constance*, there were many men of great influence and weight, who looked upon themselves as personally offended by JOHN HUSS, and who demanded his life as the only sacrifice that could satisfy their vengeance. HUSS, as has been already mentioned, was not only attached to the party of the *Realists*, but was peculiarly severe in his opposition to their adversaries. And now he was so unhappy as to be brought before a tribunal which was principally composed of the *Nominalists*, with the famous JOHN GERSON at their head, who was the zealous patron of that faction, and the mortal enemy of HUSS. Nothing could equal the vindictive pleasure the *Nominalists* felt from an event that put this unfortunate prisoner in their power, and gave them an opportunity of satisfying their vengeance to the full; and accordingly, in their *Letter* to LEWIS, king of *France* [y], they don't pretend to deny that HUSS fell a victim to the resentment of their sect, which is also confirmed by the history of the council of *Constance*. The animosities that always reigned among the *Realists* and *Nominalists* were at this time carried to

[x] The bribery and corruption that were employed in bringing about the ruin of JOHN HUSS are manifest from the following remarkable passages of the *Diarium HUSSITICUM* of LAUR. BYZINIUS, p. 135. (see *LUDEWIGI Reliquiæ*, tom. vi.) *Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Bohemiæ et Marchionatu Moraviæ condemnationem ipsius (Hussi) CONTRIBUTIONE PECUNIARUM, et modis aliis diversis procuravit et ad ipsius consensit interitum.* And again, p. 150. *Clerus perversus regni Bohemiæ et Marchionatus Moraviæ, et præcipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani et religiosi ipsius fideles ac saluteferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, PECUNIARUM CONTRIBUTIONE ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt.*

[y] See BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 534. in which we find the following passage: *Suscitavit Deus doctores catholicos, Petrum de Albyaco, Johannem de Gersano, et alios quàm plures doctissimos homines Nominales, qui convocati ad Concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerunt hæretici et nominatim Hieronymus et Johannes—dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverant.*

the

the greatest excess imaginable. Upon every occasion that offered, they accused each other of heresy and impiety, and had constantly recourse to corporal punishments to decide the matter. The *Nominalists* procured the death of HUSS, who was a *Realist*; and the *Realists*, on the other hand, obtained, in the year 1479, the condemnation of JOHN DE WESALIA, who was attached to the party of the *Nominalists* [z]. These contending sects carried their blind fury so far as to charge each other with the sin against the holy Ghost [a], and exhibited the most miserable spectacle of inhuman bigotry to the Christian world. The aversion which JOHN HUSS and JEROM, his companion, had against the Germans was a third circumstance that contributed to determine their unhappy fate. This aversion they declared publicly at Prague upon all occasions both by their words and actions; nor were they at any pains to conceal it even in the council of *Constance*, where they accused them of presumption and despotism in the strongest terms [b]. The Germans, on the other hand, remembering the af-

[z] See the *Examen Magistrale et Theologicale Mag. Job. de Wesalia*, in ORTUINI GRATII *Fasciculo rerum Expetend. et fugiendar.* Colon. 1535. Fol. clxiii.

[a] In the *Examen* mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following striking passage: which may shew us the extravagant length to which the disputes between the *Nominalists* and *Realists* were now carried: *Quis nisi ipse Diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter Philosophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalia quisquam Realia negaverit, existemetur IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM PECCAVISSE, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra Christianam religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis nisi a Diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?* We see by this passage that the *Realists* charged their adversaries (whose only crime was the absurdity of calling *universal ideas* mere *denominations*) with sin against the holy Ghost, with transgression against God, and against the Christian religion, and with a violation of all the laws of justice and civil polity.

[b] See THEOD. DE NIEM, *Invectiva in Job. XXIII*, in HARDTII *Actis Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450. *Improperabat etiam in Publico Alamannis, dicendo, quod essent præsumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari . . . Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Bohemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alamanni VIOLENTER exinde REPULSI et MALE TRACTATI fuissent,*

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front they had received in the university of *Prague* by the means of JOHN HUSS, burned with resentment and rage both against him and his unfortunate friend; and as their influence and authority were very great in the council, there is no doubt that they employed them, with the utmost zeal, against these two formidable adversaries. Besides; JOHN HOFFMAN, the famous rector of the university of *Prague*, whom HUSS had been the occasion of expelling from that city together with the Germans, and who was in consequence thereof become his most virulent enemy, was consecrated bishop of *Misnia* in the year 1413, and held in this council the most illustrious rank among the delegates of the German church. This circumstance was also most unfavourable to HUSS, and was, no doubt, in the event detrimental to his cause.

The circumstances now mentioned as contributing to the unhappy fate of this good man, are, as we see, all drawn from the resentment and prejudices of his enemies and have not the least colour of equity. It must, however, be confessed, that there appeared one *mark* of *heresy* in the conduct of this reformer, which, according to the notions that prevailed in this century, might expose him to condemnation with some shadow of reason and justice; I mean, his inflexible obstinacy, which the church of *Rome* always considered as a grievous *heresy* even in those whose errors were of little moment. We must consider this man, as called before a council, which was supposed to represent the universal church, to confess his faults and to abjure his errors. This he obstinately refused to do, unless he was previously convicted of error; here therefore he resisted the authority of the *catholic church*, demanded a rational proof of the justice of the sentence it had pronounced against him, and intimated, with sufficient plainness, that he looked upon the church as *fallible*. All this certainly was most enormously criminal and intolerably heretical, according to the general opinion of the times. For it became a *dutiful* son of the church to renounce his eye-sight and to submit both his judgment and his will, without any exception

ception or reservation to the judgment and will of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire persuasion of the infallibility of all her decisions. This ghostly mother had, for many ages past, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in question, the rule which PLINY observed in his conduct towards the Christians. "When they persevered, *says he in his letter to TRAJAN* [c], I put my threats into execution, from a persuasion that whatever their confession might be, their audacious and invincible obstinacy deserved an exemplary punishment."

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VIII. Before sentence had been pronounced against JOHN HUSS and JEROM of Prague, the famous WICKLIFF, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this ghostly tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, invidiously culled out of his writings was examined and condemned, and an order was issued out to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the famous decree, which took the cup from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist, ordered *that the Lord's supper should be received by them only in one kind*, i. e. *the bread*, and rigorously prohibited the *communion in both kinds*. This decree was occasioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of JACOBELLUS DE MISA, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague, who, about a year before this, had been persuaded by PETER of Dresden, to administer the Lord's supper in *both kinds*, and was followed in this by several churches [d]. The council, being informed of this matter by a certain Bohemian bishop, thought proper to oppose, with vigour, the progress of this *heresy*; and therefore they enacted the statute,

The council
issue out a
decree a-
gainst the
writings and
ashes of
Wickliff.

[c] PLIN. *Epist.* lib. x. ep. 97. *Perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset, quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.*

[d] BYZINI *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124.

which

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The sentence of the council against John Petit.

which ordered the *communion to be administered to the laity but in one kind*, and which obtained the force and authority of a law in the church of *Rome*.

IX. In the same year, the opinion of JOHN PETIT, a doctor of divinity at *Paris* [e], who maintained, that every individual had an undoubted right to take away the life of a tyrant, was brought before the council, and was condemned as an odious and detestable heresy; but both the name and person of the author were spared on account of the powerful patrons, under whose protection he had defended that pernicious doctrine. JOHN, duke of *Burgundy*, had, in the year 1407, employed a band of ruffians to assassinate LEWIS, duke of *Orleans*, only brother of CHARLES VI, king of *France*. While the whole city of *Paris* was in an uproar in consequence of this horrible deed, PETIT justified it in a public oration in presence of the Dauphin and the princes of the blood, affirming, that the duke had done a laudable action, and that it was lawful to put a tyrant to death, *in any way, either by violence, or fraud, and without any form of law or justice; nay, even in opposition to the most solemn contracts and oaths of fidelity and allegiance*. It is, however, to be observed, that by *tyrants* this doctor did not mean the supreme rulers of nations, but those more powerful and insolent subjects, who abused their wealth and credit to bring about measures that tended to the dishonour of their sovereign and the ruin of their country [f]. The university of *Paris* pronounced a severe and rigorous sentence against the author of this pernicious opinion, and the council of *Constance*, after much deliberation and debate, condemned the opinion without mentioning the author. This determination of the coun-

[(e) Some historians have erroneously represented PETIT as a lawyer. See Dr. SMOLLET'S *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 462. in 4to.]

[f] This appears manifestly from the very discourse of PETIT, which the reader may see in LENFANT'S *History of the Council of Pisa*, tom. ii. p. 303*. See also AUGUST. LEYSER'S *Diff. quâ memoriam Joh. Burgundi et doctrinam Joh. Parvi de cæde perduellium vindicat*. Witteberg. 1735, in 4to.

[* See also the same author's *History of the Council of Constance*, Book iii. § xix.]

cil,

cil, though modified with the utmost clemency and mildness, was not ratified by the new pontiff MARTIN V, who dreaded too much the formidable power of the duke of *Burgundy* to confirm a sentence which he knew would be displeasing to that ambitious prince [g].

X. After these and other transactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into consideration a point of more importance than had yet been proposed, even the reformation of the church in its *head* and in its *members*, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of a licentious clergy. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon the council of *Constance*, from an universal persuasion of the necessity of this reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the council itself deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to be effected, that little could be expected, and still less was done. The cardinals and dignified clergy, whose interest it was that the church should remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation; and observed, among other artful pretexts, that a work of such high moment and importance could not be undertaken with any prospect of success, until a new pontiff was elected. And, what was still more shocking the new pontiff MARTIN V. was no sooner raised to that high dignity, than he employed his authority to elude and frustrate every effort that was made to set this salutary work on foot; and made it appear most evidently by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive purity. Thus this famous council, after sitting three years and six

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The hopes
of a reformation in
the church
frustrated.

[g] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 113. et passim.—
ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. part. II. p.
184.—GERSONIS *Opera a Du Pinio edita*, tom. v.—BAYLE'S *Diction.*
tom. iii. p. 2268.

months,

CENT. months, was dissolved on the 22d day of April, 1418, without having effected what was the chief design of their assembling; and put off to a future assembly of the same kind, which was to be summoned five years after this period, that pious design of purifying a corrupt church, which had been so long the object of the expectations and desires of all good Christians.

A council assembled at *Basil*, where the reformation of the church is again attempted in vain.

XI. Five years and more elapsed without a council's being called. The remonstrances, however, of those whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed, at length, over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time, and MARTIN V summoned a council to meet at *Pavia*, from whence it was removed to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Basil*. The pontiff did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death on the 21st day of February, in the year 1431, just about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by GABRIEL CONDOLMERUS, a native of *Venice*, and bishop of *Sienna*, who is known in the papal list by the title of EUGENIUS IV. This pontiff approved of all the measures that had been entered into by his predecessor in relation to the assembling of the council of *Basil*, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of cardinal JULIAN CESARINI, who performed the functions of president in the place of EUGENIUS.

The two grand points that were proposed to the deliberation of this famous council, were, the *union of the Greek and Latin churches*, and the *reformation of the church universal both in its head and in its members*, according to the resolution that had been taken in the council of *Constance*. For that the Roman pontiffs who were considered as the head of the church, and the bishops, priests, and monks who were looked upon as its members, were become excessively corrupt, and that, to use the expression of the sublime prophet in a similar case, the *whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint*, was a matter of fact too striking to escape the know-
ledge

ledge of the obscurest individual. On the other hand, as it appeared by the very form of the council [b], by its method of proceeding, and by the first decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the assembled fathers were in earnest and firmly resolved to answer the end and purpose of their meeting, EUGENIUS IV, was much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, which he feared above all things, and contemplating with terror the zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, he attempted twice the dissolving of the council. These repeated attempts were vigorously and successfully opposed by the assembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of *Constance*, and by other arguments equally conclusive, that the council was superior, in point of authority, to the Roman pontiff. This controversy, which was the first that had arisen between the council and the pope, was terminated, in the month of November 1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter, who, the month following, wrote a letter from *Rome* containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgement of its authority [i].

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XII. These preliminary measures being finished, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The pope's legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared upon oath that they would submit to the decrees that should

The decrees
and acts of
the council
of *Basil*.

[(b) By the form of the council, Dr. MOSHEIM undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.]

[i] The history of this grand and memorable council is yet wanting. The learned STEPHEN BALUZIUS (as we find in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions & des Belles Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 544.) and after him Mr. LENFANT promised the world a history of this council, but neither of these valuable writers performed their promise.

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should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of *Constance*, in relation to the supremacy of general councils and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws, which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror were solemnly renewed by the assembled fathers the 26th of June, in the year 1434, and, on the 9th of the same month in the following year, the *Annats*, as they were called, were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March, 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions called *Expectatives*, *Reservations*, and *Provisions*, were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked EUGENIUS to the highest degree, and made him form a design either of removing this troublesome and enterprizing council into *Italy*, or of setting up a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding the council

mise*. The acts of this famous assembly have been collected, with incredible industry, in a great number of volumes from various archives and libraries, at the expence of RODOLPHUS AUGUSTUS, duke of *Brunswick*, by the very learned and laborious HERMAN van der HARDT. They are preserved, as we are informed, in the library at *Hanover*, and they certainly deserve to be drawn from their retreat and published to the world. In the mean time, the curious may consult the Abridgment of the acts of this council, which were published in 8vo. at *Paris*, in the year 1512, and which I have made use of in this History, as also the following authors: ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Lib. duo de Concilio Basileensi*.—EDMUN. RICHERIUS, *Histor. Concilior. General. lib. iii. cap. i.*—HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447.

[* Dr. MOSHEIM has here been guilty of an oversight; for LENFANT did in reality perform his promise, and composed the *History of the Council of Basle*, which he blended with his *History of the War of the Hussites*, on account of the connexion that there was between these two subjects, and also because his advanced age prevented his indulging himself in the hope of being able to give a full and complete History of the council of *Basle* apart,

at *Basil*, *Avignon*, or some city in the dutchy of *Savoy*, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into *Italy*. Each of the contending parties persevered, with the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken, and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the pope and the council. The latter summoned EUGENIUS to appear before them at *Basil* the 26th day of July, 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying with this summons, issued out a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the council and to assemble another at *Ferrara*. This decree, indeed, was treated with the utmost contempt by the council, which, with the consent of the emperor, the king of *France* and several other princes, continued its deliberations at *Basil*, and, on the 28th of September, in this same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff for having refused to obey their order.

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XIII. In the year 1438, EUGENIUS in person opened the council, which he had summoned to meet at *Ferrara*, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at *Basil*. The principal business that was to be transacted in the pontiff's council was the proposed reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches, and, in order to bring this salutary and important design to a happy issue, the emperor JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian patriarch JOSEPHUS, with the most eminent bishops and doctors among the Greeks arrived in *Italy* and appeared in person at *Ferrara*. What animated, in a particular manner, the zeal of the Greeks in this negotiation, was the extremity to which they were reduced by the Turks, and the pleasing hope, that their reconciliation with the Roman pontiff would contribute to engage the Latins in their cause. Be that as it may, there was little done at *Ferrara*, where matters were carried on too slowly to afford any prospect of an end of their dissensions; but the negotiations were more successful at *Florence*, whither EUGENIUS removed the council about the beginning

The council
of *Ferrara*
held by Eu-
genius.

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ning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at *Ferrara*. On the other hand, the council of *Basil*, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of EUGENIUS, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439, which vigorous measure was not approved of by the European kings and princes. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; he lost all patience; and devoted, for the second time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of *Basil*, by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of *Basil*, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that high dignity AMADEUS, duke of *Savoy*, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat, called *Ripaille*, upon the borders of the *Leman Lake*, and who is known in the papal list by the name of FELIX V.

The church
afflicted with
a schism.

XIV. This election was the occasion of the revival of that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of *Constance*. Nay, the new breach was still more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontiffs, but also between the two contending councils of *Basil* and *Florence*. The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of EUGENIUS while FELIX was acknowledged, as lawful pontiff by a great number of academies, and, among others, by the famous university of *Paris*, as also in several kingdoms and provinces. The council of *Basil* continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws and publishing edicts until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of EUGENIUS and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its deliberations at *Basil*.

Lyons

Lyons, or *Lausanne*, as soon as a proper opportunity was offered. CENT.
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In the mean time the council of *Florence*, with EUGENIUS at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty business was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety of a select number of eminent men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose was the learned BESSARION, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, nay, he had recourse even to promises and threatnings to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace, that were proposed by EUGENIUS. These conditions required their consent to the following points:—*That the holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father;—that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence and vision of the Deity;—that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord's supper;—and lastly, which was the main and principal thing insisted upon by the Latins, that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church.* Such were the terms of peace to which the Greeks were obliged to submit, all except MARK of *Ephesus*, whom neither entreaties nor rewards, could move from his purpose, or engage to submit to a reconciliation founded upon such conditions. And, indeed, this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had, by no means, stability sufficient to assure its duration. We find accordingly, that the Grecian deputies were no sooner returned to *Constantinople*, than they declared publicly that all things had been carried on, at *Florence*, by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism, which had been so imperfectly healed, a little time before. The council of *Florence* put an end to its

H 2

deliberations

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deliberations on the 26th of April, in the year 1442 [k], without having executed any of the designs, that were proposed by it, in a satisfactory manner. For, besides the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Armenians, Jacobites, and, more particularly, the Abyssinians into the bosom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with as little success as the other.

Which is
healed under
the pontifi-
cate of Ni-
cholas V.

XV. EUGENIUS IV, who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of *Rome*, died in the month of February 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by THOMAS DE SARZANO, bishop of *Bologna*, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of NICHOLAS V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and, what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. Under his pontificate the European princes, and more especially the king of *France*, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin church, and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. For, in the year 1449, FELIX V resigned the papal chair, and returned to his delicious hermitage at *Ripaille*, while the fathers of the council of *Basil* assem-

[k] The *History* of this council, and of the frauds and stratagems that were practised in it, was composed by that learned Grecian SYLVESTER SGYROPULUS, whose work was published at the *Hague* in the year 1660, with a Latin translation, a preliminary discourse, and ample notes by the learned ROBERT CREIGHTON, a native of *Great Britain*. This History was refuted by LEO ALLATIUS, in a work entitled *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sguropolo*, Romæ 1674, 4to. See the same author's *Perpetua Consensio Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occident.* p. 875. as also MABILLON. *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 243.—SPANHEMIUS, *De perpetua dissensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. Opp. p. 491—HERMANN. *Historia concertat. de pane azymo*, part. II. cap. v. p. 124.

bled

bled at *Lausanne* [I], ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal church to submit to the jurisdiction of NICHOLAS as their lawful pontiff. On the other hand, NICHOLAS proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of *Basil*. This pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and sciences, which he promoted in *Italy*, with great success, by the encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks, who came from *Constantinople* into that country [m]. The principal occasion of his death was the fatal revolution that threw this capital of the Grecian empire into the hands of the Turks; this melancholy event preyed upon his spirits, and, at length, ended his days on the 24th of March, in the year 1455.

XVI. His successor ALPHONSUS BORGIA, who was a native of *Spain*, and is known in the papal list by the denomination of CALIXTUS III, was remarkable for nothing but his zeal in animating the Christian princes to make war upon the Turks; his reign also was short, for he died in the year 1458. ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, who succeeded him in the pontificate that same year, under the title of PIUS II, rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather perhaps of his bad faith; for

[I] The abdication of FELIX V was made on the 9th of April, 1449, and it was ratified the 16th day of the month, by the assembled fathers at *Lausanne*.

[m] See DOM. GEORGII *Vita Nicolai V, ad fidem veterum Monumentorum*: to which is added a treatise, entitled *DISQUISITIO de Nicolai V, erga litteras et litteratos viros patrocinio*, published in 4to. at *Rome*, in the year 1742.

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after having vigorously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the council of *Basil* against EUGENIUS IV, he ignominiously renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties. The year following, he obtained from LEWIS XI, king of *France*, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which favoured, in a particular manner, the pretensions of the general councils to supremacy in the church [n]. But the most egregious instance of impudence and perfidy that he exhibited to the world was in the year 1463, when he published a solemn retractation of all that he had written in favour of the council of *Basil*, and declared, without either shame or hesitation, that, as ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, he was a damnable

[(n) There was a famous edict, entitled *The Pragmatic Sanction*, issued out by LEWIS XI, who, though he is honoured with a place in the *Kalendar*, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and privileges of the Gallican church against the despotic encroachments and pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly leveled; and though some creatures of the court of *Rome* have thrown out insinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registred, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch by the parliament of *Paris* in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at *Tours* in the year 1483; and by the university of *Paris* in 1491.—See, for a farther account of this edict, the excellent *History of France* (begun by the Abbé Velly, and continued by M. Villaret) vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. Mosheim has in view here, is the *Pragmatic Sanction* that was drawn up at *Bourges*, in the year 1438, by CHARLES VII, king of *France*, with the consent of the most eminent prelates and grandees of the nation, who were assembled at that place. This edict (which was absolutely necessary in order to deliver the French clergy from the vexations they suffered from the encroachments of the popes, ever since the latter had fixed their residence at *Avignon*) consisted of twenty-three articles, in which, among other salutary regulations, the elections to vacant benefices were restored

a damnable heretic; but as PIUS II, he was an orthodox pontiff. This indecent declaration was the last circumstance, worthy of notice, that happened during his pontificate; for he departed this life in the month of July, in the year 1464 [o].

XVII. PAUL II, a Venetian by birth, whose name ^{Paulus II.} was PETER BARD, was raised to the head of the church, in the year 1464, and died in the year 1471. His administration was distinguished by some measures, which,

to their ancient purity and freedom*; the *Annates* and other pecuniary pretensions and encroachments of the pontiffs abolished, and the authority of a general council declared superior to that of the pope. This edict was drawn up in concert with the fathers of the council of *Basil*, and the twenty-three articles, it contains, were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times, and the manners of the nation rendered expedient. Such then was the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which pope PIUS II engaged LEWIS XI (who received upon that occasion, for him and his successors, the title of *Most Christian*) to abolish by a solemn declaration, the full execution of which was, however, prevented by the noble stand made by the university of *Paris* in favour of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. LEWIS also perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous insinuations of GEOFFRY, bishop of *Arras* (whom the pope had bribed with a cardinal's cap, and large promises of a more lucrative kind) took no sort of pains to have it executed, but published, on the contrary, new edicts against the pecuniary pretensions and extortions of the court of *Rome*. So that in reality the *Pragmatic Sanction* was not abolished before the *Concordate*, or agreement which was transacted between FRANCIS I and LEO X, in the year 1517, and was forced upon the French nation in opposition to the united efforts of the clergy, the university, the parliament, and the people. See, for a farther account of this matter, DU CLOS *Histoire de Louis XI*, vol. i. p. 115—132.]

[o] Besides the writers of Ecclesiastical History, see *Nouveaux Diction. Histor. et Critique*, tom. ii. at the article ENEE SYLVIVS, p. 26.

* That is to say, that these elections were wrested out of the hands of the popes, who had usurped them, and that, by the *Pragmatic Sanction*, every church had the privilege of choosing its bishop, and every monastery its abbot or prior.—By the *Concordate*, or agreement between FRANCIS I and LEO X (which was substituted in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*) the nomination to the bishoprics in *France*, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class were vested in the kings of *France*. An ample and satisfactory account of this convention may be seen in bishop BURNET's excellent *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3. and in a book, entitled *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique François*, published in octavo, in 1737, and in quarto, in 1752.

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if we consider the genius of the times, were worthy of praise, though it must, at the same time, be confessed that he did many things, which were evidently inexcusable, not to mention his reducing the jubile circle to twenty five years, and thus accelerated the return of that most absurd and superstitious ceremony. So that his reputation became, at least, dubious in after times, and was viewed in different lights, by different persons [p]. The following pontiffs, SIXTUS IV, and INNOCENT VIII, whose names were FRANCIS ALBESCOLA and JOHN BAPTIST CIBO, were neither remarkable for their virtues nor their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with the most terrible apprehensions of the danger that threatened *Europe*, in general, and *Italy* in particular, from the growing power of the Turks, they both attempted putting themselves in a posture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European princes to put a stop to the progress of that warlike people. But many obstacles arose, which prevented the execution of this important design, and rendered the exhortations of these zealous pontiffs without effect. The other undertakings that were projected or carried on, during their continuance at the head of the church, are not of importance sufficient to require particular notice.

Alexander
VI.

XVIII. In the series of pontiffs, that ruled the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was ALEXANDER VI, a Spaniard by birth, whose name was RODERIC BORGIA. The life and actions of this man shew, that there was a *Nero* among the popes, as well as among the emperors. The cries and enormities that history has imputed to this papal *Nero*, evidently prove him to have been, not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of de-

[p] PAUL II has had the good fortune to find, in one of the most eminent and learned men of this age (the famous cardinal LUIRINI) a zealous apologist. See among the productions of that illustrious prelate, the piece entitled, *Pauli II Vita ex Codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindiciis adversus Platinam, aliosque obtrectatores*, Romæ 1740, in 4to.

cency,

gency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. And, though it may be possible, that the malignity of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and, in some instances, exaggerated the horror of his real crimes, yet there is upon record an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are sufficient to render the name and memory of ALEXANDER VI odious and detestable in the esteem even of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source, from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons by a concubine with whom he had lived many years, among whom was the infamous CÆSAR BORGIA. A daughter named LUCRETIA, was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for this spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them with riches and honours, and, in the execution of this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion laid in his way [q]. Thus he went on in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poison, which he and his son CÆSAR had mingled for others who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days [r].

XIX. The monastic societies, as we learn from a multitude of authentic records, and from the testimonies of the best writers, were, at this time, so many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate, and licentious Epicureans,

[q] The life of this execrable tyrant has been written in English by Mr. ALEXANDER GORDON, whose work was translated into French, and published at *Amsterdam* in 1732. The same subject has, however, been handled with more moderation by the ingenious and learned author of the *Histoire du Droit Publ. Eccles. François*, to which History are subjoined the lives of ALEXANDER VI and LEO X.

[r] Such is the account which the best historians have given of the death of ALEXANDER VI; VOLTAIRE, notwithstanding, has pretended to prove that this pontiff died a natural death.

whose

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whose views in life were confined to opulence, idleness, and pleasure. The rich monks, particularly those of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts, and renouncing, in their conduct, all regard to their respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves a popular odium by their sensuality and licentiousness [s]. This was matter of affliction to many wise and good men, especially in *France* and *Germany*, who formed the pious design of stemming the torrent of monkish luxury, and excited a spirit of reformation among that degenerate order [t]. Among the German reformers, who undertook the restoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, NICHOLAS DE MAZEN, an Austrian abbot, and NICHOLAS DUNKELSPUHL, professor at *Vienna*, held the first rank. They attempted, with unparalleled zeal and assiduity, the reformation of the Benedictines throughout all *Germany*, and succeeded so far, as to restore, at least a certain air of decency and virtue in the monasteries of *Swabia*, *Franconia*, and *Bavaria* [u]. The reformation of the same order was attempted in *France* by many, and particularly by GUIDO, or GUY JUVENAL, a learned man, whose writings, upon that and on other subjects, were received with applause [w]. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the monks, both in *France* and elsewhere, resisted, with obstinacy, the salutary attempts of these spiritual physicians, and returned their zeal with the worst treatment, that it was possible to shew them.

The Mendicants.

XX. While the opulent monks exhibited to the world scandalous examples of luxury, ignorance, laziness, and licentiousness, accompanied with a barbarous aversion to every thing that carried the remotest aspect of science, the Mendicants, and more especially the Dominicans

[s] See MARTINI SENGING *Tuitiones Ordinis S. Benedicti*, seu *Oratio in Consilio Basileensi*, A. 1433, contra vitia Benedict. recitata, in BERNH PEZII *Biblioth. Ascetica*, tom. viii. p. 517.

[t] See LEIBNITII *Præf. ad tom. ii. Scriptor. Brunsvic.* p. 40.

[u] For an account of these reformers, see MARTIN. KROPP *Bibliotheca Mellicensis, seu de vitis et Scriptis Benedictinor. Mellicensium*, p. 143. 163. 203. 206.

[w] See LIRON, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iii. p. 49.

and

and Franciscans, were chargeable with irregularities of another kind. Besides their arrogance, which was excessive, a quarrelsome and litigious spirit, an ambitious desire of encroaching upon the rights and privileges of others, an insatiable zeal for the propagation of superstition, and the itch of disputing and of starting absurd and intricate questions of a religious kind prevailed among them, and drew upon them justly the displeasure and indignation of many. It was this wrangling spirit that perpetuated the controversies which had subsisted so long between them and the bishops, and indeed the whole sacerdotal order; and it was their vain curiosity and their inordinate passion for novelty, that made the divines, in the greatest part of the European academies, complain of the dangerous and destructive errors they had introduced into religion. These complaints were repeated without interruption, in all the provinces where the Mendicants had any credit; and the same complaints were often presented to the court of *Rome*, where they exercised sufficiently both the patience and subtilty of the pontiffs and their ministers. The different pontiffs that ruled the church, during this century, were differently affected towards the Mendicants; some patronized them; others opposed them; and this circumstance frequently changed the face of things, and, for a long time, rendered the decision of the contest dubious [x]. The persecution, that was carried on against the *Beguins*, became also an occasion of increasing the odium that had been cast upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their interests. For the *Beguins* and *Lollards*, to escape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the bishops and others, frequently too refuge in the third order of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping that, in the patronage and protection of these powerful and respected societies, they should find a secure retreat from the calamities that oppressed them. Nor were their

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[x] See LAUNOII *Lib. de Canone: Omnis Utriusque Sexus*, Opp. tom. i. part. I. p. 287.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 189. 196. 204. 522. 558. 601. 617. 752.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 219. 212. 224.

hopes

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hopes intirely disappointed here ; but the storm that hitherto pursued them, fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the *Mendicants*, who by affording a refuge to a sect so odious to the clergy, drew upon themselves the indignation of that sacred order, and were hereby involved in great difficulties and perplexities of various kinds [y].

The fate of
the Fratricelli.

XXI. The more austere and rebellious Franciscans, who, separating themselves from the church, renounced their allegiance to the Roman pontiffs, and were distinguished by the appellation of *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*, continued, together with their *Tertiaries*, the *Beghards*, to carry on an open war against the court of Rome. Their head quarters were in *Italy*, in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and the neighbouring countries ; for it was there that their leader and chief ruler resided. They were persecuted about the middle of this century, with the greatest severity, by pope NICHOLAS V, who employed every method he could think on to vanquish their obstinacy, sending for that purpose successively against them the Franciscan monks, armed hosts, and civil magistrates, and committing to the flames, many of those who remained unmoved by all these means of conversion [z]. This heavy persecution was carried on by the succeeding pontiffs, and by none with greater bitterness and vehemence than by PAUL II ; though it is said, that this pope chose rather to conquer the headstrong and stubborn perseverance of this sect by imprisonment and exile, than by fire and sword [a]. The *Fratricelli*, on the other hand, animated by the protec-

[y] See the preceding century.

[z] MAURITIUS SARTIUS, *De Antiqua Picentum civitate Cupromontana*, in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Raccolta di Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxxix. p. 39. 81. 97. where we have several extracts from the Manuscript Dialogue of JACOBUS DE MARCHIA against the *Fratricelli*.

[a] ANG. MAR. QUIRINI *Vita Pauli II*, p. 78.—JO. TARGIONIUS *Præf. ad Claror. Venetor. Epistolas ad Magliabechium*, tom. i. p. 43. where we have an account of the books that were written against the *Fratricelli* by NICHOLAS PALMERIUS and others under the pontificate of Paul II, and which are yet in manuscript.

tion

tion of several persons of great influence, who became CENT. XV. their patrons on account of the striking appearance of sanctity which they exhibited to the world, opposed force to force, and went so far as to put to death some of the inquisitors, among whom ANGELO of *Camaldoli* fell a victim to their vengeance [b]. Nor were the commotions, raised by this troublesome sect, confined to *Italy*; other countries felt the effects of their petulant zeal; and *Bohemia* and *Silesia* (where they preached with warmth their favourite doctrine, *that the true imitation of Christ consisted in beggary, and extreme poverty*) became the theatre of this spiritual war [c]. The king of *Bohemia* was well affected to these fanatics, granted them his protection, and was, on that account, excommunicated by PAUL II [d]. In *France* their affairs were far from being prosperous; such of them as fell into the hands of the inquisitors were committed to the flames [e], and they were eagerly searched after in the province of *Tholouse* and the adjacent countries, where great numbers of them lay concealed, and endeavoured to escape the vigilance of their enemies; while several of their scattered parties removed to *England* and *Ireland* [f]. The dreadful series of calamities and persecutions, that pursued this miserable sect was not sufficient to extinguish it entirely; for it subsisted until the times of the reformation in *Germany*, when its remaining votaries adopted the cause and embraced the doctrine and discipline of LUTHER.

XXII. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none deserves a more honourable mention, than the *Brethren and clerks of the common life* (as they called themselves) who lived under the rule of ST.

New orders:
the Brethren
and Clerks
of the com-
mon life.

[b] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Maii*, p. 356.

[c] JO. GEORGII SCHELHORNII *Acta Historica Eccles.* part. I. p. 66. 283.

[d] QUIRINI *Vita Pauli II.* p. 73.

[e] I have in manuscript in my possession, the acts, or decrees, of the *Inquisition* against JOHN GUDULCHI DE CASTELLIONE and FRANCIS DE ARCHATA, both of them *Fratricelli*, who were burnt in *France* in the year 1454.

[f] WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 232.

AUGUSTIN,

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AUGUSTIN, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion, learning, and virtue. This society had been formed in the preceding age by GERARD DE GROOTE, a native of *Deventer* [g], and a man remarkable for his fervent piety and extensive erudition; it was not, however, before the present century, that it received a proper degree of consistence, and, having obtained the approbation of the council of *Constance*, flourished in *Holland*, the *Lower Germany*, and the adjacent provinces. It was divided into two classes, the *Lettered Brethren*, or *Clerks*, and the *Illiterate*, who, though they occupied separate habitations, lived in the firmest bonds of fraternal union. The *Clerks* applied themselves, with exemplary zeal and assiduity, to the study of polite literature, and to the education of youth. They composed learned works for the instruction of their contemporaries, and erected schools and seminaries of learning wherever they went. The *Illiterate Brethren*, on the other hand, were employed in manual labour and exercised, with success, the mechanic arts. Neither of the two classes were under the restraint of religious vows; yet they had all things in common, and this community was the great bond of their union. The *Sisters* of this virtuous society lived much in the same manner, and employed the hours, that were not consecrated to prayer and reading, in the education of young girls, and in branches of industry suitable to their sex. The schools, that were erected by the *Clerks* of this fraternity, acquired a great and illustrious reputation in this century. From them issued forth those immortal restorers of learning and taste that gave a new face to the republic of letters in *Germany* and *Holland*, such as ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*, ALEXANDER HEGIUS, JOHN MURMELIUS, and several others [b]. The institution

[g] The life of this famous Dutchman GERARD GROOTE was written by THOMAS à KEMPIS, and is to be found in his Works. It stands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries which were composed by this eminent writer.

[b] Accounts of this order have been given by AUB. MIRÆUS, in his *Chronicon*

of the order of the Jesuits seemed to diminish the credit of these excellent schools, which, from that period, began to decline, and of which there are, at this time, but very few remaining. The *Brethren of the common life* were frequently called *Beghards* and *Lollards*, appellations that had been given to so many different sects, and were obliged to sustain the insults and opposition of the clergy and monks, who had an inexpressible aversion to every thing that bore the remotest aspect of learning or taste [i].

XXIII. Of the Greeks, who acquired a name by their learned productions, the most eminent were, The Greek writers.

SIMEON of *Thessalonica*, the author of several treatises, and, among others, of a book against the *Heretics* that had troubled the church, to which we may add his writings against the Latins, which are yet extant [k];

JOSEPHUS BRYENNIUS, who wrote a book *Concerning the Trinity*, and another against the Latins;

MACARIUS MACRES, whose animosity against the Latins was carried to the greatest height;

GEORGE PHRANZA, whose historical talent makes a figure in the compilation of the Byzantine historians;

MARCUS EPHEBUS, who was an obstinate enemy to the council of *Florence* [l];

Cardinal BESSARION, the illustrious protector and supporter of the Platonic school, a man of unparalleled

Chronicon, ad A. 1384, and by HELYOT, in his *History of the Religious Orders*, tom. iii. But, in that which I have here given, there are some circumstances taken from antient records not yet published. I have in my possession several manuscripts, which furnish materials for a much clearer and more circumstantial account of the institution and progress of this order, than can be derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that subject.

[i] We read frequently, in the records of this century, of schools erected by the *Lollards*, and sometimes by the *Beghards*, at *Deventer*, *Brunswic*, *Koningsberg*, and *Munster*, and many other places. Now these *Lollards* were the *Clerks of the common life*, who, on account of their virtue, industry, and learning, which rendered them so useful in the education of youth, were invited by the magistrates of several cities to reside among them.

[k] JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 49.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccles.* par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 400.

[l] RICH. SIMON *l. c.* tom. i. p. 431.

genius

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genius and erudition ; but much hated by the Greeks because he seemed to lean to the party of the Latins, and proposed an union of the two nations to the prejudice of the former [m] ;

GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, otherwise called GENNADIUS, who wrote against the Latins, and more especially against the council of *Florence*, with more learning, candour, and perspicuity than the rest of his countrymen [n] ;

GEORGE GEMISTIOUS PLETHO, a man of eminent learning, who excited many of the Italians to the study, not only of the Platonic philosophy in particular, but of Grecian literature in general ;

GEORGE of *Trapezond*, who translated several of the most eminent Grecian authors into Latin, and supported the cause of the Latins against the Greeks by his dexterous and eloquent pen ;

GEORGE CODINUS, of whom we have yet remaining several productions relating to the Byzantine history.

Latin writers,

XXIV. The tribe of Latin writers, that adorned or dishonoured this century, is not to be numbered. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the enumeration of those who wrote upon theological matters, and even of them we shall only mention the most eminent. At their head we may justly place JOHN GERSON, chancellor of the university of *Paris*, the most illustrious ornament that this age can boast of, a man of the greatest influence and authority, whom the council of *Constance* looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French, as are at all zealous for the maintenance of their privileges against papal despotism [o]. This excellent man

[m] For an account of BESSARION and the other learned men here mentioned, see BORNERUS and HODY, in their histories of the Restoration of Letters in *Italy*, by the Greeks that took refuge there after the taking of *Constantinople* ; add to these the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[n] RICH. SIMON, *Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 87. & *Critique de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 438.

[o] See DU PIN *Gersonianorum Libri* iv. which are prefixed to the edition of the Works of GERSON, which we owe to that laborious author

man published a considerable number of treatises that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a superstitious worship, to excite a spirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided church: though, in some respects, he does not seem to have understood thoroughly the demands and injunctions of the gospel of CHRIST. The most eminent among the other theological writers were,

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NICHOLAS DE CLEMANGIS, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who lamented, in the most eloquent and affecting strains, the calamities of the times, and the unhappy state of the Christian church [p];

ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, bishop of *Avila*, who loaded the Holy Scriptures with an unwieldy and voluminous Commentary, and composed also other works, in which there is a great mixture of good and bad;

AMBROSE of *Camalduli*, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance with Grecian literature, as also by the zeal and industry he discovered in the attempts he made to effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

NICHOLAS DE CUSA, a man of vast erudition, and no mean genius, though not so famed for the solidity of his judgment, as may appear from a work of his entitled, *Conjectures concerning the last day* [q].

JOHN NIEDER, whose writings are very proper to give us an accurate notion of the manners and spirit of the

author, and which was published at *Antwerp* in five volumes, folio, in the year 1706. See also JO. LAUNOII *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarreni*, part. III. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514. tom. iv. part. I. Opp. —HERM. von der HARDT *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. i. part. IV. p. 26.

[p] See LAUNOII *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* part. III. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555. —LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 436. —The works of CLEMANGIS were published, some pieces excepted, at *Leyden*, with a Glossary, in the year 1631, by LYDIUS.

[q] BAYLE, *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial.* tom. ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517. —The works of NICHOLAS were published, in one volume, at *Basil*, in the year 1565.

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age in which he lived, and whose voyages and transactions have rendered him famous,

JOHN CAPISTRAN, who was in high esteem at the court of *Rome* on account of the ardor and vehemence with which he defended the jurisdiction and majesty of the pontiffs against all their enemies and opposers [r];

JOHN WESSELUS and JEROME SAVANAROLA, who may justly be placed among the wisest and worthiest men of this age. The former who was a native of *Groningen*, and on account of his extraordinary penetration and sagacity, was called the *Light of the World*, propagated several of those doctrines, which LUTHER afterwards inculcated with greater evidence and energy, and animadverted with freedom and candour upon the corruptions of the Roman church [s]. The latter was a Dominican and a native of *Ferrara*, remarkable for piety, eloquence, and learning, who touched the sores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed against the pontiffs with greater severity. This freedom cost him dear; he was committed to the flames at *Florence* in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the most triumphant fortitude and serenity of mind [t];

ALPHONSUS SPINA, who wrote a book against the Jews and Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei*.

To all these we must join the whole tribe of the scholastic writers, whose chief ornaments were, JOHN CAPREOLUS, JOHN DE TURRECREMATA, ANTONINUS of *Florence*, DIONYSIUS a RYCKEL, HENRY GORCOMIUS, GABRIEL BIEL, STEPHEN BRULIFER, and others. The most remarkable among the mystics were, VINCENTIUS FERRERIRUS, HERN. HARPHIUS, LAURENTIUS JUSTINIANUS, BERNARDINUS SENENSIS, and THOMAS à KEM-

[r] L'ENFANT, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, tom. ii. p. 254.
—WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 67.

[s] JO. HERN. MAII *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 156.

[t] B. JO. FRANC. BUDDI *Parerga Historico-Theologica*. The life of SAVANAROLA was written by J. FRANCIS PICUS, and published in two volumes 8vo. at *Paris*, with various Annotations, Letters, and original Pieces by QUETIF, in the year 1674. The same editor published also at *Paris*, that same year, the *Spiritual and Ascetic Epistles* of SAVANAROLA, translated from the Italian into Latin. See ECHARD, *Scriptor. Prædicator*. tom. i. p. 884.

PIS, who shone among these with a superior lustre, and to whom the famous book *Concerning the Imitation of Christ*, is commonly attributed [u].

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CHAP. III.

Concerning the state of religion, and the doctrine of the church, during this century.

THE state of religion was become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact, which even they whose prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will never presume to deny. Among the Greeks and Orientals religion had scarcely a better aspect than among the Latins; at least, if the difference was in their favour, it was far from being considerable. The worship of the Deity consisted in a round of frivolous and insipid ceremonies. The discourses of those who instructed the people in public, were not only destitute of sense, judgment, and spirit, but even of piety and devotion, and were in reality nothing more than a motley mixture of the grossest fictions, and the most extravagant inventions. The reputation of Christian knowledge and piety was easily acquired; it was lavished upon such as professed a profound veneration for the sacred order, and their ghostly head the Roman pontiff, who studied to render the saints, (*i. e.* their ministers) propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church, and who had wealth enough to pay fines which the papal quæstors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression, or, in

The corrupt
state of reli-
gion.

[u] The late Abbé LANGLET DE FRESNOY promised the world demonstration that this famous book, whose true author has been much disputed among the learned, was originally wrote in French by a person named GERSEN, or GERSON, and only translated into Latin by THOMAS à KEMPIS. See GRANETUS in *Launoianis*, art. II. tom. iv. part. II. Opp. p. 414, 415. The History of this famous book is given by VINCENTIUS THUILLIERIUS, in the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinarti*, tom. iii. p. 54.

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other words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the ingredients of *ordinary* piety; but such as added to these a certain degree of austerity and bodily mortification were placed in the highest order of worthies, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. On the other hand, the number of those who were studious to acquire a just notion of religious matters, to investigate the true sense of the sacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the divine Saviour, was extremely small, and such had much difficulty in escaping the gibbet, in an age where virtue and sense were looked upon as heretical.

Defenders of
the true re-
ligion raised
by provi-
dence in se-
veral places.

II. This miserable state of things, this enormous perversion of religion and morality throughout almost all the western provinces, were observed and deplored by many wise and good men, who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to stem the torrent of superstition, and to reform a corrupt church. In *England* and *Scotland* the disciples of *Wicliffe*, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the odious title of *Lollards*, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy [w]. The *Waldenses*, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides and from every quarter, raised their voices, even in the remote vallies and lurking places whither they were driven by violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in *Italy* many, and among others the famous *SAVANAROLA*, had the courage to declare that *Rome* was become the image of *Babylon*, and this notion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and would receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed, with all their might, every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and impos-

[w] See WILKIN'S *Concilia Magnæ Britann. et Hibern.* tom. i. —WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 202. 204.

ed silence upon those importunate censors by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

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III. The religious dissensions, that had been excited in *Bohemia* by the ministry of JOHN HUSS and his disciple JACOBELLUS DE MISA, were doubly enflamed by the deplorable fate of HUSS and JEROME of *Prague*, and broke out into an open war which was carried on with the most savage and unparalleled barbarity. The followers of HUSS, who pleaded for the administration of the cup to the laity in the holy sacrament, being persecuted and oppressed in various ways by the emissaries and ministers of the court of *Rome*, retired to a steep and high mountain in the district of *Bechin*, in which they held their religious meetings, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper *under both kinds*. This mountain they called *Tabor*, from the tents which they at first erected there for their habitation; and in process of time they raised a strong fortification for its defence, and adorned it with a well-built and regular city. Nor did they stop here; but, forming more grand and important projects, they chose for their chiefs NICHOLAS of *Hussinet*, and the famous JOHN ZISKA, a Bohemian knight, a man of the most undaunted courage and resolution; and proposed, under the standards of these valiant leaders, to revenge the death of HUSS and JEROME upon the creatures of the Roman pontiff, and obtain a liberty of worshipping God in a more rational manner, than that which was prescribed by the church of *Rome*. After the death of NICHOLAS, which happened in the year 1420, ZISKA commanded alone this warlike body, and had the satisfaction to see his army increase from day to day. During the first tumults of this war, which were no more than a prelude to calamities of a much more dreadful kind, WENCESLAUS, king of *Bohemia*, departed this life in the year 1419 [*].

Commoti-
ons in *Bohe-*
mia.

I 3

IV. The

[(*) This prince had no sooner begun to execute the decrees of the council of *Constance* against the Hussites, than the inhabitants of *Prague* took fire at this proceeding, raised a tumult, murdered the magistrates who published the order, and committed other outrages, which

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The Hussite
war, carried
on by Ziska
and Procopi-
us Raza.

IV. The emperor SIGISMUND, who succeeded him in the throne of *Bohemia*, employed not only edicts and remonstrances, but also the terror of penal laws and the force of arms to put an end to these lamentable divisions; and great numbers of the Hussites perished, by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. The Bohemians irritated by these inhuman proceedings, threw off his despotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with ZISKA at their head, made war against their sovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his sight, discovered, in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the plurality of the Hussites chose for their general PROCOPIUS RASA, a man also of undaunted courage and resolution, who maintained their cause and carried on the war with spirit and success. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both sides, were shocking and terrible beyond expression; for notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition that there was between the religious sentiments of the contending parties, they both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to persecute and extirpate with fire and sword the enemies of the true religion, and such they reciprocally appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained that HUSS had been unjustly put to death at *Constance*, and consequently revenged, with the utmost fury, the injury that had been done him. They acknowledged it, nevertheless, as an incontestable principle, that *heretics* were worthy of capital punishment; but they denied obstinately that HUSS was a *heretic*. This pernicious maxim, then, was the source of that cruelty that dishonoured the exploits of both the parties in this dreadful war, and it is, perhaps difficult to determine, which of the two carried this cruelty to the greatest height.

which filled the court of Wenceslaus with consternation, and so affected that pusillanimous monarch, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.]

V. All

V. All those, who undertook to avenge the death of the Bohemian martyr, set out upon the same principles, and, at the commencement of the war, they seemed to agree both in their religious sentiments and in their demands upon the church and government from which they had withdrawn themselves. But as their numbers increased, their union diminished, and their army being prodigiously augmented by a confluence of strangers from all quarters, a great dissension arose among them, which, in the year 1420, came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were distinguished by the titles of *Calixtines*, and *Taborites*. The former, who were so called from their insisting upon the use of the *cup* or chalice, in the celebration of the eucharist, were mild in their proceedings and modest in their demands, and shewed no disposition to overturn the ancient system of Church-government, or to make any considerable changes in the religion, which was publicly received. All that they required may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded *first*, that the word of God should be explained to the people in a plain and perspicuous manner, without the mixture of superstitious comments or inventions; *secondly*, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered *in both kinds*; *thirdly*, that the clergy, instead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquisition of riches and power, should turn their thoughts to objects more suitable to their profession, and be ambitious of living and acting as became the successors of the holy apostles; and *fourthly*, that transgressions of a more heinous kind, or *mortal sins*, should be punished in a manner suitable to their enormity. In this great faction, however, there were some subordinate sects, who were divided upon several points. The administration of the Lord's supper was one occasion of dispute; JACOBELLUS DE MISA, who had first proposed the celebration of that ordinance *under both kinds*, was of opinion, that infants had a right to partake of it, and this opinion was adopted by many; while others maintained

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tines.

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the contrary doctrine, and confined the privilege in question to persons of riper years [y].

VI. The demands of the *Taborites*, who derived their name from a mountain well known in sacred history, were much more ample. They not only insisted upon reducing the religion of JESUS to its primitive simplicity, but required also that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed in the same manner, the authority of the pope be destroyed, the form of divine worship changed; they, demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which CHRIST alone should reign, and all things should be carried on by a divine direction and impulse. In maintaining these extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the *Taborites*, such as MARTIN LOQUIS, a Moravian, and his followers, went so far as to flatter themselves with the chimerical notion that CHRIST would descend in person upon earth, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. These fanatical dreams they propagated every where, and taught them even in a public manner with unparalleled confidence and presumption. It is this enthusiastic class of the Hussites alone, that we are to look upon as accountable for all those abominable acts of violence, rapine, desolation, and murder, which are too indiscriminately laid to the charge of the Hussites in general, and to their two leaders ZISKA and PROCOPIUS in particular [z]. It must indeed be acknowledged, that

[y] BYZINII *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 130.

[z] From the following opinions and maxims of the *Taborites*, which may be seen in the *Diarium Hussiticum* of BYZINIUS, we may form a just idea of their detestable barbarity: *Omnes legis Christi adversarii debent puniri septem plagis novissimis, ad quarum executionem fideles sunt provocandi.—In isto tempore ultionis Christus in sua humilitate et miseratione non est imitandus ad ipsos peccatores sed in zelo et furore et justa retributione.—In hoc tempore ultionis, quilibet fidelis, etiam presbyter, quantumcunque spiritualis, est maledictus, QUI GLADIUM SUUM CORPORALEM PROHIBET A SANGUINE adversariorum legis Christi, se debet manus suas lavare in eorum sanguine et sanctificare.* From men, who adopted such horrid and detestable maxims, what could be expected, but the most abominable acts of injustice and cruelty? For an account of this dreadful and calamitous war the reader may consult

that a great part of the Hussites had imbibed the most barbarous sentiments with respect to the obligation of executing vengeance upon their enemies, against whom they breathed nothing but bloodshed and fury, without any mixture of humanity or compassion.

VII. In the year 1433, the council of *Basil* endeavoured to put an end to this dreadful war, and for that purpose invited the Bohemians to their assembly. The Bohemians, accepting this invitation, sent ambassadors, and among others PROCOPIUS their leader, to represent them in that council. But, after many warm debates, these messengers of peace returned without having effected any thing, that might even prepare the way for a reconciliation so long and so ardently desired. The *Calixtines* were not averse to peace; but no methods of persuasion could engage the *Taborites* to yield. This matter, however, was transacted with more success by ÆNEAS SYLVIUS and others, whom the council sent into *Bohemia* to renew the conferences. For these new legates, by allowing the *Calixtines* the use of the cup in the holy sacrament, satisfied them in the point which they had chiefly at heart, and thereby reconciled them with the Roman pontiff. But the *Taborites* remained firm, adhered inflexibly to their first principles, and neither the artifice nor eloquence of SYLVIUS, nor the threats, sufferings, and persecutions to which their cause exposed them, could vanquish their obstinate perseverance in it. From this period, indeed, they began to review their religious tenets, and their ecclesiastical dis-

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The com-
motions in
Bohemia
terminated.

sult (besides the ancient writers such as SYLVIUS, THEOBALDUS, COCHLÆUS, and others) L'ENFANT *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, which was published at *Amsterdam* in two volumes in 4to. in the year 1731. To this history it will, however, be adviseable to add the *Diarium Belli Hussitici* of BYZINIUS, a book worthy of the highest esteem on account of the candour and impartiality with which it has been composed, and which Mr. L'ENFANT does not seem to have consulted. This valuable production has been published, though incomplete, in the VI volumes of the *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum* of the very learned JOHN PETER LUDWIG. See also BEAUSOBRE'S Supplement to the *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, *Lausanne*, 1745, in 4to.

cipline,

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cipline, with a design to render them more perfect. This review, as it was executed with great prudence and impartiality, produced a very good effect, and gave a rational aspect to the religion of this sect, who withdrew themselves from the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon serious examination, they found to be inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the Gospel, and banished from their communion all those whose disordered brains or licentious manners might expose them to reproach [a]. The *Taborites*, thus new modelled, were the same with those *Bohemian brethren* (or *Piccards*, i. e. *Beghards*, as their adversaries called them) who joined LUTHER and his successors at the reformation, and of whom there are at this day many of the descendants and followers in *Poland* and other countries.

Commenta-
tors.

VIII. Among the greatest part of the interpreters of scripture that lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applause, if we except their zeal and their their good intentions. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own sense of things, did little more than amuse, or rather delude their readers with *mystical*, and *allegorical* fancies. At the head of this class of writers is ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, bishop of *Avila*, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. LAURENTIUS VALLA is entitled to a more favourable judgment, and his small collection of *Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Testament*, is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the divine

[a] See ADRIANT REGENVOLSCHII *Historia Eccles. provinciar. Slavonicar.* lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 165.—JOACH. CAMERARII *Historica Narratio de fratribus Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia et Polonia*, Heidelberg. 1605, in 4to.—JO. LASITII *Historia fratrum Bohemicorum*, which I possess in manuscript, and of which the viiith Book was published in 8vo. at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1649.

oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of *Europe*, translated into the language of each respective people, particularly in *Germany, Italy, France, and Britain*. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be soon reformed by the light, that could not but arise from consulting the genuine sources of all divine truth.

IX. The schools of divinity made a miserable figure in this century. They were filled with teachers, who loaded their memory, and that of their disciples, with unintelligible distinctions and unmeaning sounds, that they might thus dispute and discourse with an appearance of method, upon matters which they did not understand. There were now few remaining, of those who proved and illustrated the doctrines of religion by the positive declarations of the holy scriptures and the sentiments of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much superior to the vain and obscure pedants of whom we now speak. The senseless jargon of the latter did not escape the just and heavy censure of some learned and judicious persons, who looked upon their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and solid piety. Accordingly various plans were formed by different persons, some of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the mean time, the enemies of the *school-men* increased from day to day. The mystics, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon banishing entirely this scholastic theology out of the Christian church. Others, who seemed disposed to treat matters with more moderation, did not insist upon its total suppression, but, were of opinion, that it was necessary to reform it, by abolishing all vain and useless subjects of debate, by restraining the rage of disputing that had infected the seminaries of theology, and by seasoning the subtilty

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The scholastic divines and moralists hated and opposed.

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subtily of the school-men with a happy temperature of mystic sensibility and simplicity. This opinion was adopted by the famous GERSON, who laboured with the utmost zeal and assiduity in correcting and reforming the disorders and abuses that the scholastic divines had introduced into their seminaries [b], as also by SAVANAROLA, PETRUS DE ALLIACO, and NICHOLAS CUSANUS, whose treatise concerning *Learned Ignorance* is still extant.

Principally
by the re-
storers of
polite litera-
ture and elo-
quence.

X. The litigious herd of school-men found a new class of enemies equally keen, in the restorers of Eloquence and Letters, who were not all, however, of the same opinion with respect to the manner of treating these solemn quibblers. Some of them covered with ridicule and loaded with invectives the scholastic doctrine, and demanded its suppression, as a most trifling and absurd system, that was highly detrimental to the culture and improvement of the mind, and every way proper to prevent the growth of genius and true science. Others looked upon this system as supportable, and only proposed illustrating and polishing it by the powers of eloquence, thus to render it more intelligible and elegant. Of this class was PAULUS CORTESIUS, who wrote, with this view, a commentary on the *Book of Proverbs*, in which, as we learn from himself, he forms a happy union between eloquence and theology, and cloaths the principal intricacies of scholastic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perspicuous style [c]. But after all, the scholastic theology, supported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the Dominicans and Franciscans, maintained its ground against its various opposers, nor could these two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thoughts of losing the

[b] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choies.* tom. ii. p. 269. & *Critique de la Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique* M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 491.—THOMASII *Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56. and, principally, GERSONIS *Methodus Theologiam Studendi*, in LANOII *Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, tom. iv. Opp. part I. p. 330.

[c] This work was published in folio at Rome in the year 1512, and at Basil in 1513.

glory they had acquired by quibbling and disputing in the pompous jargon of the schools. CENT.
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XI. This vain philosophy, however, grew daily more contemptible in the esteem of the judicious and the wise, while, at the same time, the *Mystics* gathered strength, and saw their friends and abettors multiply on all sides. Among these there were, indeed, certain men of distinguished merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagancies that were mingled with the discipline and doctrine of that famous sect, such as THOMAS à KEMPIS (the author of the Germanic theology, so highly commended by LUTHER) LAURENTIUS JUSTINIANUS, SAVANAROLA, and others. There are, on the other hand, some writers of this sect, such as VINCENTIUS FERRERIUS, HENRICUS HARPPIUS, and BERNHARD SENENSIS, in whose productions we must carefully separate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fancy, as also the visions of DIONYSIUS, whom the *Mystics* consider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wisdom with which they are mingled. The *Mystics* were defended against their adversaries the Dialecticians, partly by the Platonic doctors, who were every where held in high esteem, and partly by some even of the most eminent scholastic doctors. The former considered DIONYSIUS, as a person whose sentiments had been formed and nourished by the study of Platonism, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in MARCILIUS FICINUS, whose name adds a lustre to the Platonic school. The latter attempted a certain sort of association between the scholastic theology and that of the *Mystics*; and in this class were JOHN GERSON, NICHOLAS CUSANUS, DIONYSIUS the Carthusian, and others. And also by
the *Mystics*.

XII. The controversy with the enemies of Christianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages, and several learned and eminent men seemed now to exert themselves with peculiar industry and zeal in demonstrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it against the various objections The state of
polemic or
controversial
divinity.

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of its adversaries. This appears from the learned book of MARSILIUS FICINUS, *Concerning the Truth of Christianity*, SAVANAROLA'S *Triumph of the Cross*, the *Natural Theology* of RAYMOND DE SABUNDE, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by PEREZIUS and JEROM DE St. FOI, the Saracens by JOHANNES DE TURRECREMATA, and both these classes of unbelievers were opposed by ALPHONSUS DE SPINA, in his work entitled, *The Fortrefs of Faith*. Nor were these pious labours in defence of the Gospel at all unseasonable or superfluous; on the contrary, the state of things at this time rendered them necessary. For, on the one hand, the Aristotelian philosophers in *Italy* seemed, in their public instructions, to strike at the foundations of all religion; and on the other hand, the senseless subtilties and quarrels of the school-men, who modelled religion according to their extravagant fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many places promiscuously with the Christians, who were therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy, to defend themselves with the utmost assiduity and zeal.

The schism
between the
Latins and
Greeks not
yet healed.

XIII. We have already taken notice of the fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy divisions that separated the Greek and Latin churches. After the council of *Florence*, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, NICHOLAS V. exhorted and intreated them again to turn their thoughts towards the restoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the space of three years after the writing of this last letter, *Constantinople* was besieged and taken by the Turks. And from that fatal period to the present time, the Roman pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian patriarchs more obstinate and intractable than they were when their empire was in a flourishing state. Nor is this circumstance so difficult to be accounted for when all things are duly considered. This obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the Latins and their pontiffs, that acquired, from

from day to day, new degrees of strength and bitterness in the hearts of the Greeks: an aversion, produced and nourished by a persuasion that the calamities they suffered under the Turkish yoke might have been easily removed, if the western princes and the Roman pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.

XIV. We pass over in silence many trifling controversies among the Latins, which have no sort of claim to the attention of our readers. But we must not omit mentioning the revival of that famous dispute concerning the *kind* of worship that was to be paid to the blood of CHRIST, which was first kindled at *Barcelona*, in the year 1351, between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and had been left undecided by CLEMENT VI [d]. This controversy was now renewed at *Brixen*, in the year 1462, by JACOBUS à MARCHIA, a celebrated Franciscan, who maintained publicly in one of his sermons, that the *blood*, which CHRIST shed upon the cross, did not belong to the *divine nature*, and of consequence was not to be considered as an object of *divine* and immediate *worship*. The Dominicans rejected this doctrine, and adopted, with such zeal, the opposite side of the question, that JAMES, of *Brixen*, who performed the office of inquisitor, called the Franciscan, before his tribunal and accused him of *heresy*. The Roman pontiff PIUS II, having made several ineffectual attempts to suppress this controversy, was at last persuaded to submit the matter to the examination and judgment of a select number of able divines. But many obstacles arose to prevent a final decision, among which we may reckon as the principal, the influence and authority of

The intestine divisions and contests of the Latins.

[d] LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 58.—JAC. RICHARDI *Scriptor, Prædicator.* tom. p. 650.

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the contending orders, each of which had embarked with zeal in the cause of their respective champions. Hence, after much altercation and chicane, the pontiff thought proper to impose silence on both the parties in this miserable dispute, in the year 1464; declaring, at the same time, "That both sides of the question might be lawfully held, until CHRIST'S *Vicar* upon earth should find leisure and opportunity for examining the matter, and determining on what side the truth lay." The *leisure* and *opportunity* have not as yet been offered to the pontiffs [e].

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies that were used in the church during this century.

Rites of the
Greek
church.

I. **T**HE state of religious ceremonies among the Greeks may be learned from the book of SIMON of *Thessalonica*, *Concerning Rites and Heresies* [f], from which it appears that the substance of religion was lost among that people, that a splendid shadow of pomp and vanity was substituted in its place by the rulers of the church; and that all the branches of divine worship were ordered in such a manner as to strike the imaginations and captivate the senses of the multitude. They pretended, indeed, to alledge several reasons for multiplying, as they did, the external rites and institutions of religion; and casting, over the whole of divine worship, such a pompous garb of worldly splendor. But in these reasons, and in all the explications they give of this gaudy ritual, there is much subtilty and invention, without the least appearance of truth or good sense to render them plausible. The origin of these multiplied rites, that cast a cloud over the native beauty and lustre of religion, is often obscure, and frequently dis-

[e] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 206.—NAT. ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc.* xv. p. 17.

[f] J. A. FABRICIUS gives us an account of the contents of this book in his *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xiv. p. 54.

honourable

honourable. And such as, by force of ill-applied genius and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to these ceremonies from the circumstances that gave occasion to them, have failed egregiously in this desperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to seduce any mind that is void of prejudice and capable of attention.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of the over-grown multitude of ceremonies, festivals, temples, and the like, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, they nevertheless distinguished, every one his own pontificate, by some new institution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus CALIXTUS III, to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of *Belgrade*, from the victorious arms of MAHOMET II, who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the *Transfiguration* of CHRIST (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. And SIXTUS IV, in the year 1476, granted *Indulgences* by an express and particular edict to all those, who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the *immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin*, with respect to which none of the Roman pontiffs before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive appointment [g]. The other additions that were made to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship of the Virgin MARY, public and private prayers, the traffic of *Indulgences*, and other things of that nature, are of too little importance to deserve an exact and circumstantial enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to mere shew, to a shew composed of pompous absurdities and splendid trifles.

Rites increased in the Latin church.

[g] See RAPH. VOLATERRANI *Comment. Urbani*, lib. viii. f. 289. ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *De Statu Europæ sub Frederico III.* cap. x. in FREHERI *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 104.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the heresies, sects, and divisions that troubled the church during this century.

Manicheans
and Wal-
denfes.

I. **N**EITHER the severe edicts of the pontiffs and emperors, nor the barbarity and vigilance of the unrelenting *inquisitors* could extirpate the remains of the ancient heresies, or prevent the rise of new sects. We have already seen the Franciscan Order at open war with the church of *Rome*. In *Bosnia*, and the adjacent countries, the Manicheans, or Paulicians, who were the same with the sect named, in *Italy*, *Catharists*, propagated their doctrines with confidence, and held their religious assemblies with impunity. It is true, indeed, that the great protector of the Manicheans, STEPHEN THOMASCUS, king of *Bosnia*, abjured their errors, received baptism by the ministry of JOHN CARVAIALUS, a Roman cardinal, and, in consequence thereof, expelled these heretics out of his dominions. But it is also certain, that he afterwards changed his mind; and it is well known, that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Manicheans inhabited *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and the neighbouring provinces. The *Waldenses* also still subsisted in several European provinces, more especially in *Pomerania*, *Brandenburg*, the district of *Magdeburg* and *Thuringia*, where they had a considerable number of friends and followers. It appears, however, by authentic records, which are not yet published, that a great part of the adherents of this unfortunate sect, in the countries now mentioned, were discovered by the *Inquisitors*, and delivered over by them to the civil magistrates, who committed them to the flames.

Beghards,
Schwestri-
ones, Pi-
cards, and
Adamites.

II. The *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* (who were called, in *Germany*, *Beghards*, or *Schwestriones*, and, in *France*, *Turelupins*, and whose distinctive character was a species of mysticism, that bordered upon frenzy) wandered about in a secret and disguised man-
ner

ner in several parts of *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, and particularly in *Suabia* and *Switzerland*, where they spread the contagion of their enthusiasm, and caught the unwary in their snares. The search, however, that was made after them was so strict and well-conducted, that few of the teachers and chiefs of this fanatical sect escaped the hands of the *inquisitors* [b]. When the war between the *Hussites* and the votaries of *Rome* broke out in *Bohemia* in the year 1418, a troop of these fanatics, with a person at their head whose name was *JOHN*, repaired thither, and held secret assemblies, first at *Prague*, and afterwards in different places, from whence they, at length, retired to a certain island, where they were less exposed to the notice of their enemies. It was, as we have already had occasion to observe, one of the leading principles of this sect, that the tender instincts of nature, with that bashfulness and modesty that generally accompany them, were evident marks of *inherent corruption*, and shewed, that the mind was not sufficiently *purified* nor rendered conformable to the divine nature, from whence it derived its origin. And they alone were deemed perfect by these fanatics, and supposed to be united to the supreme Being, who could behold, without any emotion, the naked bodies of the sex to which they did not belong, and who, in imitation of what was practised before the fall by our first parents, went stark naked, and conversed familiarly in this manner with males and females, without feeling any of the tender propensities of nature. Hence it was that the BEG-

[b] *FELIX MALLEOLUS* (whose German name is *Haemmerlein*) in his account of the *Lollards*, which is subjoined to his book *Contra validos Mendicantes*, i. e. *against the sturdy Beggars*, *Oper. plag. c. 2. a.* has given us a list, though a very imperfect one, of the *Beghards* that were committed to the flames in *Switzerland* and the adjacent countries during this century. This author, in his books against the *Beghards* and *Lollards*, has (either through design, or by a mistake founded on the ambiguity of the terms) confounded together three different classes of persons, who were usually known by the appellation of *Beghards* and *Lollards*, as 1st, the *Tertiaries* or third order of the more austere *Franciscans*. 2^{dly}, the *Brethren of the free spirit*; and 3^{dly}, the *Cellite* or *Alexion* friars. Many writers have fallen into the same error.

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HARDS (whom the Bohemians, by a change in the pronuntiation of that word, called *Picards*) when they came into their religious assemblies, and were present at the celebration of divine worship, appeared absolutely naked, without any sort of veil or covering at all. They had also constantly in their mouths a maxim, which, indeed, was very suitable to the genius of the religion they professed, *viz, that THEY WERE NOT FREE* (*i. e.* sufficiently extricated from the shackles of the body) *who made use of garments, particularly such garments as covered the thighs and the parts adjacent.* These horrible tenets could not but cast a deserved reproach upon this absurd sect; and though nothing passed in their religious assemblies that was contrary to the rules of virtue, yet they were universally suspected of the most scandalous incontinence and of the most lascivious practices. ZISKA, the austere general of the Hussites, gave credit to these suspicions and to the rumours they occasioned; and, falling upon this miserable sect in the year 1421, he put some to the sword, and condemned the rest to the flames, which dreadful punishment they sustained with the most chearful fortitude, and also with that contempt of death that was peculiar to their sect, and which they possessed in a degree that seems to surpass credibility [*i*]. Among the various titles, by which these

[*i*] See Jo. LASITHI *Historia Fratrum Bobemorum* MS. lib. ii. § 76. who proves in a satisfactory and circumstantial manner, that the *Hussites* and the *Bohemian Brethren* were entirely distinct from these *Picards*, and had nothing at all in common with them. The other authors, that have written upon this subject, are honourably mentioned by ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE, in his *Dissertation sur les Adamites de Bobeme*, which is subjoined to L'ENFANT's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. This learned author is at vast pains in justifying the *Picards*, or *Bohemian Adamites*, whom he supposes to have been the same with the *Waldenses*, and a sett of men eminent for their piety, whom their enemies loaded with the most groundless accusations. But this is manifestly endeavouring to wash the *Æthiopian* white. For it may be demonstrated, by the most unexceptionable and authentic records, that the account I have given of the matter is true. The researches I have made, and the knowledge they have procured me of the civil and religious history of those times,

these extravagant enthusiasts were distinguished, that of *Adamites* was one; and it was given them on account of their being so studious to imitate the state of innocence in which the first man was originally created. The ignominious term of *Beghards*, or *Picards*, which was at first peculiar to the small sect of which we now treat, was afterwards applied to the *Hussites*, and to all the Bohemians who opposed the tyranny of the Roman church. All these were called by their enemies, and indeed by the multitude in general, *Picard friars*.

III. A new sect, which made a great noise and infected the multitude with the contagion of their enthusiasm, arose about the beginning of this century. A certain priest, whose name is not known, descended from the *Alps* [k], arrayed in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of persons of both sexes, who, after the example of their chief, were also clothed in white linen, from whence they were distinguished by the name of *Fratres Albati*, i. e. *White Brethren*. This enthusiastic multitude went in a kind of procession through several provinces, following a cross, which their leader held erected like a standard, and, by the striking appearance of their sanctity and devotion,

The White
Brethren.

times, entitle me perhaps to more credit in such a point as this, than the laborious author from whom I differ, whose acquaintance with the history of the middle age was but superficial, and who was by no means, exempt from prejudice and partiality.

[(k) THEODORIC DE NIEM tells us, that it was from *Scotland* that this sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet *Elias*. SIGONIUS and PLATINA inform us, that this enthusiast came from *France*; that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*) among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and singing hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol.* ap. MURATORI.—NIEM. lib. ii. cap. xvi.]

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captivated to such a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that persons of all ranks and orders flocked, in crowds, to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of an incensed Deity, emaciated his body by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, endeavoured to persuade the European nations to renew the war against the Turks in *Palestine*, and pretended, that he was favoured with divine visions, which instructed him in the will and in the secrets of heaven. BONIFACE IX apprehending, that this enthusiast or impostor concealed insidious and ambitious views [l], had him seized and committed to the flames, upon which his followers were dispersed and his sect entirely extinguished. Whether a punishment so severe was inflicted with reason and justice, is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for several writers of great credit and authority maintain the innocence of this sectary, while others assert, that he was convicted of the most enormous crimes [m].

The Men of
understand-
ing.

IV. In the year 1411, a sect was discovered in *Flanders*, and more especially at *Brussels*, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whose name was ÆGIDIUS CANTOR, and to WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN, a Carmelite monk, and whose members were distinguished by the title of *Men of understanding*. There were many things reprehensible in the doctrine of this sect, which seemed to be chiefly derived from the theology of the Mystics. For they pretended to be honoured with celestial visions, denied that any could arrive at a

[(l) What Dr. MOSHEIM hints but obscurely here is farther explained by SIGONIUS and PLATINA, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at *Viterbo*, and that BONIFACE, fearing lest the priest, who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burnt.]

[m] See L'ENFANT, *Hist. du concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 102.—POGGIA, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122.—MARC. ANTON. SABELLICUS in *Enneadibus Rhapsodiæ Historicæ*, *Ennead.* ix. lib. ix. tom. ii. Opp. p. 839. published in folio at *Basil* in the year 1560.

per-

perfect knowledge of the Holy Scriptures without the extraordinary succours of a Divine illumination; declared the approach of a new revelation from heaven, more complete and perfect than the Gospel of CHRIST; maintained, that the resurrection was already accomplished in the person of JESUS, and that no other resurrection was to be expected; affirmed, that the inward man was not defiled by the outward actions, whatever they were; that the pains of hell were to have an end, and that, not only all mankind, but even the devils themselves, were to return to God, and be made partakers of eternal felicity. This sect seems to have been a branch of that of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; since they declared, that a new dispensation of grace and spiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghost. It must, however, be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their absurdities were mingled with several opinions, which shewed, that they were not totally void of *understanding*; for they maintained among other things, “1st, that CHRIST alone had merited eternal life and felicity for the human race, and that therefore men could not acquire this inestimable privilege by their own actions alone;” “2^{dly}, that the priests, to whom the people confessed their transgressions, had not the power of absolving them, but that it was CHRIST alone in whom this authority was vested; and 3^{dly}, that voluntary penance and mortification were not necessary to salvation.” These propositions, however, and some others were declared *heretical* by PETER D’AILLY, bishop of *Cambray*. who obliged WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN to abjure them [n], and opposed with the greatest vehemence and success the progress of this sect.

V. The sect of the *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, continued to excite commotions in *Germany*, more especially in *Thuringia* and the *Lower Saxony*; but these fanatics were very different from the ancient heretics of the

A new sect
of Flagel-
lantes or
Whippers.

[n] See the records of this transaction in STEPH. BALUZ. *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 277.

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same name, who ran wildly in troops through various various provinces. The new *Whippers* rejected not only the sacraments, but also every branch of external worship, and placed their only hopes of salvation in *faith* and *flagellation*, to which they added some strange doctrines concerning the *evil spirit*, and other matters, which are not explained with sufficient perspicuity in the records of antiquity. The person that appeared at the head of this sect in *Thuringia* was CONRAD SCHMIDT, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended and committed to the flames [o], in the year 1414, by HENRY SCHONEFELD, who was, at that time, inquisitor in *Germany*, and rendered his name famous by his industry and zeal in the extirpation of heresy. NICHOLAS SCHADEN suffered at *Quedlinburg* for his attachment to this sect. BERTHOLD SCHADE, who was seized at *Halberstadt* in the year 1481, escaped death, as appears most probable, by abjuring their doctrine [p]; and we find in the records of those unhappy times a numerous list of the *Flagellantes*, whom the *German* inquisitors devoted to the flames.

[o] *Excerpta Monachi Pirnenfis*, in JO. BURCH. MENKENII *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 1521.—*Chron. Monaster.* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analect. vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 71.—*Chron. Magdeb.* in MEIBOMII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. ii. p. 362.—From XVI articles of faith adopted by this sect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquisitor of *Brandenborch* in the year 1411, and which CONRAD SCHMIDT is said to have taken from the papers of *Walkenried*, we may derive a tolerable idea of their doctrine. of which the substance is as follows: *That the opinions adopted by the Roman church with respect to the efficacy of the sacraments, the flames of purgatory, praying for the dead, and several other points are entirely false and groundless; and that the person, who believes what is contained in the Apostle's Creed, repeats frequently the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria, and at certain times lashes his body severely, as a voluntary punishment of the transgressions he has committed shall obtain eternal salvation.*

[p] See the account of this matter which is given by the learned JO. ERNEST. KAPPIUS, in his *Relat. de rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A. 1747, p. 475.

A C O M-

A
COMPENDIOUS VIEW
OF
Ecclesiastical History.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY of the CHURCH,

FROM

The Beginning of the Reformation by Luther

TO

THE PRESENT TIMES.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. **T**HE order and method, that have been followed in the former part of this Work, cannot be continued, without the greatest inconveniences, in this Fourth book, which relates to the modern history of the church. From the commencement of the sixteenth century the face of religion was remarkably changed, the divisions, that had formerly perplexed the church, increased considerably, and the Christian societies, that relinquished the established forms of divine worship, and erected themselves into separate assemblies, upon principles different from those of the Roman hierarchy, multiplied from day to day. This circumstance renders it impossible to present in one connected series, or, as it were, in one continued tablatore, the events, vicissitudes, and revolutions, that happened in the church, divided its members, and enfeebled the dominion of its tyrants. From the period on which we now enter, the bond of union among Christians, that had been formed by a blind obedience to the Roman pontiffs, was every where either dissolved, or at least, relaxed; and consequently this period of our history must be divided into a multitude of branches, into as many parts, as there were famous sects that arose in this century.

The method observed in the preceding part of this history changed in the Fourth book.

II. It is, however proper to observe here, that many of the events, which distinguish this century, had a manifest relation to the church in general, and not to any Christian society in particular. And as these events deserve to be mentioned separately on account of their remarkable tendency to throw a light upon the state of Christianity in general, as well as upon the history of each particular Christian society, we shall therefore divide this Fourth book into two main and principal parts, of which the one shall contain the *General*, and the other the *Particular History of the Christian Religion*.

The history of the church in this century may be divided into two general heads.

III. To the *General History* belong all those events, which relate to the state of Christianity, considered in itself and in its utmost extent, to the Christian church viewed in the general, and abstracted from the miserable and multiplied divisions into which it was rent by the passions of men. Under this head we shall take notice of the advancement and progress of Christianity in general, without any regard to the particular sects that were thus instrumental in promoting its interests, nor shall we omit the consideration of certain doctrines, rites, and institutions, which appeared worthy of admission to all, or, at least, to the greatest part of the Christian sects, and

The general history of the church—its extent.

Particular
history.

and which, consequently, produced every where changes and improvements of more or less importance.

IV. In the *Particular History* of this century we propose passing in review, in their proper order, the various sects into which the Christian church was divided. This part of our work, for the sake of method and precision, we shall subdivide into two. In the *first* we shall comprehend what relates to the more *ancient* Christian sects, both in the eastern and western hemispheres; while the *second* shall be confined to the history of those more *modern* societies, the date of whose origin is posterior to the Reformation in *Germany*. In the accounts that are here to be given of the circumstances, fate, and doctrines of each sect, the method laid down in the Preface to this Work shall be rigorously observed, as far as is possible, as it seems the most adapted to lead us to an accurate knowledge of the nature, progress, and tenets of every Christian society, that arose in those times of discord.

History of
the Refor-
mation.

V. The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and we may add, the most glorious of all the Revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time of its divine and immortal founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the *Blessed Reformation*. This grand revolution, which arose in *Saxony* from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also extended its efficacy more or less to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main and principal spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest part both of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of *Europe* was, in a more especial manner, changed by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive the inestimable advantages it *produced*, and the inconveniences of which it has been the *innocent occasion*. The history, therefore, of such an important revolution, from whence so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connexions are so extensive and universal, demands, undoubtedly, a peculiar degree of attention, and has an unquestionable right to the principal place in such a Work as this. We therefore now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church according to the plan and method already laid down.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

The HISTORY of the REFORMATION.

THE History of the Reformation is too ample and extensive to be comprehended without a certain degree of confusion, in the uninterrupted narration of one Section; we shall therefore divide it into CENT.
XVI.
The division
of this first
section.
Four parts.

The FIRST shall contain *An Account of the State of Christianity before the Commencement of the Reformation.*

The SECOND shall comprehend *The History of the Reformation, from its first-Beginnings until the date of the Confession drawn up at Augsbuurg.*

The THIRD shall exhibit *A View of the same History, from this latter period to the Commencement of the war of Smalcald.* And,

The FOURTH shall carry it down to *The Peace that was entered into with the Abettors of the Reformation in the year 1555 [a].* This division is natural; it arises spontaneously from the events themselves.

[a] The writers of the *History of the Reformation*, of every rank and order, are enumerated by the very learned PHILIP. FRID. HANE, (who himself deserves a most eminent rank in this class) in his *Historia Sacrorum a Luthero Emendatorum*, part. I. cap. i. p. 1. and by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Centifolium Lutheranicum*, part. II. cap. clxxxvii. p. 863.—The greatest part, or at least the most eminent of this list of authors must be consulted by such as desire a farther confirmation or illustration of the matters, which I propose to relate briefly in the course of this History. The illustrious names of SLEIDAN and SECKENDORFF, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this kind of erudition, are too well known to render it necessary to recommend their works to the perusal of the curious reader.

C H A P.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of the Christian church before the Reformation.

Things are
in a quiet
state at the
beginning of
this century.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions or rebellion against their authority; since those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenes, and Beghards, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the vallies of *Piedmont*, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of *Europe* which separates the *Alps* from the *Pyrenean* mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

The complaints against the popes and clergy ineffectual.

II. We must not, however, conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance. This was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the pontiffs, the fraud, violence, avarice and injustice that prevailed in their counsels, the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates, the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations, the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws, demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a *Reformation* of the church in its head

head and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose [b]. But these complaints and demands were not carried so far as to produce any good effect; since they came from persons who never presumed to entertain the least doubt of the supreme authority of the pope in religious matters, and who, of consequence, instead of attempting, themselves, to bring about that reformation that was so ardently desired, remained entirely unactive, and looked for redress to the court of *Rome*, or to a general council. As long as the authority of the Roman pontiff was held sacred, and his jurisdiction supreme, there could be no reason to expect any considerable reformation either of the corruptions of the church or of the manners of the clergy.

III. If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly pontiffs, it was the restoration of learning in *Europe*, and the number of men of genius that arose, of a sudden, under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. But even this new scene of things was insufficient to terrify the lords of the church, or to make them apprehend the decline of their power. It is true, indeed, this happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the love of truth and sacred liberty. Nay, it is also certain that many of these great men, such as *ERASMUS* and others, pointed the delicacy of their wit, or levelled the fury of their indignation at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priest-

The Restoration of learning.

[b] These complaints and accusations have been largely enumerated by several writers. See, among many others, *VAL. ERN. LOESCHERUS*, in *Actis et Documentis Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. p. 105. cap. ix. p. 181. & *ERN. SALOM. CYPRIAN. Præfat. ad Wilk. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reformat.* published at *Leipsc* in 8vo. in the year 1717.—The grievances, complained of by the Germans in particular, are amply mentioned by *J. F. GEORGIUS*, in his *Gravamina Imperator. et Nationis German. adversus sedem Roman.* cap. vii. p. 261. Nor do the wiser and more learned among the modern Romanists pretend to deny that the church and clergy, before the time of Luther, were corrupted in a very high degree.

hood,

CENT.
XVI.

hood, the abuses that reigned in the court of *Rome*, and the brutish manners of the Monastic Orders. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the papal jurisdiction and statutes, which were absurdly, yet artfully sanctified by the title of *canon law*, or to call in question that ancient and most pernicious opinion, that *Christ* had established a vice-gerent at *Rome*, cloathed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Intrenched, therefore, within these strong-holds, the pontiffs looked upon their own authority, and the peace of the church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies. Armed, moreover, with power to punish; and abundantly furnish with the means of rewarding in the most alluring manner, they were ready, on every commotion, to crush the obstinate, and to gain over the mercenary to their cause; and this indeed could not but contribute considerably to the stability of their dominion.

The popes:
Alexander
VI. Pius III.

IV. Hence it was that the bishops of *Rome* lived in the utmost security and ease, and, being entirely free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands of their lusts and passions. ALEXANDER VI, whom Humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster, than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him among the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of this century by the most tremendous crimes. The world was delivered from this papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed; though there are historians that attribute his death to sickness and old-age [c]. He was succeeded

[c] See the *Life of Alexander VI*, in two volumes 8vo. by ALEX. GORDON, Esq.—As also another life of the same pontiff, written with more moderation, and subjoined, along with that of LEO X, to the first volume of the learned and ingenious work, intituled, *Histoire du Droit publique Ecclesiastique François*, par M. D. B. published in 4to. at London, in 1752.

in the Pontificate by PIUS III, who, in less than a month, was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained by fraud and bribery by JULIAN DE LA ROVERE, who assumed the denomination of JULIUS II.

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V. To the odious list of vices with which JULIUS II dishonoured the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war and blood-shed. He began his military enterprizes by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of *France* [d]. He afterwards laid siege to *Ferrara*; and, at length, turned his arms against his former ally the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer *Europe* to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a vicar of CHRIST who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities laid desolate. Under such a pontiff all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced.

VI. Nevertheless, from this dreadful cloud that hung over *Europe*, some rays of light seemed to break forth that promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect that reformation in the church, that was so ardently and so universally desired. LEWIS XII, king of *France*, provoked by the insults he had received from this arrogant pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck with a menacing inscription,

The council
of Pisa.

[d] See Du Bos *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*, published at the Hague in two volumes 8vo. in the year 1710.

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XVI.

expressing his resolution to overturn the power of *Rome*, which was represented by the title of *Babylon* on this coin [e]. Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor MAXIMILIAN I, assembled, in the year 1511, a council at *Pisa*, with an intention to set bounds to the tyranny of this furious pontiff, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious church. JULIUS on the other hand, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, nay, treated them with mockery and laughter. He did not, however, neglect the methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, that prudence dictated, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the palace of the Lateran in the year 1512 [f], in which the decrees of the council of *Pisa* were condemned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed with the most dire and formidable *anathemas* against LEWIS and other princes, had not death snatched away this audacious pontiff, in the year 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

Leo X.

VII. He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by LEO X, of the family of *Medicis*, who, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was, nevertheless, equally indifferent about the interests of religion and the advancement of true piety. He was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned as far as the darkness of the age would admit of. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters, and pleasure; though it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invinci-

[e] See B. CHRIST. SIGISMUND. LIEBII *Commentatio de nummis Ludovici XII, Epigraphe, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, insignibus*; Lipsic 1717.—See also *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 238. 243.—COLONIA, *Histoire Litter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 443.—The authenticity and occasion of this medal have been much disputed, and, as is well known, have afforded matter of keen debate.

[f] HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1559.

ble aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature. He was remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and imprudence, and has even been charged with impiety, if not atheism. He did not, however, neglect the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, even the promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. For he took the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran which JULIUS had assembled and left sitting, that had the least tendency to favour the *Reformation* of the church. He went still farther; and, in a conference which he had with FRANCIS I, king of *France*, at *Bologna*, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the *Pragmatic Sanction* [g], which had been so long odious to the popes of *Rome*, and to substitute in its place another body of laws more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects under the title of *Concordates*, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance [h].

VIII. The

[g] We have mentioned this *Pragmatic Sanction*, Cent. XV. Part. II. Chap. II. § XVI. Note [q], and given there some account of its nature and design. This important edict is published at large in the viiith volume of *Concilia* HARDUINI, p. 1949. as is the *Concordate*, that was substituted in its place, in the ixth volume of the same work, p. 1867. and in LEIBNITZ, his *Mantissa Codicis Diplomat.* part. I. p. 158. part. II. p. 358.—The history of these two pieces is given in an ample and accurate manner by bishop BURNET, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3.—See also, on the same subject, DE BOULAY *Historia Academ. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 61. —109. DU CLOS *Histoire de Louis xi.*—*Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François*, tom. i. Diff. ix. p. 415.—*Menagiana*, tom. iii. p. 285.

[(h) The king went in person to the parliament to offer the *Concordate* to be registred, and letters patent were made out requiring all the judges and courts of justice to observe this *Act*, and see it executed. The parliament, after deliberating a month upon this important matter, concluded not to register the *Concordate*, but to observe still the *Pragmatic*, unless the former edict was received and established in as great an assembly as that was, which published the latter in the reign of CHARLES VII. And when by violence and force they were obliged to publish the *Concordate*, they joined to this publication a solemn protest, and an appeal from the pope to

CENT.
XVI.The avarice
of the popes.

VIII. The raging thirst of dominion that consumed these pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all that came within the reach of their power, were accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of *Europe* were, in a manner, drained to enrich these ghostly tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of wealth, in order to augment

the next general council, into both which measures the university and the clergy entered with the greatest alacrity and zeal. But royal and papal despotism at length prevailed.

The chancellor DE PRAT, who was principally concerned in promoting the *Concordate*, has been generally regarded as an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican church. The illustrious and learned president HAINAULT has not, however, hesitated to defend his memory against this accusation, and to justify the *Concordate* as an equitable contract, and as a measure attended with fewer inconveniencies than the *Pragmatic Sanction*. He observes, that by the king's being invested, by the *Concordate*, with the privilege of nominating to the bishoprics and vacant benefices of the first class, many corruptions and abuses were prevented, which arose from the simoniacal practices, that prevailed almost every where; while, according to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, every church chose its bishop, and every monastery its abbot. He observes moreover, that this nomination was the natural right of the crown, as the most considerable part of the great benefices had been created by the kings of *France*; and he insists particularly on this consideration, that the right, which Christian communities have to chuse their leaders, cannot be exercised by such large bodies without much confusion and many inconveniencies, and that the subjects by entrusting their sovereign with the government of the *state*, invest him *ipso facto* with an authority over the church, which is a *part* of the *state* and its noblest branch. See HAINAULT *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, in the *Particular Remarks* that are placed at the end of the reign of LEWIS XIV.

The most specious objection that was made to the *Concordate* was this: that, in return for the nomination to the vacant benefices, the king granted to the popes the *annates*, or *first fruits*, which had so long been complained of as an intolerable grievance. There is, however, no mention of this equivalent in the *Concordate*. And it was by a papal bull that succeeded this compact, that the pontiffs claimed the payment of the *first fruits*, of which they had put themselves in possession in the year 1316, and which had been suspended by the *Pragmatic Sanction*. See the *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François*. As this substitution of the *Concordate*, in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, was a most important transaction, and had a very great influence upon the minds of the English, the translator judged it necessary to give here some account of that matter.]

the

the number of their friends and the stability of their dominion. And, indeed, according to the notions commonly entertained, the rulers of the church seemed to have a fair enough pretext, from the nature of their character, to demand a sort of tribute from their flock; for none can deny to the supreme governors of any state (and such was the character assumed by the popes) the privilege of levying tribute from those, over whom they bear rule. But as the name of *tribute* was every way proper to alarm the jealousy and excite the indignation of the civil magistrate, the pontiffs were too cunning to employ it, and had recourse to various stratagems and contrivances to rob the subject without shocking the sovereign, and to levy taxes under the specious mask and pretext of religion. Among these contrivances, the distribution of *indulgences*, which enabled the wealthy to purchase impunity for their crimes by certain sums applied to religious uses, held an eminent rank. This traffic of *indulgences* was constantly renewed whenever the coffers of the church were exhausted. On these occasions, they were recommended warmly to the ignorant multitude under some new, specious, yet fallacious pretext, and were greedily sought after to the great detriment both of individuals and of the community.

IX. Notwithstanding the veneration and homage that were almost every where paid to the Roman pontiffs, they were far from being universally reputed infallible in their decisions, or unlimited in their authority. The wiser part of the German, French, Flemish, and British nations considered them, as liable to error and bounded by law. The councils of *Constance* and *Basil* had contributed extremely to rectify the notions of the people in that respect; and from that period all Christians, except the superstitious monks and parasites of *Rome*, were persuaded that the pope was subordinate to a general council, that his decrees were not infallible, and that the council had a right to depose him, whenever he was convicted of gross errors or enormous crimes. Thus were the people, in some measure, prepared for the reformation of the church; and hence that

The pope's
authority
held inferior
to that of a
council.

CENT.
XVI.

ardent desire, that earnest expectation of a general council which filled the minds of the wisest and best Christians in this century. Hence also those frequent appeals that were made to this approaching council, when the court of *Rome* issued out any new edict, or made any new attempt repugnant to the dictates of piety and justice.

The corruption of the lower orders of the clergy.

X. The licentious examples of the Pontiffs were zealously imitated in the lives and manners of the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church. The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lusts and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous; for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals with more rigour and severity, than these ghostly rulers employed towards all such as were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem, and the most considerable part of that once-respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eye of the wise and good, but also in the universal judgment of the multitude [i]. Nor could the case be otherwise as matters were now constituted; for as all the offices and dignities of the church were become *venal* every where, the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honours.

The state of the monastic orders.

XI. The prodigious swarms of monks, that overspread *Europe*, were universally considered as cumberers of the ground, and occasioned murmurs and complaints every where. And, nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, of an age that was but just emerging from the

[i] See CORNELII AURELII GAUDANI *Apocalypsis, seu Visio Mirabilis super miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesiæ* in CASPAR. BURMANNI *Analect. Hist. de Hadriano VI*, p. 245. printed in 4to. at *Utrecht*, in 1727.

thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, that used to distinguish them in former times. But the Benedictine and the other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence, and, forgetful of the gravity of their character and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of vice in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the Mendicant orders, and especially those who followed the rule of St. DOMINICK and St. FRANCIS, though they were not carried away with the torrent of licentiousness that was overwhelming the church, yet they lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners alienated from them the minds of the people, and diminished their reputation from day to day. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain eminent and learned men, who endeavoured to open the paths of science to the pursuits of the studious youth, recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in their writings and in their discourse. This is sufficiently evident from what happened to REUCHLINUS, ERASMUS, and other learned men.

XII. Among all the monastic orders none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and their influence universal. This will not appear at all surprizing when we consider that they filled very eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the *inquisition*, and had the care of souls, with the function of *confessors* in all the courts of *Europe*; a circumstance this which, in those times of ignorance and superstition, manifestly tended to put the most of the

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nicans.

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European princes in their power. But, notwithstanding all this credit and authority, the Dominicans had their enemies; and about this time their influence began to decline. Nay, several marks of perfidy, that appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, exposed them justly to the public indignation. Nothing more infamous than the frauds they practised to accomplish their purposes, as may be seen, among other examples, by the tragedy they acted at *Bern* in the year 1509 [k]. They were perpetually employed in stigmatizing,

[(k) This most impious fraud is recorded at length by RUCHAT, at the end of the viith volume of his *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*; and also by HÖTTINGER, in his *Histor. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334. There is also a compendious, but distinct narration of this internal stratagem, in bishop BURNET's *Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, p. 31. The stratagem in question was the consequence of a rivalship between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the *Immaculate Conception* of the Virgin MARY. The former maintained, that she was born without the blemish of *Original Sin*; the latter asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age of darkness and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground from day to day. To support the credit of their Order, they resolved, at a chapter held at *Vimpsen* in the year 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make *Bern* the scene of their operations. A person named JETZER, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to auterities, and who had taken their habit, as a lay-brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions they were contriving. One of the four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into JETZER's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this frightful form he approached JETZER's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at *Paris*, as a judgment of heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime, adding, at the same time, that, by his means, he might be rescued from his misery which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with horrible cries and howlings, frightened poor JETZER out of the little wits he had, and engaged him to promise to do all that was in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary

tizing, with the opprobrious mark of *Heresy*, numbers of learned and pious men, in encroaching upon the rights and

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ordinaty mortifications, such as the *Discipline of the Whip* performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and JETZER's lying prostrate in the form of one crucified in the chapel during masses, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performance of these mortifications would draw down upon JETZER the peculiar protection of the blessed Virgin, and concluded by saying, that he would appear to him again accompanied with two other spirits. Morning was no sooner come than JETZER gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who all unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him, and every one consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitudes that crowded about the convent, while the four friars, that managed the imposture, magnified, in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition in their sermons and in their discourse. The night after, the apparition was renewed with the addition of two impostors dressed like devils, and JETZER's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes (the detail of whose enormities, for the sake of brevity we shall here omit) the impostor talked much to JETZER of the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the Blessed Virgin; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in *Original Sin*; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory; that the Blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her son; and that the town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within her walls. In one of these apparitions JETZER imagined, that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and he was not mistaken; but, not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this. The prior appeared in various forms, sometimes that of St. *Barbara*, at others in that of St. *Bernard*, at length he assumed that of the Virgin MARY, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits that were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals; the little images, that on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which, being tied to a cord that passed through a pulley over JETZER's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended Virgin to increase the delusion. The Virgin, thus equipped, addressed a long discourse to JETZER, in which, among other things, she told him, that she was conceived in *original Sin*, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him, as a miraculous proof of her presence, a *host*, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment, and after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were transacted,

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and properties of others to augment their possessions, and in laying the most iniquitous snares and stratagems for

the *Virgin-prior* told JETZER, that she would give him the most affecting and undoubted marks of her son's love, by imprinting on him the *five wounds* that pierced JESUS on the cross, as she had done before to St. *Lucia* and St. *Catharine*. Accordingly she took his hand by force, and struck a large nail through it which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night this masculine virgin brought, as he pretended, some of the linen in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave JETZER a soporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized child, some grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, all which, with some stupifying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled together by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil in hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awakened he found, to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent to the great mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of MARY, and another of the child JESUS, the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little Jesus asked his mother, by means of this voice (which was that of the prior's) why she wept; and she answered, that her tears were owing to the impious manner in which the *Franciscans* attributed to *her* the honour that was due to *him*, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems of these *Dominicans* were repeated every night, and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that, simple as JETZER was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The *Dominicans* fearing, by this discovery to lose the fruits of their imposture, thought the best method would be to own the whole matter to JETZER, and to engage him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the cheat. JETZER was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the *Dominicans* suspecting that he was not entirely gained over, resolved to poison him; but his constitution was so vigorous, that, though they gave him poison five several times, he was not destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared with some spices,

which,

for the destruction of their adversaries [1]. And they were the principal counsellors by whose instigation and advice LEO X was determined to that most rash and imprudent measure, even the public condemnation of LUTHER.

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XIII. The principal places in the public schools of learning were filled very frequently by monks of the Mendicant orders. This unhappy circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness, which had so long enveloped them, and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in several of the European provinces. The instructors of youth, dignified with the *venerable* titles of *Artists*, *Grammarians*, *Physicians*, and *Dialecticians*, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a certain quantity of barbarous terms, arid and senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts delivered in the most inelegant style ;

The state of
learning, and
of the public
schools.

which, growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelps that were in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. At another time they poisoned the *host*, or consecrated wafer, but, as he vomited it up soon after he had swallowed it, he escaped once more. In short, there were no means of securing him, which the most detestable impiety and barbarity could invent that they did not put in practice, till finding at last an opportunity of getting out of the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this infernal plot. The affair being brought to *Rome*, commissaries were sent from thence to examine the matter, and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burnt alive on the last day of May, 1509. JETZER died some time after at *Constance*, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some. Had his life been taken away before he had found an opportunity of making the discovery already mentioned, this execrable and horrid plot, which in many of its circumstances was conducted with art, would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle. This is a very brief account of the matter ; such as are desirous of a more circumstantial relation of this famous imposture, may consult the authors mentioned in the beginning of this note.]

[1] See BILIB. PIRKHEIMERI *Epistola ad Hadrianum Pontif. Maxim. de Dominicanorum flagitiis*, in *Opp. ejus*, p. 372. This letter is also to be found in GERDESII *Introd. ad Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. i. p. 170. Append.

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and all such as could repeat this jargon with a certain readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition. The whole body of the philosophers extolled ARISTOTLE beyond all measure; while scarcely any studied him, and none understood him. For what was now exhibited, as the philosophy of that famous Grecian sage, was really nothing more than a confused and motley heap of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, which even the public doctors and heads of schools were unable to comprehend. And, if among these thorns of scholastic wisdom there was any thing that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and blasted by the furious wranglings and disputes of the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, whose clamours and contentions were unhappily heard in all the European academies.

The state of
theology.

XIV. The wretched and senseless manner of teaching theology in this century, may be learned from many books yet extant, which were wrote by the divines it produced, and which, in reality, have no other merit than their enormous bulk. The expositors of the holy scriptures were very few in number, during this century; and there were scarcely any of the Christian doctors that had a critical knowledge of the sacred oracles. This kind of knowledge was so rare, that, when LUTHER arose, there could not be found, even in the university of *Paris*, which was considered as the first and most famous of all the public schools of learning, a single person qualified to dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine, upon a scripture foundation. Any commentators, that were at this time to be found, were such, as, laying aside all attention to the native meaning and force of the words of scripture, which their profound ignorance of the original languages and of the rules of criticism rendered them incapable of investigating, gave a loose to their vain and irregular fancies in the pursuit of mysterious significations. The greatest part of the public teachers belonged to these classes of divines, which we have formerly mentioned under the titles of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, who were extremely fond,

the

the former of loading their accounts both of the truths and precepts of religion, with multiplied quotations and authorities from the writing of the ancient doctors; the latter of explaining the doctrines of the gospel by the rules of a subtle and intricate philosophy.

XV. It must, at the same time, be observed, that the divines of this century disputed with a good deal of freedom upon religious subjects, and even upon those that were looked upon as most essential to salvation. There were several points of doctrine which had not been, as yet, fixed and determined by the authority of the church; nor did the pontiffs, without some very urgent reason, restrain the right of private judgment, or force the consciences of men, except in those cases, where doctrines were adopted, that seemed detrimental to the supremacy of the apostolic see, or to the temporal interests of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. Hence it is, that we could mention many Christians doctors before LUTHER, who inculcated, not only with impunity, but even with applause, the very same tenets that afterwards drew upon him such heavy accusations and such bitter reproaches. And it is beyond all doubt, that this great reformer might have propagated these opinions without any danger or molestation, had he not pointed his warm remonstrances against the opulence of *Rome*, the overgrown fortunes of the bishops, the majesty of the pontiffs, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans.

XVI. The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to touch the heart. The number of those, who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people, was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained little else than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived the multitude instead of instructing them. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation.

The liberty
of debating
religious
subjects.

The nature
of religious
worship as it
was celebrated
at
this time.

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indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a common-place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the force of their lungs and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints and their credit in the court of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relicks; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable burnings of *purgatory*, and the utility of *indulgences*. Such were the subjects that employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century; and they were, indeed, the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the *good old mother church*, and advance her temporal interests. A ministry, who would have taken it into their heads to inculcate the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, to exhibit the example of its divine author and the efficacy of his mediation as the most powerful motives to righteousness and virtue, and to represent the love of God and mankind as the great duties of the Christian life, such a ministry would have been very unprofitable servants to the church and to the papacy, however they might have promoted the cause of virtue and the salvation of souls.

The corrupt
and miserable
condition
of the people
in general.

XVII. The state of things, that we have been now describing, exhibits to our view the true causes of that incredible ignorance in religious matters, which reigned universally in all countries and among all ranks and orders of men; an ignorance accompanied with the vilest forms of superstition, and the greatest corruption of manners. The clergy, who presided over the rites and ceremonies of the church, were far from shewing the least disposition to enlighten the ignorance or to check the superstition of the times; nay, instead of opposing, they rather nourished and promoted them.

conducive to their safety and favourable to their interests. Nor was there more zeal shewn in stemming the torrent of immorality and licentiousness than in dispelling the clouds of superstition and ignorance. For the prudence of the church had easily foreseen, that the traffic of *indulgences* could not but suffer from a diminution of the crimes and vices of mankind, and that in proportion as virtue gained an ascendant upon the manners of the multitude, the profits arising from *expiations*, *satisfactions*, and such like ecclesiastical contrivances must necessarily decrease.

XVIII. Such then was the dismal condition of the church. Its corruption was compleat, and the abuses that it permitted were gone to the greatest height of enormity. But in proportion to the greatness of this corruption was the ardor and impatience, with which all, who were endowed with any tolerable portion of solid learning, genuine piety, or even good sense, desired to see the church reformed and purged from these shocking abuses. And the number of those, who were affected in this manner, was very considerable in all parts of the western world. The greatest part of them, indeed, were, perhaps, over-moderate in their demands. They did not extend their views so far as a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, a suppression of those doctrines, which, however absurd, had acquired a high degree of credit by their antiquity, nor even to the abrogation of those rites and ceremonies which had been multiplied in such an extravagant manner, to the great detriment of true religion and rational piety. All they aimed at was to set limits to the overgrown power of the pontiffs, to reform the corrupt manners of the clergy, and to prevent the frauds that were too commonly practised by that order of men, to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of the blinded multitude, and to deliver them from the heavy and unsupportable burthens that were imposed upon them under religious pretexts. But as it was impossible to obtain any of these salutary purposes without the suppression of various absurd and impious opinions, from whence the grievances

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A reformati-
on in the
church ar-
dently desir-
ed.

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grievances complained of sprung, and, indeed, without a general reformation of the religion that was publicly professed, so was this *reformation* supposed to be ardently, though silently, wished for by all those who publicly demanded the *reformation of the church in its head and in its members.*

The Mystics.

XIX. If any sparks of real piety subsisted under this despotic empire of superstition, they were only to be found among the *Mystics*. For this sect, renouncing the subtilty of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, with all the acts and ceremonies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God the centre and source of holiness and perfection. Hence the *Mystics* were loved and respected by many persons who had a serious sense of religion, and were of a tender and devotional complexion. But as they were not entirely free from the reigning superstitions, but associated many vulgar errors with their practical precepts and directions; and as their excessive passion for contemplation led them into many chimerical notions, and sometimes into a degree of fanaticism that approached to madness, more effectual succours than theirs were necessary to combat the inveterate errors of the times, and to bring about the reformation that was expected with such impatience.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Reformation, from its first beginnings to the confession, given in at Augsburg.

The dawn
of a reformation rises
unexpectedly.

I. **W**HILE the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission, and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent, an obscure and inconsiderable person arose, on a sudden, in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long-expected change,
by

by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was MARTIN LUTHER, a native of *Aisleben* in *Saxony*, a monk of the Augustinian *Eremites*, who were one of the Mendicant orders, and, at the same time, professor of divinity in the academy that had been erected at *Wittemberg*, a few years before this period, by FREDERICK the *Wise*. The papal chair was, at this time, filled by LEO X; MAXIMILIAN I, a prince of the house of *Austria*, was king of the Romans, and emperor of *Germany*; and FREDERICK, already mentioned, elector of *Saxony*. The bold efforts of this new adversary of the Pontiffs were honoured with the applauses of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their success. It seemed scarcely possible that this puny David could hurt a Goliath, whom so many heroes had opposed in vain.

II. None of the qualities or talents that distinguished Luther. LUTHER were of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible; his magnanimity invincible and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived. All this will be acknowledged even by his enemies, at least by such of them as are not totally blinded by a spirit of partiality and faction. He was deeply versed in the theology and philosophy that were in vogue in the schools during this century, and he taught them both with the greatest reputation and success in the academy of *Wittemberg*. As a philosopher he embraced the doctrine of the *Nominalists*, which was the system adopted by his order; while, in divinity, he followed chiefly the sentiments of AUGUSTIN; but in both he preferred the decisions of Scripture and the dictates of right reason before the authority and opinions of fallible men. It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of

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the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall, perhaps, find but a few things in his character that render him liable to reproach [m].

Indulgences
preached up
by John
Tetzel in
1517.

III. The first opportunity that this great man had of unfolding to the view of a blinded and deluded age, the truth, which had struck his astonished sight, was offered by a Dominican, whose name was JOHN TETZEL [n]. This bold and enterprizing monk, had been chosen, on account of his uncommon impudence, by *Albert* archbishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, to preach and proclaim, in *Germany*, those famous *indulgences* of *LEO X*, which administred remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission not only with matchless insolence, indecency [o], and fraud, but even carried his impiety so far as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of CHRIST. At this, LUTHER, unable to smother his just indignation, raised his warning voice, and, in ninety-five propositions, maintained publicly at *Wittemberg*, on the 30th of September, in the year 1517, censured the extravagant extortion of these quæstors, and plainly pointed out the Roman pontiff as a partaker in their guilt, since he suffered the people to be seduced by such delusions from placing their principal confidence in CHRIST, the only

[m] The writers, who have given any circumstantial account of LUTHER, and his transactions, are accurately enumerated by Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Centifolium Lutheranium*, the first part of which was published at *Hamburg* in the year 1728, and the second in 1730, in 8vo.

[n] The historians, who have particularly mentioned TETZEL, and his odious methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated in the work quoted, in the preceding note, part I. p. 47. part II. p. 530.—What is said of this vile deceiver by ECHARD and QUETIF, in the *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator*, tom. ii. p. 40. discovers the blindest zeal and the meanest partiality.

[[o] In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, TETZEL said, among other enormities, that *even had any one ravished the mother of God, he (TETZEL) had wherewithal to efface his guilt.* He also boasted, that *he had saved more souls from hell by these INDULGENCES, than St. PETER had converted to Christianity by his preaching.]*

proper

proper object of their trust. This was the commencement and foundation of that memorable rupture and revolution in the church, which humbled the grandeur of the lordly pontiffs, and eclipsed so great a part of their glory [p].

IV. This

[(p) Dr. MOSHEIM has taken no notice of the calumnies invented and propagated by some late authors, in order to make LUTHER's zealous opposition to the publication of *Indulgences* appear to be the effect of selfish and ignoble motives. It may not, therefore, be improper to set that in a true light; not that the cause of the reformation (which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is, in no way, affected by the views or characters of its instruments) can derive any strength from this inquiry, but as it may tend to vindicate the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion.

Mr. HUME, in his *History of the Reign of HENRY VIII*, has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced with respect to the motives that engaged LUTHER to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the *Austin friars* had *USUALLY* been employed in Saxony to preach *Indulgences*, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that *Arcemboldi* gave this occupation to the *Dominicans**; that *Martin Luther*, an *Austin friar*, professor in the university of *Wittenberg*, RESENTING THE AFFRONT PUT UPON HIS ORDER, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves†. It were to be wished, that Mr. HUME's candor had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had determined to repeat it. For, in the first place, it is not true, that the *Austin friars* had been *USUALLY* employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. It is well known, that that commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly to all the Mendicants, whether *Austin friars*, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, or *Carmelites*. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally intrusted with the *Dominicans*‡; and in the records, which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an *Austin friar*, and not one single act by which it appears that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that Order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that, for half a century before LUTHER (i. e. from 1450 to 1517) during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaritious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an *Austin friar* employed in that service; if we

* HUME's *History of England*, under the House of Tudor, vol. i. p. 119.

† Id. Ib. p. 120.

‡ See WEISMANNI *Memorabilia Historiæ Sacra* N. T. p. 1051. 1115.

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The true
state of the
debate be-
tween Lu-
ther and
Tetzel.

IV. This debate between LUTHER and TETZEL was, at first, a matter of no great moment, and might have

except a monk, named *Palzius*, who was no more than an underling of the papal quæstor RAYMOND PERALDUS; so far is it from being true, that the Augustine order were exclusively, or even usually, employed in that service*. Mr. HUME has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of PAULI SARPI which has been abundantly refuted by *De Priero*, *Pallavicini*, and *Graveson*, the mortal enemies of LUTHER.—But it may be alledged, that, even supposing it was not usual to employ the Augustin friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet LUTHER might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To shew the injustice of this allegation, I observe

Secondly, That in the time of LUTHER, the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that LUTHER would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission either for himself or for his Order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings†. Nay more, the very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of LUTHER, was offered by LEO to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his Order‡, who gave it over entirely to ALBERT bishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*. Is it then to be imagined, that either LUTHER or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the Dominicans in general; since it was given to TETZEL alone, an individual member of that Order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led LUTHER to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider in the Third place,—That he was never accused of any such motives either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of LUTHER are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dis-

* See HAPPII *Dissertat. de Nonnullis Indulgentiarum*, Sæc. xiv et xv. *Questibus*, p. 384, 385.

† See WALCH. *Opp. Luther*, tom xv. p. 114. 283. 212. 349.—SECKENDORF. *Hist. Lutheranism*, lib. i. Sect. vi. p. 13.

‡ See WALCH. *loc. cit.* p. 371.

have been terminated with the utmost facility, had LEO X been disposed to follow the healing method which common prudence must have naturally pointed out on such an occasion. For after all, this was no more than a private dispute between two monks, concerning the extent of the pope's power with respect to the remission of sin. LUTHER confessed that the Roman pontiff was clothed with the power of remitting the *human* punishments inflicted upon transgressors, *i. e.* the punishments denounced by the church and its visible head the bishop of *Rome*; but he strenuously denied that his power extended to the remission of the *divine* punishments allotted to offenders, either in this present, or in a future state; affirming, on the contrary, that these punishments could only be removed by the merits of

pute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach LUTHER with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of *Erasmus*, *Sleidan*, *De Thou*, *Guiccardini*, and others, whose testimony might be perhaps suspected of partiality in his favour; but I speak of *Cajetan*, *Hoogstrat*, *De Prierio*, *Emser*, and even the infamous *John Tetzel*, whom LUTHER opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even the lying *Cochläus* was silent on this head during the life of LUTHER; though, after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices*, that *Pallavicini*, *Bossuet*, and other enemies of LUTHER were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of LUTHER were better judges of his character and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after-times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of LUTHER's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. *Bossuet*, to M. *Hume*, and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story? Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. *Hume's* assertion is entirely groundless.

I might add many other considerations to shew the unreasonableness of supposing that LUTHER exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated clergy, to the severity of such a potent and despotic prince as CHARLES V, to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind.]

* SLEIDAN, *De Statu Rel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.*

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CHRIST, or by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, undertaken and performed by the transgressor. The doctrine of TETZEL was, indeed, directly opposite to the sentiments of LUTHER; for this senseless or designing monk asserted, that all punishments present and future, human and divine, were submitted to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and came within the reach of his absolving power. This matter had often been debated before the present period; but the popes had always been prudent enough to leave it undecided. These debates, however, being sometimes treated with neglect, and, at others, carried on without wisdom, the seeds of discord gained imperceptibly new accessions of strength and vigour, and from small beginnings produced, at length, revolutions and events of the most momentous nature.

The adver-
saries of
Luther and
the patrons
of Tetzels.

V. The sentiments of LUTHER were received with applause by the greatest part of *Germany*, which had long groaned under the avarice of the pontiffs and the extortions of their tax-gatherers, and had murmured grievously against the various stratagems, that were daily put in practice, with the most frontless impudence, to fleece the rich, and to grind the faces of the poor. But the votaries of *Rome* were filled with horror, when they were informed of the opinions propagated by the Saxon reformer; more especially the Dominicans, who looked upon their order as insulted and attacked in the person of TETZEL. The alarm of controversy was therefore sounded, and TETZEL, himself, appeared immediately in the field against LUTHER, whose sentiments he pretended to refute in two academical discourses, which he pronounced on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity. In the year following (1518) two famous Dominicans, SYLVESTER DE PRIERIO and HOOGSTRAT, the former a native of *Italy*, and the latter a German, rose up also against the adventurous reformer, and attacked him at *Cologne* with the utmost vehemence and ardor. Their example was soon followed by another formidable champion, named ECKIUS, a celebrated professor of divinity at *Ingolstadt*, and one of the

the most zealous supporters of the Dominican order. LUTHER stood firm against these united adversaries, and was neither vanquished by their arguments, nor daunted by their talents and reputation; but answered their objections and refuted their reasonings with the greatest strength of evidence, and a becoming spirit of resolution and perseverance. At the same time, however, he addressed himself by letters, written, in the most submissive and respectful terms, to the Roman pontiff and to several of the bishops, shewing them the uprightness of his intentions, as well as the justice of his cause, and declaring his readiness to change his sentiments, as soon as he should see them fairly proved to be erroneous.

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VI. At first, LEO X beheld this controversy with indifference and contempt: but, being informed by the emperor MAXIMILIAN I, not only of its importance, but also of the fatal divisions it was likely to produce in Germany, he summoned LUTHER to appear before him at Rome, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to maintain. This papal summons was superseded by FREDERICK the *Wise*, elector of Saxony, who pretended, that the cause of LUTHER belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it was to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince, and ordered LUTHER to justify his intentions and doctrines before cardinal CAJETAN, who was, at this time, legate at the diet of *Augsburg*. In this first step the court of Rome gave a specimen of that temerity and imprudence with which all its negotiations, in this weighty affair, were afterwards conducted. For, instead of reconciling, nothing could tend more to inflame matters than the choice of CAJETAN, a Dominican, and, consequently, the declared enemy of LUTHER, and friend of TETZEL, as judge and arbitrator in this nice and perilous controversy.

A conference is held between Luther and Cajetan at Augsburg.

VII. LUTHER, however, repaired to *Augsburg*, in the month of October 1518, and conferred, at three

The issue of this conference,

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different meetings, with CAJETAN himself [q], concerning the points in debate. But had he even been disposed to yield to the court of *Rome*, this imperious legate was, of all others, the most improper to engage him in the execution of such a purpose. The high spirit of LUTHER was not to be tamed by the arrogant dictates of mere authority; such, however, were the only methods of persuasion employed by the haughty cardinal. He, in an over-bearing tone, desired LUTHER to renounce his opinions, without even attempting to prove them erroneous, and insisted, with importunity, on his confessing humbly his fault and submitting respectfully to the judgment of the Roman pontiff [r]. The Saxon reformer could not think of yielding to terms so unreasonable in themselves and so despotically proposed; so that the conferences were absolutely without effect. For LUTHER, finding his adversary and judge inaccessible to reason and argument, left *Augsburg* all of a sudden, after having appealed from the present decisions of the pontiff to those which he should pronounce, when better informed; and, in this step, he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the bishop of *Rome* [s]. But LEO X, on the other hand, let loose the reins of ambition and despotism,

[q] There is a large account of this cardinal given by QUETIF and ECHARD *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14.

[r] The imperious and imprudent manner in which CAJETAN behaved towards LUTHER was highly disapproved of even at the court of *Rome*, as appears, among other testimonies, from PAUL SARPIS's *History of the Council of Trent*, book I. p. 22. The conduct of CAJETAN is defended by ECHARD, in his *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 15. but with little prudence, and less argument. The truth of the matter is, that the court of *Rome*, and its unthinking sovereign, were not less culpable than CAJETAN in the whole of this transaction. Since they might easily foresee, that a Dominican legate was of all others the most unlikely to treat LUTHER with moderation and impartiality, and consequently the most improper to reconcile matters.

[s] See B. CHRIST. FRID. BÖRNERI *Diff. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano*, Lips. 1722, in 4to. — VAL. ERN. LOSCHERI *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xi. p. 435. *Opp. Lutheri*, tom. xxiv. p. 409.

and

and carried things to the utmost extremity ; for, in the month of November, this same year, he published a special edict, *commanding* his spiritual subjects to acknowledge his *power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgression of every kind*. As soon as LUTHER received information of this inconsiderate and violent measure, he perceived, plainly, that it would be impossible for him to bring the court of *Rome* to any reasonable terms ; he therefore repaired to *Wittemberg*, and, on the 28th of November, appealed from the pontiff to a general council.

VIII. In the mean time the Roman pontiff became sensible of the imprudence he had been guilty of in entrusting CAJETAN with such a commission, and endeavoured to mend the matter by employing a man of more candor and impartiality, and better acquainted with business, in order to suppress the rebellion of LUTHER, and to engage that reformer to submission and obedience. This new legate was CHARLES MILTITZ, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of LEO X, and whose lay-character exposed him less to the prejudices that arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been cloathed with the splendid purple, or the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission, as this was. LEO, therefore, sent him into *Saxony* to present to FREDERICK, the golden consecrated *rose* (which the pontiffs are used to bestow, as a peculiar mark of distinction, on those princes, for whom they have, or think proper to profess, an uncommon friendship and esteem) and to treat with LUTHER, not only about finishing his controversy with TETZEL, but also concerning the methods of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the court of *Rome*. Nor, indeed, were the negociations of this prudent minister entirely unsuccessful ; for, in his first conference with LUTHER, at *Altenburg*, in the year 1519, he carried matters so far as to persuade him to write a submissive letter to LEO X, promising to observe a profound silence upon the matters

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disconcerted
in 1519.

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matters in debate, provided, that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. This same year, in the month of October, MILTITZ had a second conference with LUTHER in the castle of *Liebenwerd*, and a third the year following, at *Lichtenberg* [1]. These meetings, which were reciprocally conducted with moderation and decency, gave great hopes of an approaching reconciliation; nor were these hopes ill founded [u]. But the violent proceedings of the enemies of LUTHER, and the arrogant spirit, as well as unaccountable imprudence of the court of *Rome*, blasted these fair expectations, and kindled anew the flames of discord.

The nature
of the con-
ferences be-
tween Mil-
titz and Lu-
ther.

[w] IX. It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by CAJETAN to draw LUTHER anew under the papal yoke; because these measures were, indeed, nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most frontless impudence. A man, who began by commanding the reformer to renounce his errors, to believe, and that upon the dictates of mere authority, that *one drop of Christ's blood, being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs* [x].

Such

[1] See B. CHRIST. FRID. B. The records, relating to the embassy of MILTITZ, were first published by ERN. SALOMON. CYPRIANUS, in *Addit. ad WILH. ERN. TENZELII Histor. Reformat.* tom. i, ii.—As also by VAL. ERN. LÖSCHERUS, in his *Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xvi. & tom. iii. cap. ii.

[u] In the year 1519, LEO X wrote to LUTHER in the softest and most pacific terms. From this remarkable letter (which was published in the year 1742, by LÖSCHERUS, in a German work, intitled *Unschuld. Nachricht*) it appears, that at the court of *Rome* they looked upon a reconciliation between LUTHER and the pontiff, as certain, and near at hand.

[(w)] This whole ninth section is added to Dr. MOSHEIM's work by the translator, who thought that this part of LUTHER's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner, than it is in the original.]

[(x)] Such, among others, still more absurd, were the expressions of

Such a man was not to be reasoned with. But MILTITZ, proceeded in quite another manner, and his conferences with the Saxon reformer are worthy of attention. He was ordered, indeed, to demand of the elector, that he would either oblige LUTHER to renounce the doctrines he had hitherto maintained, or, that he would withdraw from him his protection and favour. But perceiving, that he was received by the elector with a degree of coldness that bordered upon contempt, and that LUTHER's credit and cause were too far advanced to be destroyed by the efforts of mere authority, he had recourse to gentler methods. He loaded TETZEL with the bitterest reproaches, on account of the irregular and superstitious means he had employed for promoting the sale of indulgences, and attributed to this miserable wretch all the abuses that LUTHER had complained of. TETZEL, on the other hand, burthened with the iniquities of *Rome*, tormented with a consciousness of his own injustice and extortions, stung with the opprobrious censures of the new legate, and seeing himself equally despised and abhorred by both parties, died of grief and despair [y]. This incendiary, being sacrificed as a victim to cover the Roman pontiff from reproach, MILTITZ entered into a particular conversation with LUTHER, at *Altenburg*, and, without pretending to justify the scandalous traffic in question, required only that he would acknowledge the four following things: 1st, "That the people had been seduced by false notions of indulgences: 2^{dly}, That he (LUTHER) had been the cause of that seduction, by representing indulgences as much more heinous than they really were: 3^{dly}, That the odious conduct of TETZEL alone, had given occasion to these representations; and 4^{thly}, That,

of CAJETAN, which he borrowed from one of the *Decretals* of CLEMENT VI, called (and that justly for more than one reason) *Extravagants*.]

[(y) LUTHER was so affected by the agonies of despair under which TETZEL laboured, that he wrote him a pathetic letter of consolation, which, however, produced no effect. His infamy was perpetuated by a picture, placed in the church of *Pirna*, in which he is represented sitting on an ass, and selling indulgences.]

" though

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“ though the avarice of ALBERT, archbishop of *Mentz*,
 “ had set on TETZEL, yet, that this rapacious tax-
 “ gatherer had exceeded by far the bounds of his com-
 “ mission.” These proposals were accompanied with
 many soothing words, with pompous encomiums on
 LUTHER’s character, capacity, and talents, and with
 the softest and most pathetic expostulations in favour of
 union and concord in an afflicted and divided church,
 all which MILTITZ joined together with the greatest
 dexterity and address in order to touch and disarm the
 Saxon reformer. Nor were his mild and insinuating
 methods of negotiating without effect; and it was upon
 this occasion that LUTHER made submission, which
 shewed that his views were not, as yet, very extensive,
 his former prejudices entirely dispelled, or his reforming
 principles steadily fixed. For he not only offered to ob-
 serve a profound silence for the future with respect to
 indulgences, provided the same condition were imposed
 on his adversaries; he went much farther; he proposed
 writing an humble and submissive letter to the pope,
 acknowledging that he had carried his zeal and animosity
 too far; and such a letter he wrote some time after the
 conference at *Altenburg* [z]. He even consented to
 publish a circular letter, exhorting all his disciples and
 followers to reverence and obey the dictates of the holy
 Roman church. He declared, that his only intention in
 the writings he had composed, was to brand with infamy
 those emissaries, who abused its authority, and employed
 its protection as a mask to cover their abominable
 and impious frauds. It is true, indeed, that amidst those
 weak submissions which the impartial demands of histo-
 rical truth obligeth us to relate, there was, properly
 speaking, no retraction of his former tenets, nor the
 smallest degree of respect shewn to the infamous traffic
 of indulgences. Nevertheless, the pretended majesty of
 the Roman church, and the authority of the Roman
 pontiff, were treated by LUTHER in this transaction
 and in his letter to LEO, in a manner that could not

[(z) This letter was dated the 13th of March, 1519, about two
 months after the conference of *Altenburg*.]

naturally

naturally have been expected from a man who had already appealed from the pope to a general council.

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Had the court of *Rome* been prudent enough to have accepted of the submission made by LUTHER, they would have almost nipped, in the bud, the cause of the reformation, or would, at least, have considerably retarded its growth and progress. Having gained over the head, the members would, with greater facility, have been reduced to obedience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of some inconsiderate bigots renewed, happily for the truth, the divisions, which were so near being healed, and by animating both LUTHER and his followers to look deeper into the enormities that prevailed in the papal hierarchy, promoted the principles and augmented the spirit, which produced, at length, the blessed [a] reformation.

X. One of the circumstances that contributed principally, at least by its consequences, to render the embassy of MILTITZ ineffectual for the restoration of peace, was a famous controversy of an incidental nature that was carried on at *Leipsic*, some weeks successively, in the year 1519 [b]. A doctor, named ECKIUS, who was one of the most eminent and zealous champions in the papal cause, happened to differ widely from CARLOSTADT, the colleague and companion of LUTHER, in

The disputes
at *Leipsic* in
the year
1519, be-
tween Ecki-
us and Car-
lostadt.

[(a) See, for an ample account of LUTHER's conferences with MILTITZ, the incomparable work of SECKENDORF, intituled, *Commentar. Histor. Apologet. de Lutheranism, sive de Reformatione Religionis*, &c. in which the facts relating to LUTHER and the reformation are deduced from the most precious and authentic manuscripts and records, contained in the library of *Saxe-Gotha*, and in other learned and princely collections, and in which, the frauds and falsehoods of MAIMBURG's *History of Lutheranism* are fully detected and refuted.—As to MILTITZ, his fate was unhappy. His moderation (which nothing but the blind zeal of some furious monks could have hindered from being eminently serviceable to the cause of *Rome*) was represented by ECKIUS, as something worse than indifference about the success of his commission; and after several marks of neglect received from the pontiff, he had the misfortune to lose his life in passing the *Rhine* at *Mentz*.]

[b] These disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the 15th of July following.

his

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his sentiments concerning *Free-will*. The result of this variety in opinion was easy to be foreseen. The military genius of our ancestors had so far infected the schools of learning, that differences in points of religion or literature, when they grew to a certain degree of warmth and animosity, were decided, like the quarrels of valiant knights, by single combat. Some famous university was pitched upon as the field of battle, while the rector and professors beheld the contest, and proclaimed the victory. ECKIUS, therefore, in compliance with the spirit of this fighting age, challenged CARLOSTADT, and even LUTHER himself, against whom he had already drawn his pen, to try the force of his theological arms. The challenge was accepted, the day appointed, and the three champions appeared in the field. The first conflict was between CARLOSTADT and ECKIUS concerning the powers and freedom of the human will [c]; it was carried on in the castle of *Pleissenburg*, in presence of a numerous and splendid audience, and was followed by a dispute between LUTHER and ECKIUS concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontiff. This latter controversy, which the present situation of affairs rendered singularly nice and critical, was left undecided. HOFFMAN, at that time rector of the university of *Leipfic*, and, who had been also appointed judge of the arguments alledged on both sides, refused to declare to whom the victory belonged; so that the decision of this matter was referred to the universities of *Paris* and *Erfurt* [d]. In the mean time, one of the immediate

[(c) This controversy, turned upon *liberty*, considered, not in a philosophical, but in a theological sense. It was rather a dispute concerning *power*, than concerning *liberty*. CARLOSTADT maintained, that, since the fall of man, our natural liberty is not strong enough to conduct us to what is good, without the intervention of divine grace. ECKIUS asserted, on the contrary, that our natural liberty co-operated with divine grace, and that it was in the power of man to consent to the divine impulse, or to resist it. The former attributed all to God; the latter divided the merit of virtue between God and the creature. The modern *Lutherans* have almost universally abandoned the sentiments of CARLOSTADT.]

[d] There is an ample account of this dispute at *Leipfic* given by VAL.

diate effects of this dispute was a visible increase of the bitterness and enmity, which ECKIUS had conceived against LUTHER; for from this very period he breathed nothing but fury against the Saxon reformer [e], whom he marked out as a victim to his vengeance, without considering, that the measures he took for the destruction of LUTHER, must have a most pernicious influence upon the cause of the Roman pontiff, by fomenting the present divisions, and thus contributing to the progress of the reformation; as was really the case.

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XI. Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat was PHILIP MELANCTHON, at that time, professor of Greek at *Wittenberg*, who had not, as yet, been involved in these divisions (as indeed the mildness of his temper and his elegant taste for polite literature rendered him averse from disputes of this nature) though he was the intimate friend of LUTHER, and approved his design of delivering the pure and primitive science of theology from the darkness and subtilty of scholastic jargon [f]. As this eminent man was one of those, whom this dispute with ECKIUS convinced of the excellence of LUTHER'S cause; as he was, moreover, one of the il-

Philip Me-
lancthon.

VAL. ERN. LÖSCHERUS, in his *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. c. vii. p. 203.

[(e) This was one proof that the issue of the controversy was not in his favour. The victor, in any combat, is generally too full of satisfaction and self-complacency, to feel the emotions of fury and vengeance, which seldom arise but from disappointment and defeat. There is even an insolent kind of clemency that arises from an evident and palpable superiority. This, indeed, ECKIUS had no opportunity of exercising. LUTHER demonstrated, in this conference, that the church of *Rome*, in the earlier ages, had never been acknowledged as superior to other churches, and combated the pretensions of that church and its bishop, from the testimony of scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the best ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees of the council of *Nice*; while all arguments of ECKIUS were derived from the spurious and insipid *Decretals*, which were scarcely of 400 years standing. See SECKENDORFF'S *Hist. of Lutheranism*.]

[f] See MELANCTHON'S Letter concerning the conference at *Leipfic*, in LÖSCHER'S *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. cap. viii. p. 215.

lustrious

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lustrious and respectable instruments of the reformation; it may not be improper to give some account here of the talents and virtues that have rendered his name immortal. His greatest enemies have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowledge, that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies, that may be compared with him; whether we consider the extent of his knowledge in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labours. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent service that LUTHER had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted, and by recommending them, in a powerful and persuasive manner, to the study of the Germans. He had the rare talent of discerning truth in all its most intricate connexions and combinations, of comprehending, at once, the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost perspicuity and ease. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of MELANCTHON more signal advantages and a more effectual support, than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which was partly owing to the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire, with ardor, that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him, sometimes, to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is, however, certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of *Rome*, but maintained, on the contrary, that their extirpation was essentially necessary in order to the restoration

restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timorous, and yielding. Hence arose a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care before he resolved upon any measure, but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was converted, all at once, into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shews, that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished the weaknesses and defects of MELANCTHON'S natural character without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and steady, his desire of reconciling all interests and pleasing all parties less vehement and excessive, his triumph over the superstitions imbibed in his infancy more compleat [g], he must deservedly have been considered, as one of the greatest among men [h].

XII. While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus upon the decline in *Germany*, they received a mortal wound in *Switzerland*, from ULRIC ZUINGLE, a canon of *Zurich*, whose extensive learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepidity and resolution [i]. It must, even be

The origin
of the reformation in
Switzerland.

[(g) By this no doubt Dr. MOSHEIM means the credulity this great man discovered with respect to prodigies and dreams, and his having been somewhat addicted to the pretended science of astrology.]

[h] We have a Life of MELANCTHON, written by JOACHIM CAMERARIUS, which has already gone through several editions. But a more accurate account of this illustrious reformer, composed, by a prudent, impartial, and well-informed biographer, as also a complete collection of his *Works*, would be an inestimable present to the republic of letters.

[(i) The translator has added, to the portrait of ZUINGLE, the

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be acknowledged [*k*], that this eminent man had perceived some rays of the truth before LUTHER came to an open rupture with the church of *Rome*. He was, however, afterwards still farther animated by the example and instructed by the writings of the Saxon reformer, and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigour. For he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people [*l*], but also gave, in the year 1519, a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was SAMSON, and who was carrying on, in *Switzerland*; the impious traffic of Indulgences with the same impudence that TETZEL had done in *Germany*.

quality of *heroic intrepidity*, because it was a predominant and remarkable part of the character of this illustrious reformer, whose learning and fortitude, tempered by the greatest moderation, rendered him, perhaps, beyond comparison the brightest ornament of the protestant cause.]

[(*k*) Our learned historian does not seem to acknowledge this with pleasure, as the Germans and Swiss contend about the honour of having given the first overtures towards the reformation. If, however, truth has obliged him to make this acknowledgement, he has accompanied it with some modifications, that are more artful, than accurate. He says, "that ZUINGLE *had perceived some rays of the truth before LUTHER had come to an open rupture*," &c. to make us imagine that LUTHER might have seen the truth long before that rupture happened, and consequently as soon as ZUINGLE. But it is well known, that the latter, from his early years, had been shocked at several of the superstitious practices of the church of *Rome*: that, so early as the year 1516*, he had begun to explain the scriptures to the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church; and that he had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the very time that LUTHER retained almost the whole system of popery, indulgences excepted. LUTHER proceeded very slowly to that exemption from the prejudices of education, which ZUINGLE, by the force of an adventurous genius and an uncommon degree of knowledge and penetration, easily got rid of.

[(*l*) This again is inaccurate. It appears from the preceding note, and from the most authentic records of history, that ZUIN-

* RUCHART *Hist. de la Reformation en Suisse*.—ZUINGLI *Opp.* tom. i. p. 7. —*Nouveau Diction*, vol. iv. p. 866.—DURAND *Hist. du xvi. Siecle*, tom. ii. p. 8. &c.

many [m]. This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, ZUINGLE pursued, with steadiness and resolution, the design that he had begun with such courage and success. His noble efforts were seconded by some other learned men educated in *Germany*, who became his colleagues and the companions of his labours, and who, jointly with him, succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of *Switzerland*. It is, indeed, to be observed, that ZUINGLE did not always use the same methods of conversion that were employed by LUTHER; nor, upon particular occasions, did he discountenance the use of violent measures against such as adhered with obstinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He is also said to have attributed to the civil magistrate, such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs, as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But, upon the whole, even envy itself must acknowledge, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of the highest approbation.

XIII. In the mean time, the religious dissensions in *Germany* increased, instead of diminishing. For while MILTITZ was treating with LUTHER in *Saxony*, in such a mild and prudent manner, as offered the fairest prospect of an approaching accommodation, ECKIUS, inflamed with resentment and fury on account of his defeat at *Leipsic*, repaired with the utmost precipitation to *Rome*, to accomplish, as he imagined, the ruin of

Luther is
excommu-
nicated by
the pope, in
1520.

GLE had explained the scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the pope, before the name of LUTHER was known in *Switzerland*. Besides, instead of receiving instruction from the German reformer, he was much his superior in learning, capacity, and judgment, and was much fitter to be his master than his disciple, as the four volumes, in folio, we have of his works abundantly testify.]

[m] See JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Hist. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 28.—RUCHAT *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 4—66.—GERDES *Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 228.

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LUTHER. There, entring into a league with the Dominicans, who were in high credit at the papal court, and more especially with their two zealous patrons, DE PRIERIO and CAJETAN, he earnestly entreated LEO X, to level the thunder of his *anathema's* at the head of LUTHER, and to exclude him from the communion of the church. The Dominicans, desirous of revenging the affront that, in their opinion, their whole order had received by LUTHER's treatment of their brother TETZEL and their patron CAJETAN, seconded the furious efforts of ECKIUS against the Saxon reformer, and used their utmost endeavours to have his request granted. The pontiff, overcome by the importunity of these pernicious counsellors, imprudently issued [n] out a bull against LUTHER, dated the 15th of June 1520, in which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were solemnly condemned, his writings ordered to be publicly burnt, and in which he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended errors within the space of sixty days, and to cast himself upon the clemency and mercy of the pontiff.

Luther
withdraws
himself from
the commu-
nion of the
church of
Rome.

XIV. As soon as the account of this rash sentence, pronounced from the papal chair, was brought to LUTHER, he thought it was high time to consult both his present defence and his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose was the renewal of his ap-

[n] The wisest and best part of the Roman catholics acknowledge, that LEO X was chargeable with the most culpable imprudence in this rash and violent method of proceeding. See a Dissertation of the learned JOHN FREDERICK MAYER, *De Pontificii Leonis X processum adversus Lutherum improbantibus*, which is part of a work he published at Hamburg in 4to. in the year 1698, under this singular title: *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutheranae patrona et cliens*. There were several wise and thinking persons, at this time, about the Roman pontiff, who declared openly, without the least ceremony, their disapprobation of the violent counsels of ECKIUS and the *Dominicans*; and gave it as their opinion, that it was both prudent and just to wait for the issue of the conferences of MILTITZ with LUTHER, before such forcible measures were employed.

peal

peal from the sentence of the Roman pontiff, to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that this appeal would be treated with contempt at the court of *Rome*, and that when the time prescribed for his recantation was elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be levelled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of *Rome*, before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render this new bull of ejection a blow in the air, an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time, he was resolved to execute this wise resolution in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and superstitious church might be universally known before the lordly pontiff had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th of December, in the year 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city [o], and there, in presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the *bull* that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world, that he was no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff, and that, of consequence, the sentence of excommunication against him which was daily expected from *Rome*, was entirely superfluous and insignificant. For the man, who publicly commits to the flames the *code*, that contains the laws of his sovereign, shews thereby that he has no longer any respect for his government, nor any design to submit to his authority; and the man, who voluntarily withdraws himself from any society, cannot, with any appearance of reason, or common sense, be afterwards forcibly and authoritatively excluded from it. It is not improbable, that LUTHER was directed, in this critical measure, by persons well skilled in the law, who are generally dextrous in furnishing a perplexed client with nice distinctions and

[o] Of *Wittemberg*.

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plausible evasions. Be that as it may, he separated himself only from the church of *Rome*, which considers the pope as infallible, and not from the church, considered in a more extensive sense; for he submitted to the decision of the universal church, when that decision should be given in a general council lawfully assembled. When this judicious distinction is considered, it will not appear at all surprizing, that many, even of the Roman catholics, who weighed matters with a certain degree of impartiality and wisdom, and were zealous for the maintenance of the liberties of *Germany*, justified this bold resolution of LUTHER. In less than a month after this noble and important step had been taken by the Saxon reformer, a second *bull* was issued out against him on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy of the Roman pontiff [p].

The rise of
the Lutheran church.

XV. Such iniquitous laws, enacted against the person and doctrine of LUTHER, produced an effect different from what was expected by the imperious pontiff. Instead of intimidating this bold reformer, they led him to form the project of founding a church upon principles entirely opposite to those of *Rome*, and to establish, in it, a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, agreeable to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel of truth. This, indeed, was the only resource LUTHER had left him; for to submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of imprudence imaginable, and to embrace, anew, errors that he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle, worthy only of the most abandoned profligate. From this time, therefore, he applied himself to the pursuit of the truth with still more assiduity and fervor than he had formerly done; nor did he only review with attention, and confirm by new ar-

[p] Both these *bulls* are to be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, and also in the learned PFAFF'S *Histor. Theol. Litterar.* tom. ii. p.

42.

guments,

guments, what he had hitherto taught, but went much beyond it, and made vigorous attacks upon the main strong-hold of popery, the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which he overturned from its very foundation. In this noble undertaking he was seconded by many learned and pious men in various parts of *Europe*, by those of the professors of the academy of *Wittenberg*, who had adopted his principles, and in a more especial manner by the celebrated MELANCTHON. And as the fame of LUTHER's wisdom and MELANCTHON's learning had filled that academy with an incredible number of students, who flocked to it from all parts, this happy circumstance propagated the principles of the Reformation with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of *Europe* [q].

XVI. Not long after the commencement of these divisions, MAXIMILIAN I. had departed this life, and his grandson CHARLES V. king of *Spain*, had succeeded him in the empire in the year 1519. LEO X. seized this new occasion of venting and executing his vengeance, by putting the new emperor in mind of his character as *advocate and defender of the church*, and demanding the exemplary punishment of LUTHER, who had rebelled against its sacred laws and institutions. On the other hand, FREDERICK *the Wise* employed his credit with CHARLES to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted, that CHARLES was under much greater obligations to FREDERICK, than to any other of the German princes, as it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire, in opposition to the pretensions of such a formidable rival as FRANCIS I. king of *France*. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was entirely disposed to satisfy his demands. That, how-

A diet assembled at
Worms in
1521.

[q] There is a particular account of the rapid progress of the reformation in *Germany* given by the learned M. DANIEL GERDES, professor at *Gröningen*, in his *Historia renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii.

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ever, he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontiff, he resolved that LUTHER should be called before the council, that was to be assembled at *Worms* in the year 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. It may perhaps appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public diet. But it must be considered that these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and even certain abbots had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for *Germany*, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of LUTHER properly belonged.

The result
of this diet,
Luther's
banishment.

XVII. LUTHER, therefore, appeared at *Worms*, secured against the violence of his enemies by a safe-conduct from the emperor, and, on the 17th of April, and the day following, pleaded his cause before that grand assembly with the utmost resolution and presence of mind. The united power of threatnings and entreaties were employed to conquer the firmness of his purpose, to engage him to renounce the propositions he had hitherto maintained, and to bend him to a submission to the Roman pontiff. But he refused all this with a noble obstinacy, and declared solemnly, that he would neither abandon his opinions, nor change his conduct, until he was previously convinced, by the word of God, or the dictates of right reason, that his opinions were erroneous, and his conduct unlawful. When therefore neither promises nor threatnings could shake the constancy of this magnanimous reformer, he obtained, indeed, from the emperor the liberty of returning, unmolested to his home, but after his departure from the diet, he was condemned by the unanimous suffrages both of the emperor and the princes, and was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire [r]. FREDERICK, who saw the storm rising
against

[(r) This sentence, which was dated the 8th of May 1521, was
excessively

against LUTHER, used the best precaution to secure him from its violence. For this purpose he sent three or four persons, in whom he could confide, to meet him on his return from the diet, in order to conduct him to a place of safety. These emissaries, disguised by masks, executed their commission with the utmost secrecy and success. Meeting with LUTHER, near *Eysenac*, they seized him, and carried him into the castle of *Wartenberg*, nor, as some have imagined upon probable grounds, was this done with the knowledge of his Imperial majesty. In

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excessively severe; and CHARLES V, whether through sincere zeal or political cunning, shewed himself in this affair an ardent abettor of the papal authority. For in this edict the pope is declared the only true judge of the controversy, in which he was evidently the party concerned; LUTHER is declared a *member cut off from the church*, a *schismatic*, a *notorious* and *obstinate heretic*, the severest punishments are denounced against those, who shall *receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance*, him either by acts of hospitality, by conversation or writing, and all his disciples, adherents, and followers are involved in the same condemnation. This *edict* was, however, received with the highest disapprobation by all wise and thinking persons, 1st, because LUTHER had been condemned without being heard, at *Rome* by the college of cardinals, and afterwards at *Worms*, where, without either examining or refuting his doctrine, he was only despotically ordered to abandon and renounce it; 2^{dly}, because CHARLES V, as emperor, had not a right to give an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of LUTHER, nor to take for granted the *infallibility* of the Roman pontiff, before these matters were discussed and decided by a general council; and 3^{dly}, because a considerable number of the German princes, who were immediately interested in this affair, such as the electors of *Cologne*, *Saxony*, and the *Palatinate*, and other sovereign princes, had neither been present at the diet, nor examined and approved the *edict*; and that therefore, at best, it could only have force in the territories belonging to the house of *Austria*, and to such of the princes as had given their consent to its publication. But after all, the *edict* of *Worms* produced almost no effect, not only for the reasons now mentioned, but also because CHARLES V, whose presence, authority, and zeal were necessary to render it respectable, was involved in other affairs of a civil nature, which he had more at heart. Obligated to pass successively into *Flanders*, *England*, and *Spain*, to quell the seditions of his subjects, and to form new alliances against his great enemy and rival FRANCIS I, he lost sight of the *edict* of *Worms*, while all who had any regard to the liberties of the empire and the rights of the Germanic church treat this *edict* with the highest indignation, or the utmost contempt.]

this

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this retreat, which he called his *Patmos*, the Saxon reformer lay concealed during the space of ten months, and employed this involuntary leisure in compositions that were afterwards useful to the world [s].

XVIII. The

[(s) This precaution of the humane and excellent elector, being put in execution the 3d of May, five days before the solemn publication of the edict of *Worms*, the pope missed his blow; and the adversaries of LUTHER became doubly odious to the people in *Germany*, who, unacquainted with the scheme of FREDERICK, and, not knowing what was become of their favourite reformer, imagined he was imprisoned or perhaps destroyed by the emissaries of *Rome*. In the mean time, LUTHER lived in peace and quiet in the castle of *Wartenberg*, where he translated a great part of the *New Testament* into the German language, and wrote frequent letters to his trusty friends and intimates to comfort them under his absence. Nor was his confinement here inconsistent with amusement and relaxation; for he enjoyed frequently the pleasure of hunting in company with his keepers, passing for a country gentleman, under the name of *Yonker George*.]

[If we cast an eye upon the conduct of LUTHER, in this first scene of his trials, we shall find a true spirit of rational zeal, generous probity, and Christian fortitude animating this reformer. In his behaviour, before and at the diet of *Worms*, we observe these qualities shine with a peculiar lustre, and tempered, notwithstanding LUTHER's warm complexion, with an unexpected degree of moderation and decent respect both for his civil and ecclesiastical superiors. When some of his friends, informed of the violent designs of the Roman court, and alarmed by the *bull* that had been published against him by the rash pontiff, advised him not to expose his person at the diet of *Worms*, notwithstanding the imperial safe-conduct, (which, in a similar case, had not been sufficient to protect JOHN HUSS and JEROM of *Prague* from the perfidy and cruelty of their enemies) he answered with his usual intrepidity, that *were he obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils, as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there; that, fear, in his case, could be only a suggestion of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, and, who was willing to avoid a public defeat before such a grand assembly, as the diet of Worms.* The fire and obstinacy that appeared in this answer seemed to prognosticate much warmth and vehemence in LUTHER's conduct at the assembly before which he was going to appear. But it was quite otherwise. He exposed with decency and dignity the superstitious doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, and the grievances that arose from the overgrown power of its pontiff, and the abuse that was made of it. He acknowledged the writings with which he was charged, and offered, both with moderation and humility, to defend their contents. He desired the pope's

XVIII. The active spirit of LUTHER could not, however, long bear this confinement; he therefore left his *Patmos* in the month of March, of the year 1522, without the consent, or even the knowledge, of his patron and protector, FRIDERICK, and repaired to *Wittenberg*. One of the principal motives that engaged him to take this bold step, was the information he had received of the inconsiderate conduct of CARLOSTADT, and some other friends of the Reformation, who had already excited tumults in *Saxony*, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the tranquillity of the state and the true interests of the church. CARLOSTADT, professor at *Wittenberg*, was a man of considerable learning, who had pierced the veil, with which papal artifice and superstition had covered the truth, and, at the instigation of ECKIUS, had been excluded with LUTHER from the communion of the church. His zeal, however, was intemperate; his plans laid with temerity, and executed without moderation. During LUTHER'S absence, he threw down and broke the images of the saints that were placed in the churches, and instead of restraining the vehemence of a fanatical multitude, who had already begun in some places to abuse the precious liberty that was dawning upon them, he encouraged their ill-timed violence, and led them on to sedition and mutiny. LUTHER opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent reformer with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents first to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places, since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course [1], and since the destruction

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The conduct of Luther after his leaving the castle of *Wartenberg*.

pope's legates and their adherents to hear him, to inform him, to reason with him, and solemnly offered, in presence of the assembled princes and bishops, to renounce his doctrines, if they were shewn to be erroneous. But to all these expostulations he received no other answer, than the despotic dictates of mere authority, attended with injurious and provoking language.]

[(1) Dr. MOSHEIM'S account of this matter is perhaps more advantageous to LUTHER, than the rigorous demands of historical impar-

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tion of the latter alone could be attended with no lasting fruits. To these prudent admonitions this excellent reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself, with redoubled industry and zeal, to his German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success [u], with the assistance of some learned and pious men, whom he consulted in this great and important undertaking. The event abundantly shewed the wisdom of LUTHER's advice. For the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden, and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of *Rome* from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.

Leo X succeeded by
Adrian VI.
in the year
1522. Diet
of Nurem-
berg.

XIX. While these things were transacting, LEO X. departed this Life, and was succeeded in the pontificate by ADRIAN VI. a native of *Utrecht*. This pope, who

impartiality will admit of; the defects at least of the great reformer are here shaded with art. It is evident from several passages in the writings of LUTHER, that he was by no means averse to the use of images, but that, on the contrary, he looked upon them, as adapted to excite and animate the devotion of the people. But, perhaps, the true reason of LUTHER's displeasure at the proceedings of CARLOSTADT, was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan, which he had laid, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only conductor of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. LUTHER himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition, and it appears evidently in several of his letters. On the other hand it must be owned, that CARLOSTADT was rash, violent, and prone to enthusiasm, as appears by the connexions he formed afterwards with the fanatical anabaptists, headed by MUNZER. His contests with LUTHER about the eucharist, in which he manifestly maintained the truth, shall be mentioned in their proper place.]

[u] Of this *German translation of the Bible*, which contributed more than all other causes, taken together, to strengthen the foundations of the Lutheran church, we have an interesting history composed by Jo. FRID. MAYER, and published in 4to. at *Hamburg*, in the year 1701. A more ample one, however, was expected from the labours of the learned J. MELCHIOR KRAFT, but his death has disappointed our hopes. See Jo. ALB. FABRICII *Centifolium Lutheran.* par. I. p. 147. & par. II. p. 617.

had

had formerly been preceptor to CHARLES V, and who CENT. XVI.
 owed his new dignity to the good offices of that prince,
 was a man of probity and candor, who acknowledged
 ingenuously that the church laboured under the most
 fatal disorders, and declared his willingness to apply the
 remedies that should be most adapted to heal them [*w*].
 He began his pontificate by sending a legate to the diet,
 which was assembled at *Nuremberg* in 1522. FRANCIS
 CHEREGATO, the person who was intrusted with this
 commission, had positive orders to demand the speedy
 and vigorous execution of the sentence that had been
 pronounced against LUTHER and his followers at the
 diet of *Worms*, but, at the same time, he was authorised
 to declare that the pontiff was ready to remove the abuses
 and grievances that had armed such a formidable enemy
 against the see of *Rome*. The princes of the empire
 encouraged by this declaration on the one hand, and
 by the absence of the emperor, who, at this time, re-
 sided in *Spain*, on the other, seized this opportunity of
 proposing the summoning a general council in *Germany*,
 in order the deliberate upon the proper methods of bring-
 ing about an universal reformation of the church. They
 exhibited, at the same time, an hundred articles, con-
 taining the heaviest complaints of the injurious treatment
 the Germans had hitherto received from the court of
Rome, and, by a public law, prohibited all innovation
 in religious matters, until a general council should de-
 cide what was to be done in an affair of such high mo-
 ment and importance [*x*]. As long as the German
 princes were unacquainted with, or inattentive to the
 measures that were taken in *Saxony* for founding a new
 church in direct opposition to that of *Rome*, they were
 zealously unanimous in their endeavours to set bounds
 to the papal authority and jurisdiction, which they all
 looked upon as overgrown and enormous, nor were they

[*w*] See CASPAR. BURMANNI *Adrianus VI, sive Analeſta Historica de Adriano VI Papa Romano*, published at *Utrecht* in 4to. in the year 1727.

[*x*] See JAC. FRID. GEORGII *Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedem Romanam*, lib. ii. p. 327.

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VII. elected
pope in the
year 1524.

at all offended at LUTHER's contest with the Roman pontiff, which they considered as a dispute of a private and personal nature.

XX. The good pope ADRIAN did not long enjoy the pleasure of sitting at the head of the church. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by CLEMENT VII, a man of a reserved character, and prone to artifice [y]. This pontiff sent to the imperial diet at *Nuremberg*, in the year 1524, a cardinal-legate, named CAMPEGIUS, whose orders, with respect to the affairs of LUTHER, breathed nothing but severity and violence, and who inveighed against the lenity of the German princes in delaying the execution of the decree of *Worms*, while he carefully avoided the smallest mention of the promise ADRIAN had made to reform the corruptions of a superstitious church. The emperor seconded the demands of CAMPEGIUS by the orders he sent to his minister to insist upon the execution of the sentence which had been pronounced against LUTHER and his adherents at the diet of *Worms*. The princes of the empire tired out by these importunities and remonstrances, changed in appearance the law they had passed, but confirmed it in reality. For while they promised to observe, as far as was possible, the edict of *Worms*, they, at the same time, renewed their demands of a general council, and left all other matters in dispute to be examined and decided at the diet that was soon to be assembled at *Spire*. The pope's legate, on the other hand, perceiving by these proceedings, that the German princes in general were no enemies to the Reformation, retired to *Ratisbon* with the bishops and those of the princes that adhered to the cause of *Rome*, and there drew from them a new declaration, by which they engaged themselves to execute rigorously the edict of *Worms* in their respective dominions.

Carlostadt
and Zuingle.

XXI. While the efforts of LUTHER towards the reformation of the church were daily crowned with grow-

[y] See JAC. ZIEGLERI *Historia Clementis VII*, in Jo. GEORGII SCHELHORNII *Amœnitates Histor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 210.

ing success, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign, and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident, was a controversy concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the Roman pontiff had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. LUTHER and his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of *Rome* with respect to the *transubstantiation*, or change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of CHRIST, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord's supper received, along with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgment, was a mystery, which they did not pretend to explain [z]. CARLOSTADT, who was LUTHER'S colleague, understood the matter quite otherwise, and his doctrine, which was afterwards illustrated and confirmed by ZUINGLE with much more ingenuity than he had proposed it, amounted to this: "That the body and blood of Christ were not *really* present in the eucharist; and that the bread and wine were no more than external *signs*, or *symbols*, designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the divine Saviour, and of the benefits which arise from it [a]." This opinion was embraced by

[(z) LUTHER was not so modest as Dr. MOSHEIM here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the *real presence*, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. As in a red-hot iron, *said he*, two distinct substances, *viz. iron* and *fire* are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the eucharist. I mention this miserable comparison to shew into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius.]

[a] See VAL. ERN. LOSCHERI *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, par. I. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 55.—See also, on the other side

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by all the friends of the Reformation in *Switzerland* and By a considerable number of its votaries in *Germany*. On the other hand, LUTHER maintained his doctrine, in relation to this point, with the utmost obstinacy ; and hence arose, in the year 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated, at length, in a fatal division between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

The war of
the Peasants.

XXII. To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effect of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other ; and, by its unhappy consequences, was prejudicial to the cause and progress of the reformation. In the year 1525, a prodigious multitude of seditious fanatics arose like a whirlwind, all of a sudden in different parts of *Germany*, took arms, united their forces, waged war against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and exhibited spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burthens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs ; and hence this sedition was called the *Rustic war*, or the war of the Peasants [b]. But it is also certain, that this motley croud was inter-

side of the question, SCULTET'S *Annales Evangelii*, published by VON DER HART, in his *Historia Litter. Reformat.* p. 74.—RUD. HOSPINIUS, and other reformed writers, who have treated of the origin and progress of this dispute.

[b] These kinds of wars, or commotions, arising from the impatience of the Peasants, under the heavy burthens that were laid on them, were very common long before the time of LUTHER. Hence the author of the *Danish Chronicle* (published by the learned LUGEWIG, in the ninth volume of his *Reliq. MStorum*, p. 59.) calls these insurrections a *common evil*. This will not appear surprising to such as consider, that in most places the condition of the Peasants was much more intolerable and grievous before the reformation, than it is in our times ; and that the tyranny and cruelty of the nobility, before that happy period, were excessive and insupportable.

mixed

mixed with numbers, who joined in this sedition from different motives, some impelled by the suggestions of enthusiasm, and others by the profligate and odious view of rapine and plunder, of mending fortunes ruined by extravagant and dissolute living. At the first breaking out of this war, it seemed to have been kindled only by civil and political views, and agreeable to this is the general tenor of the *Declarations* and *Manifestos* that were published by these rioters. The claims they made in these papers related to nothing farther than the diminution of the tasks imposed upon the Peasants, and to their obtaining a greater measure of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. Religion seemed to be out of the question; at least, it was not the object of deliberation or debate. But no sooner had the enthusiast MUNZER [c] put himself at the head of this outrageous rabble, than the face of things changed entirely, and by the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in *Saxony* and *Thuringia* were soon directed towards a new object, and were turned into a religious war. The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government: another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to a diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burthens under which they groaned [d]; another, insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and, to add weight to this demand, pretended, that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or any fixed pur-

[c] Or MUNSTER, as some call him.

[d] These burthens were the duties of vassalage or feudal services, which, in many respects, were truly grievous.

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pose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong without reflection or foresight into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of LUTHER concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose only from the manifest abuse of it. LUTHER, himself, has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And, accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated, and destroyed in a pitched battle fought at *Mulhausen*, and MUNZER, their ringleader, taken, and put to death [e].

Frederick
the Wise
dies, and is
succeeded by
John 1525
—1527.

XXIII. While this fanatical insurrection raged in Germany, FREDERICK, *the Wise*, elector of Saxony, departed this life. This excellent prince, whose character was distinguished by an uncommon degree of prudence and moderation, had, during his life, been a sort of a mediator between the Roman pontiff and the reformer of *Wittenberg*, and had always entertained the pleasing hope of restoring peace in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion. Hence it was, that while, on the one hand, he made no opposition to LUTHER's design of reforming a corrupt and superstitious church, but rather encouraged him in the execution of this pious purpose;

[e] PETRI GNODALII *Historia de Seditione repentina Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum*, A. 1525, tempore verno per universam fere Germaniam exorta, Basil. 1570, in 8vo.—See also B. TENZELII *Histor. Reform.* tom. ii. p. 331.

yet,

yet, on the other, it is remarkable, that he was at no pains to introduce any change into the churches that were established in his own dominions, nor to subject them to his jurisdiction. The elector JOHN, his brother and successor, acted in a quite different manner. Convinced of the truth of LUTHER's doctrine, and, persuaded that it must lose ground and be soon suppressed if the despotic authority of the Roman pontiff remained undisputed and entire, he, without hesitation or delay, assumed to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters that is the natural right of every lawful sovereign, and founded and established a church in his dominions, totally different from the church of *Rome* in doctrine, discipline, and government. To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as was possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by LUTHER and MELANCTHON, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions in the year 1527. He also took care that the churches should every where be supplied with pious and learned doctors, and that such of the clergy as dishonoured religion by their bad morals, or were incapable of promoting its influence by their want of talents, should be removed from the sacred functions. The illustrious example of this elector was followed by all the princes and states of *Germany* who renounced the papal supremacy and jurisdiction, and a like form of worship, discipline, and government was thus introduced into all the churches which dissented from that of *Rome*. Thus may the elector JOHN be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, which he alone rendered a complete and independent body, distinct from the superstitious church of *Rome*, and fenced about with salutary laws and a wise and well-balanced constitution of government. But as the best blessings may, through the influence of human corruption, become the innocent occasions of great inconveniencies, such particularly

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was the fate of those wise and vigorous measures which this elector took for the reformation of the church; for from that time, the religious differences between the German princes, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of moderation, broke out into a violent and lasting flame. The prudence, or rather timorousness, of FREDERICK, *the Wise*, who avoided every resolute measure that might be adapted to kindle the fire of discord, had preserved a sort of an external union and concord among these princes, notwithstanding their difference in opinion. But as soon as his successor, by the open and undisguised steps he took, made it glaringly evident, that he designed to withdraw the churches in his dominions from the jurisdiction of *Rome*, and to reform the doctrine, discipline, and worship that had been hitherto established, then indeed the scene changed. The union, which was more specious than solid, and which was far from being well cemented, was dissolved of a sudden, the spirits heated and divided, and an open rupture formed between the German princes, of whom one party embraced the Reformation, and the other adhered to the superstitions of their fore-fathers.

The diet of
Spire in
1526.

XXIV. Things being reduced to this violent and troubled state, the patrons of popery gave intimations, that were far from being ambiguous of their intention to make war upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by *force* a doctrine which they were incapable of overturning by *argument*; and this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of *Europe* disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, on the other hand, informed of these hostile intentions, began also to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy that might answer this prudent purpose. In the mean time the diet assembled at *Spire*, in the year 1526, at which FERDINAND, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a manner more favourable to the friends of the Reformation, than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest

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endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced at *Worms* against *LUTHER* and his followers. The greatest part of the German princes opposed this motion with the utmost resolution, declaring, that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council lawfully assembled; alledging, farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and, at length, consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and a general council; and it was also agreed, that, in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient; yet so, as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration, when it should be demanded of them.

XXV. Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor was, at this time, so entirely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which exhibited, from day to day, new scenes of perplexity; that, for some years, it was not in his power to turn his attention to the affairs of *Germany* in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which to a political prince, like *CHARLES*, was beset with difficulties of the most critical and dangerous nature. Besides, had the emperor really been possessed of leisure to form, or of power to execute, a plan that might terminate, in favour of the Roman pontiff, the religious disputes which reigned in *Germany*,

The progress
of the reformation after
the diet of
Spire, in
1527.

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it is evident that the inclination was wanting and that CLEMENT VII, who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of CHARLES V. For this pontiff after the defeat of FRANCIS I, at the battle of *Pavia*, filled with uneasy apprehensions, of the growing power of the emperor in *Italy* entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against that prince. And this measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of CHARLES to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in *Italy*, laid siege to *Rome* in the year 1527, blocked up CLEMENT in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of *Spire*, were prudently and industriously improved, by the friends of the reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of *Rome*; and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in *Saxony*. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the church of *Rome*. And in general, all the Germans, who, before these resolutions of the diet of *Spire*, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the mean time, LUTHER and his fellow-labourers, particularly those who were with him at *Wittemberg*, by their writings

writings, their instructions, their admotions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

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XXVI. But the tranquillity and liberty they enjoyed in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first diet of *Spire*, were not of a long duration. They were interrupted by a new diet assembled in the year 1529, in the same place by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of *Europe*, and concluded a treaty of peace with CLEMENT VII. This prince, having now got rid of the burthen that had, for some time, overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct the affairs of the church; and this the reformers soon felt by a disagreeable experience. For the power which had been granted by the former diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical matters as they thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes; and not only so, but every change declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion before the determination of the approaching council was known [f]. This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the other members of the diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor was any of them so simple or so little acquainted with the politics of *Rome*, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light, than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council free from the despotic influence of *Rome*, was

Another
diet held
at *Spire* in
the year
1529—Ori-
gin of the
denominati-
on of pro-
testants.

[(f) The resolution of the first diet of *Spire*, which had been taken *unanimously*, is revoked in the second, and another substituted in its place by a *plurality of voices*, which, as several of the princes, then present, observed, could not give to any decree the force of a law throughout the empire.]

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the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore when the princes and members now mentioned, found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon *Ferdinand* [g], nor upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions (whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations) they entered a solemn *protest* against this decree on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council [h]. Hence arose the denomination of *Protestants*, which from this period has been given to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the church of *Rome*.

Leagues
formed be-
tween the
protestants.

XXVII. The dissenting princes, who were the protectors and heads of the reformed churches, had no sooner entered their *protest*, than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from *Spain* to *Italy*, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers, employed in this commission, executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes, whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain. The emperor, whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons that dared to oppose his designs, ordered these ambassadors to be apprehended and put under arrest during several days. The news of this violent step was soon brought to the protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety, and the success of their cause, depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented

[(g) The emperor was at *Barcelona*, while this diet was held at *Spire*; so that his brother *Ferdinand* was president in his place.]

[(h) The princes of the empire, who entered this protest, and are consequently to be considered as the first protestant princes, were *John*, elector of *Saxony*, *George*, elector of *Brandenburg*, for *Franconia*, *Ernest* and *Francis*, dukes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the prince of *Anhalt*. These princes were seconded by thirteen imperial towns, viz. *Strasbourg*, *Ulm*, *Nuremberg*, *Constance*, *Rottingen*, *Windheim*, *Memmingen*, *Nortlingen*, *Lindau*, *Kempten*, *Heilbron*, *Wissenburg*, and *St. Gall*.]

by

by a solemn confederacy. They, therefore, held several meetings at *Rot*, *Nuremberg*, *Smalcald*, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies [i]. But so different were their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

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XXVIII. Among the incidents that promoted animosity and discord between the friends of the reformation, and prevented that union that was so much to be desired between persons embarked in the same good cause, the principal one was the dispute that had arisen between the divines of *Saxony* and *Switzerland* concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the *eucharist*. To terminate this controversy, PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, invited, in the year 1529, to a conference at *Marpurg*, LUTHER and ZUINGLE, together with some of the more eminent doctors who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs. This expedient, which was designed by that truly *Magnanimous* prince, not so much to end the matter by keen debate, as to accommodate differences by the reconciling spirit of charity and prudence, was not attended with the salutary fruits that were expected from it. The divines that were assembled for this pacific purpose disputed, during four days, in presence of the landgrave. The principal champions in these debates were LUTHER, who attacked OECOLAMPADIUS, and MALANCTHON, who disputed against ZUINGLE, and the controversy turned upon several points of theology, in relation to which the Swiss doctors were supposed to entertain erroneous sentiments. For ZUINGLE was accused of heresy, not only on account of his rational explication of the nature and design of the Lord's supper, but also in consequence

The conference at
Marpurg,
in the year
1529.

[i] See the history of the confession of *Augsburg* wrote in German by the learned CHRIST. AUG. SALIG. tom. i. book II. ch. i. p. 128. and more especially another German work of Dr. JOACHIM MULLER, entituled, *Histoire von der Evangelischen Stande Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichsabscheid von 1529, Appellation, &c.* published at *Jena* in 4to. in the year 1703.

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of the false notions he was supposed to have adopted of the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious reformer cleared himself, however, from the greatest part of these accusations with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared entirely satisfactory, even to LUTHER himself. Their dissension concerning the manner of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify, their opinion of that matter [k]. The only advantage, therefore, that resulted from this conference, was, that the jarring doctors formed a sort of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their respective sentiments, and leaving to the disposal of providence and the effects of time, which sometimes cool the rage of party, the cure of their divisions.

The diet of
Augsburg.

XXIX. The ministers of the churches, which had embraced the sentiments of LUTHER, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when an account was received of a design formed by that prince to come into *Germany*, with a view to terminate, in the approaching diet at *Augsburg*, the religious disputes that had produced such animosities and divisions in the empire. CHARLES, though long absent from *Germany*, and engaged in affairs that left him little leisure for theological disquisitions, was nevertheless attentive to these disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had also, to his own deliberate reflexions upon these disputes, added the counsels of men of wisdom, sagacity, and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties

[k] VAL. ERN. LOESCHERI *Historia matuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143.—HENR. BULLINGERI *Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in Jo. CONR. FUESSLIN's compilation, entituled, *Beyträgen zur Schweizer Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. iii. p. 156. See also the *Preface*, p. 80.—ABR. SCULTETI *Annal. Reformat. ad A. 1529*.—RUDOLPH. HOSPINIANI *Histor. Sacramentar.* par. II. p. 72, &c.

and

and of the merits of the cause. He therefore, in an interview with the pope at *Bologna*, insisted, in the most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move CLEMENT VII, who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives, reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency, and alledged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate *heretical* faction, who dared to call in question the authority of *Rome* and its pontiff. The emperor was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn unheard, and to destroy without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had deserved well of their country in several respects. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since there was no regular system, as yet composed, of the doctrines embraced by LUTHER and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontiff, might be known with certainty. As, therefore it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy, or decide with equity, a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of *Rome* and the friends of the reformation, the elector of *Saxony* ordered LUTHER, and other eminent divines, to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of *Rome*. LUTHER, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector, at *Torgaw*, the seventeen articles, which had been drawn up and agreed on in the conference at *Sultzbach* in the year 1529; and hence they were called the *articles of Torgaw* [1]. Though these
articles

[1] See CHR. AUG. HEUMANNI *Diff. de lenitate Augustanæ Confess.*

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articles were deemed by LUTHER a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them ; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to their arguments, and thereby strength to their cause. It was this consideration that engaged the protestant princes, assembled at *Coburg* and *Augsburg*, to employ MELANCTHON in extending these *Articles*, in which important work he shewed a due regard to the counsels of LUTHER, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view, the famous *confession of Augsburg*, which did such honour to the acute judgment and the eloquent pen of MELANCTHON.

The progress
of the reformation in
Sweden,
about the
year 1530.

XXX. During these transactions in *Germany* the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the blessed reformation spread itself far and wide ; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of *Europe* had already broke their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of *Rome* and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. And thus it appears that CLEMENT VII was not impelled by a false alarm to demand of the emperor the speedy extirpation of the reformers, since he had the justest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his ghostly empire. The reformed religion was propagated in *Sweden*, soon after LUTHER's rupture with *Rome*, by one of his disciples whose name was OLAUS PETRI, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited prince, GUSTAVUS VASA ERICSON, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne in the place of CHRISTIERN, king of *Denmark*, whose

seff. in Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar. tom. i. p. 14.—JO. JOACH. MULLER *Historia Protestationis* ; and the other writers, who have treated either of the reformation in general, or of the confession of *Augsburg* in particular.

horrid

horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre, that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriot hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper, now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery ; but having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at *Lubec*, he was there instructed in the principles of the reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of LUTHER not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions recommended by custom, and the doctrine of LUTHER which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, GUSTAVUS wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence [*m*]. Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible that had been made by OLAUS PETRI [*n*]. Some time after this, in the year 1526,

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[[*m*] This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once, while he was absent from *Stockholm*, a great number of German anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of *Munzer*, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other ornaments of the churches, while the *Lutherans* dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But GUSTAVUS no sooner returned to *Stockholm* than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed them in time.]

[[*n*] It is very remarkable, and shews the equity and candour of GUSTAVUS

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1526, he appointed a conference, at *Upsal*, between this eminent reformer and PETER GALLIUS, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. This dispute, in which OLAUS obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm GUSTAVUS in his persuasion of the truth of LUTHER's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in *Sweden*. In the year following, another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success, and this was the assembly of the states at *Westeraas*, where GUSTAVUS recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops in particular, it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by LUTHER should have free admittance among the Swedes [o]. This resolution was principally owing to

GUSTAVUS in the most striking point of light, that while he ordered OLAUS to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, he gave permission, at the same time, to the archbishop of *Upsal* to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of *Rome*; that by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. The bishops, at first, opposed this order, but were, at length, obliged to submit.]

[(o) It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of GUSTAVUS, since there was no country in *Europe*, where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times, than in *Sweden* and *Denmark*. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent on the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the state. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want.—The resolution formed by the states, assembled at *Westeraas*, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine as to reform the discipline of the church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates

to the firmness and magnanimity of GUSTAVUS, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch [p]. From this time the papal empire in *Sweden* was entirely overturned, and GUSTAVUS declared head of the church.

XXXI. The light of the reformation was also received in *Denmark*, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by CHRISTIAN or CHRISTIERN II, of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of LUTHER. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty (whether it was the effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition and tyranny of *Rome*. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for MARTIN REINARD, one of the disciples of CARLOSTADT, out of *Saxony*, and appointed him professor of divinity at *Hafnia*; and upon his death, which happened the year following, he invited CARLOSTADT himself to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in *Denmark*, returned into *Germany*. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to engage LUTHER to visit his dominions, and took several steps that

lates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was, however, resolved, at the same time, that the church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the reformation.]

[p] BAZII *Inventarium Eccles. Sueco-Gothor*, published in 4to. at *Lincoping*, in 1642.—SCULTETI *Annales Evangelii Renovati*, in *Von der HART Hist. Litter. Reformat.* part. V. p. 83 & 110.—RAYNAL *Anecdotes Hist. Politiques et Militaires*, tom. i. part. II. p. 1, &c.

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tended to the diminution and, indeed, to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff. It is, however, proper to observe, that in all these proceedings CHRISTIERN II. was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigour to his reforming projects. His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently shew that he protected the religion of LUTHER with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy both in church and state; and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped [q], and of appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprize. The States of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of *Denmark*, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors [r], and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle, FREDERICK duke of *Holstein* and *Sleswic*, placed on the throne of *Denmark*.

The progress
of the reformation
under the
reigns of
Frederick
and Christi-
ern III.

XXXII. This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation than his pre-

[q] See JO. GRAMMII *Diff. de Reformatione Daniæ à Christierno tentata*, in the third volume of the *Scriptores Societ. Scientiar. Hafniens.* p. 1—90.

[r] See for a confirmation of this part of the accusation, a curious piece, containing the reasons that induced the states of *Denmark* to renounce their allegiance to CHRISTIERN II. This piece is to be found in the fifth volume of LUDEWIG'S compilation, entitled, *Reliquiæ MStorum*, p. 315. in which (p. 321.) the states of *Denmark* express their displeasure at the royal favour shewn to the Lutherans, in the following terms: *Lutheranæ hæresis pullulatores, contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, doctorem Carolo stadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit.*

decessor

deceffor had done. He permitted the proteftant doctors to preach publicly the opinions of LUTHER [s], but did not venture fo far as to change the eftablifhed government and difcipline of the church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progrefs of the reformation by his fucceffful attempts, in favour of religious liberty, at the affembly of the ftates that was held at *Odenfee* in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every fubject of *Denmark* free, either to adhere to the tenets of the church of *Rome*, or to embrace the doctrine of LUTHER [t]. Encouraged by this refolution, the proteftant divines exercifed the functions of their miniftry with fuch zeal and fuccefs, that the greateft part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of facred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurifdiction of the church of *Rome*. But the honour of finishing this glorious work, of deftroying entirely the reign of fuperftition, and breaking afunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was referved for CHRISTIERN III, a prince equally diftinguifhed by his piety and prudence. He began by fuppreffing the defpotic authority of the bifhops, and by reftoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and poffeffions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and defigning clergy. This ftep was followed by a wife and well-judged fettlement of religious doctrine, difcipline, and worship throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by BUGENHAGIUS, whom the king had fent for from *Wittemberg* to perform that arduous task, for which his eminent piety,

[s] See Jo. MOLLER *Cimbria litterata*, tom. ii. p. 886.—CHRIST. OLIVARI *Vita Pauli Eliæ*, p. 108.—ERICI PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclefiæ Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 139.

[(t) It was farther added to this edict, that no perfon fhould be molefted on account of his religion, that a royal protection fhould be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the infults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclefiaftics, of whatever rank or order, fhould be permitted to enter into the married ftate, and to fix their refidence, wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monafteries or other religious focieties.]

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learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the states at *Odenfee*, in the year 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the reformation was brought to perfection in *Denmark* [u].

A distinction to be observed when we speak of the reformation of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

XXXIII. It is, however, to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been compleatly transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and, on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received [w]. In the measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure: neither fraud nor violence were employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity and the spirit of Christianity. The same judgment cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation

[u] ERICI PONTOPPIDANI see a German work of the learned PONTOPPIDAN, entituled, *A Compendious View of the History of the Reformation in Denmark*, published at *Lubec* in 8vo. in 1734; as also the *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, of the same author, tom. ii. p. 790. tom. iii. p. 1.—HENR. MUHLIUS *de Reformat. religionis in vicinis Daniæ regionibus et potissimum in Cimbria*, in ejus *Dissertationibus Historico-Theologicis*, p. 24. *Kilia* 1715, in 4to.

[(w)] This observation is not worthy of Dr. MOSHEIM's sagacity. The strong connexion that there naturally is between superstitious ignorance among the people and influence and power in their spiritual rulers is too evident to stand in need of any proof. A good clergy will or ought to have an influence, in consequence of a respectable office adorned with learning, piety and morals. But the power of a licentious and despotic clergy can be only supported by the blind and superstitious credulity of their flock.]

of

of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here, certainly, violence was used, and the bishops were deprived of their honours, privileges, and possessions without their consent; and, indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition [x]. The truth is, that so far as the reformation in *Sweden* and *Denmark* regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that, had LUTHER and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and

[(x) What does Dr. MOSHEIM mean here? did ever a usurper give up his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right when it is maintained by force? is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from CHRISTIERN III; and our author seems to answer this question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance, all the church-lands, towns, and fortresses annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy forever abolished. It is also certain that LUTHER himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to CHRISTIERN, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with moderation on this subject, and to grant, that, if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive. Nor, indeed, was his political prudence here so great as Dr. MOSHEIM seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was hurt by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of influence; and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its prerogative. But disquisitions of this nature are foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that in the room of the bishops CHRISTIERN created an order of men, with the denomination of *superintendants*, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without sharing the least shadow of temporal authority.]

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despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper, and had, in effect, already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such, therefore, was the critical state of those northern kingdoms, in the time of LUTHER, that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonoured, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin.

The rise and
progress of
the reformation in
France.

XXXIV. The kingdom of *France* was not inaccessible to the light of the reformation. MARGARET, queen of *Navarre*, sister to FRANCIS I, the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of CHARLES V, was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had so long lain disguised. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with hers, to propagate the principles of the reformation in *France*, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the province of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost aversion both to the doctrine and tyranny of *Rome*, and, among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened to support the doctrine of *Rome* by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet; and on this occasion

many

many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity [y]. This cruelty, instead of retarding, accelerated rather the progress of the reformation. It is nevertheless true, that under the reign of FRANCIS I the restorers of genuine Christianity were not always equally successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they enjoyed the auspicious shade of royal protection; at others they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons, they seemed to be forgot, which oblivion rendered their condition tolerable. FRANCIS, who had either no religion at all, or, at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and a public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy CHARLES V, then did he treat the protestants in *France* with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he threw off the mask, and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable and persecuting tyrant [z].

About this time the famous CALVIN, whose charac-

[y] See BEZE *Histoire des Eglises Reformées de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5.—BENOIT *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, livr. i. p. 6.—CHRIST. AUG. SALIG. *Histor. August. Confession*. vol. ii. p. 190.

[(z)] The inconsistency and contradiction that were visible in the conduct of FRANCIS I may be attributed to various reasons. At one time we see him resolved to invite MELANCTHON into *France*, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of *Navarre*, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the protestants. At another time, we behold him exercising the most infernal cruelty towards the friends of the reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, *that, if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the catholic church.* See FLOR. DE REMOND *Hist. de la Naissance et du progres de l'Herésie*, livr. vii.

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ter, talents, and religious exploits we shall have occasion to dwell upon more amply in the course of this history, began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of *Navarre*. He was born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, on the 10th of July 1509, and was bred up to the law [a], in which, as well as in all the other branches of literature, then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid and amazing success. Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by a diligent perusal of the holy scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to danger, and the connexions he had formed with the friends of the reformation, whom FRANCIS I was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of *Navarre*. To escape the impending storm, he retired to *Basil*, where he published his *Christian institutions*; and prefixed to them that famous dedication to FRANCIS I, which has attracted universally the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince, against the protestants [b].

And in the
other states
of Europe.

XXXV. The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of *Rome* in the other European states, were few in number, before the diet of *Augsburg*, and were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous to make much noise in the world. It, however, appears from the most

[(a) He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice: but the light, that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference given by his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastic vocation, which he afterwards resumed in a purer church.]

[(b) This paragraph, relating to CALVIN, is added to Dr. MOSHEIM's text by the translator, who was surprized to find in a history of the Reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety placed him at the head of the reformers. all of whom he surpassed, at least, in learning and parts, as he also did the most of them, in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.]

authentic

authentic testimonies, that, even before that period, the doctrine of LUTHER had made a considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in *Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland,* and the *Netherlands*, and had, in all these countries, many friends, of whom several repaired to *Wittemberg* to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves, in a public and constitutional manner, from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the blessed reformation, rejected the doctrines and authority of *Rome*; and, notwithstanding the calamities and persecutions they have suffered, on account of their sentiments, under the sceptre of bigotry and superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrine of Christianity. While in other, still more unhappy lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds, have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth. It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority, would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument.

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C H A P. III.

The History of the Reformation, from the time that the confession of Augsburg was presented to the emperor, until the commencement of the war which succeeded the league of Smalcald.

I. CHARLES V arrived at *Augsburg* the 15th of June 1530, and, on the twentieth day of the same month, the diet was opened. As it was unanimously

The confession of
Augsburg
presented to
Charles V.

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mously agreed, that the affairs of religion should be brought upon the carpet before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the *protestant* members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the diet, on the 25th of June, an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, CHRISTIAN BAYER, chancellor of *Saxony*, read, in the German language, in presence of the emperor, and the assembled princes, the famous confession, which has been since distinguished by the denomination of the *confession of Augsburg*. The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind; it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprized others, and many, who before this time, had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of LUTHER, were now, not only convinced of their innocence, but were, moreover, delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this confession, which, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, were signed and subscribed by JOHN, elector of *Saxony*, by four princes of the empire, GEORGE, marquis of *Brandenburg*, ERNEST, duke of *Lunenburg*, PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, WOLFGANG, prince of *Anbalt*, and by the imperial cities of *Nuremberg* and *Reutlingen*, who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it [c].

The nature
and contents
of the con-
fession of
Augsburg.

II. The tenor and contents of the confession of *Augsburg* are well known, at least, by all who have the smallest acquaintance with ecclesiastical history; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the

[c] There is a very voluminous history of this diet, which was published in the year 1577, in *folio*, at *Francfort on Oder*, by the laborious GEORGE CELESTINE. The history of the *Confession of Augsburg* was composed, in Latin, by DAVID CHYTREUS, and more recently, in German, by ERN. SOLOM. CYPRIAN and CHRISTOPHER AUG. SALIG. The performance of the latter is rather, indeed, a history of the *Reformation* in general, than of the *Confession of Augsburg* in particular. That of CYPRIAN is more concise and elegant, and is confirmed by original pieces, which are equally authentic and curious.

pro-

protestants as the rule of their faith. The style, that reigns in it, is plain, elegant, grave, and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of MELANTHON. The *matter* was, undoubtedly, supplied by LUTHER, who, during the diet, resided at *Coburg*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Augsbург*; and, even the *form* it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authorized in consequence of his approbation and advice. This *confession* contains twenty eight chapters, of which the greatest part [d] are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of *Rome* [e].

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III. The creatures of the Roman pontiff, who were present at this diet, employed JOHN FABER, afterwards bishop of *Vienna*, together with ECKIUS and another doctor, named, COCLÆUS, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation, having been read publicly in the assembly, the emperor demanded of the protestant members that they would acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand was far from being complied with. The protestants declared on

The Roman catholics attempted a refutation of the confession of *Augsbург*.

[d] XXI chapters were so employed; the other VII contained a detail of the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*.

[(e) It is proper to observe here, that, while the Lutherans presented their *Confession* to the diet, another excellent *Remonstrance* of the same nature was addressed to this august assembly by the cities of *Strasburg*, *Constance*, *Memingen*, and *Lindaw*, which had rejected the errors and jurisdiction of *Rome*; but did not enter into the Lutheran league, because they adopted the opinions of ZUINGLE in relation to the eucharist. The declaration of these four towns (which was called the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, on account of their number) was drawn up by the excellent MARTIN BUCER, and was considered as a master-piece of reasoning and eloquence not only by the protestants, but even by several of the Roman catholics; and among others by Mr. DUPIN. ZUINGLE also sent to this diet a private confession of his religious opinions.]

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the contrary, that they were, by no means, satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who, on this occasion, as well as on several others, shewed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candor, and justice. He even interposed his supreme authority to suspend any farther proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the *protestants* to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by FABER, and had again recourse to the pen of MELANCTHON, who refuted them, in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor on the 22d of September; but which that prince refused to receive. This *answer* was afterwards enlarged by MELANCTHON, when he had obtained a copy of FABER's reply, and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of *A defence of the confession of Augsburg*.

Deliberations concerning the method to be used in terminating these religious dissensions.

IV. There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which it was, in reality, most difficult to reconcile. The first and the most rational method was, to grant to those, who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of *Rome*, the liberty of following their private judgment in matters of a religious nature, the privilege of serving God according to the dictates of their conscience, and all this, in such a manner, that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed. The second, shortest, and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had so magnanimously thrown off their

their necks. Some thought of a middle way, which lay equally remote from the difficulties that attended the two methods now mentioned, and proposed, that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigour of their pretensions, and remit something of their respective claims. This method, which seemed agreeable to the dictates of reason, charity, and justice, was highly approved of by several wise and good men on both sides; but it was ill-suited to the arrogant ambition of the Roman pontiff, and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld, with horror, whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgment. The second method, even the use of violence, and the terrors of the sword, was more agreeable to the spirit and sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguine counsels of the court of *Rome*; but the emperor had prudence and equity enough to make him reject it, and it appeared shocking to those, who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was therefore most generally approved of; it was peculiarly agreeable to all, who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire, nor did the Roman pontiff seem to look upon it either with aversion or contempt. Hence various conferences were held between persons of eminence, piety, and learning, who were chosen for that purpose from both sides, and nothing was omitted that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties [f]; but all to no purpose, since the difference be-
tween

[f] As in the confession of *Augsburg* there were three sorts of articles, one sort orthodox, and adopted by both sides; another that consisted of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of *LUTHER* was entirely opposite to that of *Rome*; this gave some reason to hope that, by the means of certain concessions and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity,
matter

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tween their opinions was too considerable, and of too much importance to admit of a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of MELANCTHON appeared in their true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of *Rome* exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure, to comply with their demands: but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language, and menacing terms, then did MELANCTHON appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardour, and independence animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

The result
of these
conferences.

V. This reconciling method of terminating the religious debates, between the friends of liberty and the votaries of *Rome*, proving ineffectual; the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were equally disavowed by the dictates of reason, and the precepts of the gospel. These measures were the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th day of November, a severe decree was issued out by the ex-

matters might be accommodated at last. For this purpose select persons were appointed to carry on this salutary work, at first seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines, which number was afterwards reduced to three. LUTHER's obstinate, stubborn and violent temper, rendering him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences, but he was constantly consulted by the protestant party; and it was with a view to this that he resided at *Coburg*.

press

press order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and, in this decree, every thing was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble (in about six months after the separation of the diet) a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled, beyond measure, in this partial decree, a new degree of severity and force added to that which had been published at *Worms* against LUTHER and his adherents, the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches, severely censured, and a solemn order addressed to the princes, states, and cities, that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to *Rome*, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church [g].

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VI. No sooner were the elector of *Saxony* and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet of *Augsburg*, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In the year 1530, and the year following, they met, first at *Smalcald*, afterwards at *Frankfort*, and formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of *Augsburg*, without attempting, however, any thing, properly speaking offensive, against the votaries of *Rome*. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Denmark*, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to

The league
of *Smalcald*.

[[g] To give the greater degree of weight to this edict it was resolved, that no judge, who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of *Spire*, which is the supreme court in *Germany*. The emperor also and the popish princes engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and to promote its execution.]

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to corroborate and cement this important alliance [b]. Amidst these motions and preparations, which portended an approaching rupture, the elector *Palatine*, and the elector *Mentz*, offered their mediation, and endea-

[(b) LUTHER, who, at first, seemed averse to this confederacy from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, perceiving, at length, its necessity, consented to it; but, uncharitably as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of ZUINGLE among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of BUCER. And yet we find that the cities of *Ulm* and *Augsbург* had embraced the reformation on the principles of ZUINGLE. — In the invitation addressed to HENRY VIII, king of *England*, whom the confederate princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following things were expressly stipulated among several others: viz. That the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, as it was contained in the confession of *Augsbург*, and defend the same at the next general council;—that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of *Rome*, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees, nor suffer them to be respected in his dominions;—that he should never allow the Roman pontiff to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions;—that he should advance 100,000 crowns for the use of the confederacy, and double that sum if it became necessary; all which articles the confederate princes were obliged equally to observe on their part. To these demands the king answered, immediately, in a manner that was not satisfactory. He declared that he would maintain and promote the true doctrine of Christ, but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what should be his faith, or that of his kingdoms, and therefore desired they would send over learned men to confer with him in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He moreover declared himself of their opinion with respect to the meeting of a free general council, promised to join with them, in all such councils, for the defence of the true doctrine, but thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. After this the king gave them a second answer more full and satisfactory; but upon the fall of queen ANNE, this negotiation came to nothing. On the one hand, the king grew cold, when he perceived that the confederates could be of no longer service to him in supporting the validity of his marriage; and, on the other, the German princes were sensible that they could never succeed with HENRY, unless they would allow him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.]

voured

voured to reconcile the contending princes. With respect to the emperor, various reasons united to turn his views towards peace. For on the one hand, he stood in need of succours against the Turk, which the protestant princes refused to grant as long as the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsburg* remained in force; and, on the other, the election of his brother FERDINAND to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been concluded by a majority of votes, at the diet of *Cologn*, in the year 1531, was contested by the same princes as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire.

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of Nurem-
berg.

VII. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed, and, after various negotiations, a treaty of peace was concluded at *Nuremberg*, in the year 1532, between the emperor and the protestant princes on the following conditions; that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turk, and acknowledge FERDINAND lawful king of the Romans, and that the emperor, on his part, should abrogate and annul the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsburg*, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith was fixed either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement, when JOHN, elector of *Saxony*, died, and was succeeded by his son JOHN FREDERICK, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities.

A council
expected in
vain.

VIII. The religious truce, concluded at *Nuremberg*, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those, who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in *Germany*, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious stan-

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standards of LUTHER. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates, that divided *Europe*, was founded in the meeting of the general council, which had been so solemnly promised, the emperor renewed his earnest requests to CLEMENT VII, that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontiff, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard, what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse [i]. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently shewed, that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He, indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his legate, to assemble a council at *Mantua*, *Placentia*, or *Bolognā*; but the protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted, that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of *Germany*, should be decided within the limits of the empire. The pope by his usual artifices eluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in the year 1534, in the midst of his stratagems [k].

IX. His successor PAUL III. seemed to shew less reluctance to the assembling a general council, and appeared even disposed to comply with the desires of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in the year 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at *Mantua*; and, the year following, actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under

[(e) Besides the fear of seeing his authority diminished by a general council, another reason engaged CLEMENT VII. to avoid an assembly of that nature, for being conscious of the illegitimacy of his birth, as *Fra. Paulo* observes, he had ground to fear that the *Colonna's*, or his other enemies might plead this circumstance before the council, as a reason for his exclusion from the pontificate; since it might be well questioned, whether a *bastard* could be a pope, though it is known from many instances, that a *profligate* may.]

[k] See an ample account of every thing relative to this council, in *FRA. PAULO's History of the Council of Trent*, book I.

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his jurisdiction [l]. The protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded, that in such a council [m], all things would be carried by the votaries of *Rome*, and nothing concluded, but what should be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff, assembled at *Smalcald* in the year 1537. And there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council, as that which was convoked by PAUL III; but, at the same time, had a new *summary* of their doctrine drawn up by LUTHER, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it was required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the *Articles of Smalcald*, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

X. During these transactions two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the reformation in particular, and produced in *Germany*, civil tumults and commotions of the most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former of these events was a new sedition kindled by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the *anabaptists*; and the latter, the rupture between HENRY VIII king of *England*, and the Roman pontiff, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy

New outrages committed by the anabaptists.

[(l) This council was summoned by PAUL III. to assemble at *Mantua* on the 23d of May 1537, by a bull issued out the 2d of June of the preceding year. Several obstacles prevented its meeting. FREDERICK, duke of *Mantua*, was not much inclined to receive, at once, so many guests, and some of them turbulent ones, into the place of his residence.]

[(m) That is, in a council, assembled by the authority of the pope alone, and that also in *Italy*, two circumstances that must have greatly contributed to give PAUL III. an undue influence in that assembly. The protestants maintained, that the emperor and the other-christian princes of *Europe* had a right to be *authoritatively* concerned in calling a general council, and that, so much the more, that the Roman pontiff was evidently one of the parties in the present debate.]

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were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch.

In the year 1533, there came to *Munster*, a city in *Westphalia*, a certain number of *anabaptists*, who surpassed the rest of that fanatical tribe in the extravagance of their proceedings, the frenzy of their disordered brains, and the madness of their pretensions and projects. They gave themselves out for the messengers of heaven, invested with a divine commission to lay the foundations of a new government, a holy and spiritual empire, and to destroy and overturn all temporal rule and authority, all human institutions. Having turned all things into confusion and uproar in the city of *Munster* by this seditious and extravagant declaration, they began to erect a new republic [n], conformable to their absurd and chimerical notions of religion, and committed the administration of it to JOHN BOCKHOLT, a taylor by profession, and a native of *Leyden*. Their reign, however, was of a short duration; for, in the year 1535, the city was besieged and taken by the bishop of *Munster*, assisted by other German princes, this fanatical king and his wrong-headed associates put to death in the most terrible and ignominious manner, and the new hierarchy destroyed with its furious and extravagant founders. This disorderly and outrageous conduct of an handful of anabaptists, drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers devoted to death in the most dreadful forms. [o].

[n] This fanatical establishment they distinguished by the title of the *New Jerusalem*.

[o] HERMANNI HAMMELMANNI *Historia Ecclesiast. renati Evangelii per inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphal.* part II. p. 1196, Opp.—DE PRINTZ *Specimen Historiæ Anabapt.* c. x, xi, xii. p. 94.

[This sect was, in process of time, considerably reformed by the ministry of two Frieslanders, UBBO and MENNON, who purified it from the enthusiastic, seditious, and atrocious principles of its first founders, as will be seen in the progress of this history.]

XI. The

XI. The pillars of papal despotism were at this time shaken in *England* by an event, which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences. HENRY VIII, a prince, who, in vices and in abilities, was surpassed by none who swayed the scepter in this age, and who, in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of LUTHER with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in this great revolution [p]. Bound in the chains of matrimony to CATHARINE of *Arragon*, aunt to CHARLES V, but, at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin whose name was ANNA BOLEYN, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter [q]. For this purpose he addressed himself to the Roman

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Great Britain renounces the spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

[(p) Among the various portraits that have been given by historians of HENRY VIII. there is none that equals the masterly one drawn by Mr. HUME in his *History of England*, under the house of TUDOR. This great painter, whose colouring, in other subjects, is sometimes more artful than accurate, has caught from nature the striking lines of HENRY's motley character, and thrown them into a composition, in which they appear with the greatest truth, set out with all the powers of expression.]

[(q) From Dr. MOSHEIM's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of ANNA BOLEYN, were the *only* motive that engaged HENRY to dissolve his marriage with CATHARINE. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage, before his acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate ANNE. Conversant in the writings of THOMAS AQUINAS and other schoolmen, who looked upon the Levitical law as of moral and permanent obligation, and attentive to the remonstrances of the bishops who declared his marriage unlawful, the king was filled with anxious doubts that had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen, before his affections had been engaged by any other. This appears by Cardinal WOLSEY's proposing a marriage between his majesty and the sister of FRANCIS I, which that pliant courtier would never have done, had he known that the king's affections were otherwise engaged. After all, it is very possible, that the age and infirmities of CATHARINE, together with the blooming charms of ANNA BOLEYN, tended much to animate HENRY's remorse, and to render his conscience more scrupulous. See BURNET's *History of the Reformation*. HUME's *History of the House of TUDOR*, p. 150.]

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pontiff CLEMENT VII, in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with CATHARINE, alledging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother, ARTHUR, and as it was repugnant to the divine law, to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. CLEMENT was greatly perplexed upon this occasion by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor in case his decision was favourable to HENRY, and therefore he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain promises and tardy proceedings of the Roman pontiff, HENRY had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous THOMAS CRANMER, who was a secret friend to LUTHER and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the see of *Canterbury*. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favourable to his views. The greatest part of the universities declared the marriage, with a brother's widow, unlawful. CATHARINE was consequently divorced; ANNA conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of CLEMENT, and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of *Rome*, by HENRY's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontiff. Soon after this, HENRY was declared by the parliament and people *supreme head, on earth, of the church of England*, the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned [r].

XII. It

[r] Besides the full and accurate account of this and other important events that is to be found in Bishop BURNET's excellent *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, the curious reader

XII. It is, however, carefully to be observed here, that this downfall of the papal authority in *England*, was not productive of much benefit either to the friends or to the cause of the reformation. For the same monarch who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of *Rome*, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Besides; he considered the title of *Head of the English Church*, as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and indeed usurped, by the Roman pontiffs; and, in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorised to prescribe modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence it came to pass, that during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of CRANMER, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the favourite of the king, and the friend of the reformation, counteracted however, in many instances, the humour, and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise councils of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favour of popery, and increased considerably the number of those who wished well to the reformation [s].

XIII. After the meeting of the council of *Mantua* was prevented, various measures were taken, and many schemes

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and effects
of this first
step towards
the reformation
in
England,

A new project of pacification.

reader will do well to consult the records of this memorable revolution in WILKINS's *Concil. Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, tom. iii. p. 424.—RAYNAL *Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, tom. i. part II. p. 90—*Gen. Dictionary*, at the article BOLEYN.

[s] Besides BURNET's *History of the Reformation*, see NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 11.

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XVI.Conference
of Worms.Diet of Ra-
tisbon.

proposed by the emperor on the one hand, and the protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But these measures and projects were unattended with any solid or salutary fruit, and were generally disconcerted by the intrigues and artifice of *Rome*, whose legates and creatures, were always lying in wait to blow the flame of discord in all those counsels, that seemed unfavourable to the ambition of its pontiffs. In the year 1541, the emperor, regardless of the frowns of the bishop of *Rome*, appointed a conference at *Worms*, on the subject of Religion, between persons of piety and learning chosen from the contending parties. It was here that MELANCTHON and ECKIUS disputed during the space of three days [t]. This conference was, for certain reasons, removed to the diet which was held at *Ratisbon* that same year, and in which the principal subject of deliberation was, a memorial presented by a person unknown, containing a project of peace, with the terms of accommodation, that were proper to terminate, these religious differences [u]. This conference, however, produced no other effect, than a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer the decision of their pretensions and debates to a general council, or, if the meeting of such a council should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next German diet.

All things
tend to an
open rup-
ture.

XIV. This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded the diet of *Ratisbon*; and by various incidents that widened the breach, and put off to a farther day the deliberations that were designed to heal it. It is true, the Roman pontiff ordered his legate to declare in the diet, which was assembled at *Spire* in the year 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that *Trent* should be the place of its meeting, if the diet had no objection to

[t] See JO. ANDR. ROEDERI *Libellus de Colloquio Wormatiensi Norimb.* 1744, in 4to.

[u] See JO. ERDMANN BIECKII *Triplex Interim*, cap. i. p. 1.

that

that city. FERDINAND, king of the Romans, and the princes, who adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this proposal; while the protestant members of the diet objected both against a council summoned by the papal authority alone, and also against the place appointed for its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council, which should not be biased by the dictates, nor awed by the proximity of the Roman pontiff. This protestation produced no effect, PAUL III persisted in his purpose, and issued out his circular letters for the convocation of the council [w], with the approbation of

[(w)] It is proper to observe here, that having summoned, successively a council at *Mantua*, *Vicenza*, and *Venice*, without any effect *, this pontiff thought it necessary to shew the protestants that he was not averse to every kind of reformation; and therefore appointed four cardinals, and three other persons, eminent for their learning, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church in general, and of the church of *Rome* in particular, knowing full well, by the spirit which reigned in the conclave, that this project would come to nothing. A plan, however, was drawn up by the persons appointed for that purpose. The reformation, proposed in this plan, was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contains some particulars which scarcely could have been expected from the pens of those that composed it. They complained for instance, of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men; and that, therefore care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities. They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the colloquies of ERASMUS should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of St. *Anthony*, and several other saints should be abolished; and, which was the best of all their proposals, that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. *Peter's* church; and declared, that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently at *Rome*, and riding, through the streets, on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation (which LUTHER and STURMIUS of *Straßburg* turned into ridicule, and which, indeed, left unredressed, the

Q 4

most

* This council was never assembled.

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of the emperor; while this prince endeavoured, at the diet of *Worms*, in the year 1545, to persuade the protestants to consent to the meeting of this council at *Trent*. But the protestants were fixed in their resolution, and the efforts of CHARLES were vain. Upon which the emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures which were incessantly suggested by the court of *Rome*, departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and, listening to the sanguine counsels of PAUL, formed, in conjunction with that subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms. The landgrave of *Hesse* and the elector of *Saxony*, who were the chief protectors of the protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took the proper measures to prevent their being surprized and overwhelmed unawares by a superior force, and, accordingly, raised an army for their defence. While this terrible storm was rising, LUTHER, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force in matters of religion was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by providence from this scene of tumult, and the approaching calamities that threatened his country. He died in peace on the 18th of February, in the year 1546, at *Aysleben*, the place of his birth.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Reformation, from the commencement of the war of Smalcald to the famous Pacification, commonly called the PEACE OF RELIGION, concluded at Augsbuurg.

The commencement
of the war
of Smalcald.

I. THE emperor and the pope had mutually resolved the destruction of all who should dare most intolerable grievances of which the protestants complained) were published at *Antwerp* in, or about, the year 1539, with the answer of COCHLÆUS to the objections of STURMIUS. They are likewise prefixed to the *History of the Council of Trent*, by CRABRE, and were afterwards published at *Paris* in 1612.†]

† See PAULIN, in *Paul III. Sleid.* l. xij, *Univerf. Med. hift.* vol. xxvi. p. 30.

TO

to oppose the council of *Trent*. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking arms; and, accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun in the year 1546, when the protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pontiff to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, 'tis true, a new conference this very year at the diet of *Ratisbon* between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences; but it appeared sufficiently both from the nature of this dispute, the manner it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would, sooner or later, be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers, assembled in the council of *Trent*, promulgated their decrees: while the protestant princes in the diet of *Ratisbon* protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

II. The elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse* led their forces into *Bavaria* against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp at *Ingolstadt* with great spirit. It was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action; but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by the most of the confederates, and, probably, would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these we may reckon, principally, the perfidy of MAURICE, duke of *Saxony*, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor on the one hand, and by his own ambition and avarice on the other, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle JOHN FREDERICK, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor among the confederate princes; the failure of *France* in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch; and other incidents of less moment. All these things discouraged the heads of the protestant party, that their army was

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XVI.The affairs
of the pro-
testants take
an unfavour-
able turn.

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was soon dispersed, and the elector of *Saxony* directed his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches with a view to destroy his enemy, before he should have time to recover his vigour, in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and, as there is too much reason to think, by the treachery of his officers. The two armies drew up in order of battle near *Muhlberg* on the *Elbe*, on the 24th of April, 1547; and, after a bloody action, that of the elector, being inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, the other chief of the protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law, MAURICE, now declared elector of *Saxony* [*x*], to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of CHARLES for obtaining forgiveness, and being restored to liberty; but notwithstanding these expectations he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said that the emperor retracted his promise and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words, which resemble each other [*y*]; but this point of history has not been hitherto

[[*x*] In the room of JOHN FREDERICK, whom he had so basely betrayed.]

[[*y*] There is scarcely in history, any instance of such a mean, perfidious, and despotic behaviour as that of the emperor to the landgrave in the case now before us. After having received in public the humble submissions of that unhappy prince, made upon his knees, and that, in the most respectful and affecting terms, and after having set him at liberty by a solemn treaty, he had him arrested anew without alledging any reason, nay, any pretext, and kept him for several years in a close and severe confinement. When MAURICE remonstrated to the emperor against this new imprisonment, the emperor answered, that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be imprisoned anew, but only, that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonment; and, to support this assertion; he produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in *ewiger gefangnis*, which signifies a perpetual prison, instead of *einiger gefangnis*, which means any prison. This matter is, however, contested by some historians.]

so far cleared up, as to enable us to judge with certainty concerning the confinement of this prince, and the real causes to which it was owing [z].

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III. This revolution seemed every way adapted to compleat the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontiff with the most triumphant success. In the diet of *Augsburg*, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and dispatch, the emperor required of the protestants that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at *Trent*. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal; and, among others, MAURICE, the new elector of *Saxony*, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, and who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law the landgrave of *Hesse*. This general submission to the will of the emperor, did not, however, produce the fruits that were expected from such a solemn and almost universal approbation of the council of *Trent*. A plague, which manifested itself, or was said to do so, in that city, engaged the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to *Bologna*, and thereby the council was, in effect, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties and remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble it again without delay. While things were in this situation, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled was cast at a distance, the emperor judged it necessary, during this *interval*, to fall upon some method of maintaining peace in religious matters, until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view, that he ordered JULIUS PELUGIUS, bishop of *Naumburg*, MICHAEL SIDONIUS, a creature of the pontiff, and JOHN AGRICOLA, a native of *Aysleben*, to draw up a *Formulary*, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both of the contending parties, until a council should be summoned.

The famous
temporary
edict, called
the *Interim*.

[z] See a German work, entituled, BENI GROSCH *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirken gegen Gottfr. Arnold*. p. 29.

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The troubles to which this edict gave rise.

As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called the *Interim* [a].

IV. This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favourable to the interests and pretensions of the court of *Rome*, had yet the fate, to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed; it pleased neither of the contending parties, but was equally offensive to the followers of *LUTHER*, and to the Roman pontiff. It was, however, promulgated with solemnity by the emperor at the diet of *Augsburg*, and the elector of *Mentz*, without even deigning to ask the

[(a) This project of *CHARLES* was formed, partly to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other purposes of a more political kind. Be that as it may, the *Formula ad Interim*, or Temporary Rule of Faith and Worship, here mentioned, contained all the essential doctrines of the church of *Rome*, though considerably softened and mitigated by the moderate, prudent, and artful terms in which they were expressed; terms quite different from those that were employed, before and after this period, by the council of *Trent*. There was even an affected ambiguity in many expressions which rendered them susceptible of different senses, applicable to the sentiments of both communions, and therefore disagreeable to both. The *Interim* was composed with that fraudulent, specious, and seducing dexterity, that in after times appeared in the deceitful *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*, by *M. BOSSUET*, bishop of *Meaux*, and it was almost equally rejected by the protestants and Roman catholics. The cup was allowed, by this Imperial Creed, to the protestants in the administration of the Lord's supper, and priests and clerks were permitted, by it, to enter into the married state. These grants were, however, accompanied with the two following conditions: 1. *That every one should be at liberty to use the cup, or to abstain from it, and to choose a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as he should judge most fitting.* 2. *That these grants should remain in force no longer than the happy period, when a general council should terminate all religious differences.* This second condition was adapted to produce the greatest disorder and confusion, in case the future council should think proper to enjoin celibacy on the clergy, and declare, as it did in effect, their marriage unchristian and unlawful.]

[a] See *JO. ERDM. BIECKII Triplex Interim*, published in 8vo at *Leipsic* in the year 1721.—*LUC. OSIANDER Centuria XVI. Histor. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. lxxiii. p. 425.*—For an account of the authors and editions of the book, called *Interim*, see *Die Dänische Biblioth. part. V. p. 1. & part VI. p. 185.*

opinions

opinions of the assembled princes and states, rose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous *Interim*. Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interpreted as the mark of a tacit consent, engaged against their will to receive this *book*, as a body of ecclesiastical law. The greatest part of those, who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this Imperial Creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms; and hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and blood-shed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities. MAURICE, elector of *Saxony*, who, for some time, had held a neutral conduct, and neither declared himself for those who rejected, nor for those who had adopted, the *rule* in question, assembled, in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with MELANCTHON at the head of the latter, and, in several conferences held at *Leipsic* and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be done in this critical affair. The deliberations on this occasion, were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous; for MELANCTHON, whose opinion was respected as a law by the reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of a reconciling sentence, which, he hoped, would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book, called *Interim*, could not, by any means, be adopted by the friends of the reformation; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason, why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, in things that did not relate to the essential points of religion, in things that might be considered as accessory or *indifferent* [b].

[(b) By things *indifferent* MELANCTHON understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of the popish worship, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion.]

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This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced, on the contrary, new divisions, and formed a schism among the followers of LUTHER, of which farther mention shall be made hereafter, in the *History of the Church*, established by that reformer. I shall only observe, that this schism placed the cause of the reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed either to ruin it entirely, or to retard considerably its progress, had the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of these divisions, and to seize the favourable occasion that was presented to them of turning the force of the protestants against themselves.

The project of a council at Trent reviewed.

V. Amidst these contests PAUL III departed this life in the year 1549, and was succeeded, the year following, by JULIUS III, who, yielding to the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to the assembling a council at *Trent*. Accordingly, in the diet of *Augsburg*, which was again held under the cannon of an Imperial army, CHARLES laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The greatest part of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also MAURICE, elector of *Saxony*, submitted upon certain conditions [c]. The emperor then concluded the diet in the year 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that he would use his most zealous endeavours towards the

[(c) MAURICE (who was desirous of regaining the esteem of the protestants of *Saxony*, which he had lost by his perfidious behaviour to the late elector JOHN FREDERICK, his benefactor and friend) gave his consent to the re-establishing the council of *Trent* upon the following conditions: 1st, That the points of doctrine, which had been already decided there, should be re-examined, and discussed anew: 2^{dly}, That this examination should be made in presence of the protestant divines, or their deputies. 3^{dly}, That the Saxon protestants should have a liberty of *voting*, as well as of *deliberating*. in the council: and 4^{thly}, That the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person, or by his legates. This declaration of MAURICE was read in the diet, and his deputies insisted upon its being entered into the registers, which the archbishop of *Mentz*, however, obstinately refused.]

pro-

promoting moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly. Upon the breaking up of the diet, the protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of MALANCTHON, and the Wurtembergers that of BRENTIUS, to draw up *confessions* of their faith, that were to be laid before the new council. Besides the ambassadors of the duke of *Wurtemberg*, several doctors of that city repaired to *Trent*. The Saxon divines, with MELANCTHON at their head, set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no farther than *Nuremberg*. They had received secret orders to stop there; for MAURICE had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views; on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He therefore yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality.

VI. The real views of CHARLES V, amidst the divisions and troubles of *Germany* (which he fomented by negotiations that carried the outward aspect of a reconciling spirit) will appear evidently to such as consider attentively the nature of the times, and compare the transactions of this prince, the one with the other. Relying on the extent of his power and the success that frequently accompanied his enterprizes, with a degree of confidence that was highly imprudent, CHARLES proposed to turn these religious commotions and dissensions to the confirmation and increase of his dominion in *Germany*, and by sowing the seeds of discord among the princes of the empire to weaken their power, and thereby the more easily to encroach upon their rights and privileges. On the other hand, ardently desirous of reducing within narrower limits the jurisdiction and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, that they might not set bounds to his ambition, nor prevent the execution of his aspiring views, he flattered himself that this would be the natural effect of the approaching council. He was confirmed in this pleasing hope by reflecting on what had happened in the councils of *Constance* and of *Basil*, in which

Maurice
disconcerts
the schemes
of the em-
peror.

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which the lust of papal ambition had been opposed with spirit, and restrained within certain limits. He also persuaded himself, that, by the dexterity of his agents, and the number of the Spanish and German bishops that were devoted to his interests, he should be able to influence and direct the deliberations of the approaching council in such a manner, as to make its decisions answer his expectations, and contribute effectually to the accomplishment of his views. Such were the specious dreams of ambition that filled the imagination of this restless prince; but his views and projects were disconcerted by that same MAURICE of *Saxony*, who had been one of the principal instruments of that violence and oppression which he had exercised against the protestant princes, and of the injury he had done to the protestant cause.

A war kind-
led between
the emperor
and Maurice
of *Saxony*.

VII. The most considerable princes, not only of *Germany*, but even of all *Europe*, had, for a long time, addressed to the emperor their united entreaties for the deliverance of PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse* and JOHN FREDERICK, elector of *Saxony*, from their confinement; and MAURICE had solicited, with peculiar warmth and assiduity, the liberty of the former, who was his father-in-law. But all these solicitations produced no effect. MAURICE, perceiving at length that he was duped by the emperor, and also convinced that this ambitious monarch was forming insidious designs upon the liberties of *Germany* and the jurisdiction of its princes, entered, with the utmost secrecy and expedition, into an alliance with the king of *France* and several of the German princes for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the empire. Encouraged by this respectable confederacy, the active Saxon marched a powerful army against the emperor, in the year 1552; and that with such astonishing valour and rapidity, that he surprised CHARLES at *Inspruk*, where he lay with a handful of troops in the utmost security, and without the least apprehension of danger. This sudden and unforeseen event alarmed and dejected the emperor to such a degree, that he was willing to make peace on, almost,

almost, any conditions; and consequently, in a little time after this, he not only concluded at *Passau* the famous treaty of *Pacification* with the protestants [d]; but also promised to assemble, in the space of six months, a diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions, that had been occasioned by a variety of sentiments in religious matters, should be entirely removed. Thus did the same prince, who stands foremost in the list of those that oppressed the protestants and reduced their affairs to the greatest extremities, restore their expiring hopes, support and render triumphant their desperate cause, and procure them a bulwark of peace and liberty, which still remains. MAURICE, however, did not live to see this happy issue of his glorious expedition; for he lost his life the year following, by a wound received at the battle of *Siverhausen*, while he was fighting against ALBERT of *Brandenburg* [e].

VIII. The troubles of *Germany*, with several other incidents, rendered it impossible to assemble the Diet,

The diet
of *Augsburg*
and the
peace o.
ligion.

[(d) As this treaty is considered by the German protestants as the basis of their religious liberty, it will not be amiss to insert here some of its principal articles. By the three first articles it was stipulated, that MAURICE and the confederates should lay down their arms, and should lend their troops to FERDINAND to defend him against the Turks, and that the landgrave of *Hesse* should be set at liberty. By the fourth it was agreed, that the rule of faith, called *Interim*, should be considered as null and void; that the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, until a diet should be assembled to determine amicably the present disputes (which diet was to meet in the space of six months); and that this religious liberty should continue always, in case that it should be found impossible to come to an uniformity in doctrine and worship. It was also resolved, that all those who had suffered banishment, or any other calamity on account of their having been concerned in the league or war of *Smalcald*, should be re-instated in their privileges, their possessions, and employments; that the Imperial chamber at *Spire* should be open to the protestants as well as to the catholics; and that there should be always a certain number of the Lutheran persuasion in that high court.]

[(e) ALBERT, marquis of *Brandenburg*, after the pacification of *Passau*, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman catholics, and afterwards committed such ravages in the empire, that a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which MAURICE was placed.]

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which the emperor had promised at the pacification of *Passau*, so soon as the period mentioned in the articles of that treaty. This famous diet met, however, at *Augsburg* in the year 1555, was opened by FERDINAND in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable scenes of blood-shed, desolation, and discord that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that *religious peace*, as it is commonly called, which secured to the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For after various debates the following memorable acts were passed on the 25th of September: that the protestants, who followed the confession of *Augsburg*, should be for the future considered, as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest and the most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared, and proceeded against, as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace [f]. The difficulties that were to be surmounted, before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the warm debates, the violent animosities and bloody wars that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the gospel, shew us, in a shocking and glaring point of light, the ignorance and superstition of these miserable

[f] See Jo. SCHILTERI *Liber de Pace Religiosa*, published in 4to. in the year 1700.—CHRIST. LEHMANNI *Acta publica et originalia de Pace Religiosa*. Francof. 1707.

times, and stand upon record as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of the reformation.

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IX. While these things were transacting in *Germany*, the friends of genuine Christianity in *England* deplored the gloomy reign of superstition, and the almost total extinction of true religion; and, seeing before their eyes the cause of popery maintained by the terrors of bloody persecution, and daily victims brought to the stake to expiate the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of the Gospel to the despotic laws of *Rome*, they esteemed the Germans happy, in having thrown off the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church. HENRY VIII, whose personal vices, as well as his arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly retarded the progress of the reformation, was now no more. He departed this life, in the year 1547, and was succeeded by his only son EDWARD VI. This amiable prince, whose early youth was crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honour to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigour to the protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious men of foreign countries to settle in *England*, and addressed a particular invitation to MARTIN BUCER and PAUL FAGIUS, whose moderation added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labours of these eminent men in concert with those of the friends of the reformation in *England*, he might purge his dominions from the sordid fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued out the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In the year 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible and suited to their loss. His sister MARY (the daughter of CATHARINE of *Arragon* from whom HENRY had been separated by the famous divorce) a furious bigot to the church of *Rome*, and a princess whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the

The reformation gains ground in *England*.

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British throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws and the tyrannical yoke of *Rome* upon the people of *England*. Nor were the methods she employed, in the cause of superstition, better than the cause itself, or tempered by any sentiments of equity or compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will, or made the least stand against the restoration of popery. And among many other victims, the learned and pious CRANMER, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been one of the most illustrious instruments of the reformation in *England*, fell a sacrifice to her fury. This odious scene of persecution was happily concluded, in the year 1558, by the death of the queen, who left no issue; and, as soon as her successor the lady ELIZABETH ascended the throne, all things assumed a new and a pleasing aspect. This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, counsels, and projects breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly spirit, in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring liberty, broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority and superstition, and, delivering her people from the bondage of *Rome*, established that form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical government which still subsists in *England*. This religious establishment differs, in some respects, from the plan that had been formed by those whom EDWARD VI had employed for promoting the cause of the reformation, and approaches nearer to the rites and discipline of former times; though it is widely different, and, in the most important points, entirely opposite to the principles of the Roman hierarchy.

In *Scotland*.

X. The seeds of the reformation were very early sown in *Scotland*, by several noblemen of that nation who had resided in *Germany*, during the religious disputes that divided the empire. But the power of the Roman pontiff, supported and seconded by inhuman laws and barbarous executions, choked, for many years, these tender seeds, and prevented their taking root. The first and most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction

diction was JOHN KNOX [g], a disciple of CALVIN, whose eloquence was persuasive, and whose fortitude was invincible [h]. This resolute reformer set out from *Geneva* for *Scotland* in the year 1559, and, in a very short space of time, inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of *Rome*, that the greatest part of the Scotch nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery [i]. From this period to the present times the form

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[(g) It will not be improper to insert here the character of this famous Scottish reformer, as it is drawn by the elegant, spirited, accurate, and impartial pen of Dr. ROBERTSON, in his *History of Scotland*, book VI. "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness (says that incomparable writer) were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he shewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the queen's person and conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now rendered his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of providence for advancing the reformation, among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an unwearying application to study and to business, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a lingering illness he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, but fill them with exultation in their last moments.]

[(b) The earl of Morton, who was present at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honourable for KNOX, as they came from one, whom he had often censured with peculiar severity: *There lies He, who never feared the face of man.*]

[i] See NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 165. 232. 234. 569.—CALDERWOOD'S *History of Scotland's Reformation*, published

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form of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that had been established at *Geneva* by the ministry of CALVIN, has been maintained in *Scotland* with invincible obstinacy and zeal, and every attempt to introduce, into that kingdom, the rites and government of the church of *England*, has proved impotent and unsuccessful [k].

XI. The

in folio at *London* in the year 1680---GEORG. BUCHANANI *Rerum Scotiar. Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 313, edit *Rudimann*, folio---MELVIL'S *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 73.

[(k) The indignation of the people, which had been excited by the vices of the clergy, was soon transferred to their persons, and settled at last, by a transition not unusual, upon the Offices they enjoyed; and thus the effects of the reformation extended not only to the doctrine, but also to the government of the popish church. But in *Germany*, *England*, and the northern kingdoms its operations were checked by the power and policy of their princes, and the episcopal hierarchy (which appears to be the most conformable to the practice of the church, since Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire) was still continued, in these countries, under certain limitations. The ecclesiastical government was copied after the civil; and the dioceses, and jurisdiction of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops corresponded with the division and constitution of the empire. In *Switzerland* and the *Low Countries* the nature and spirit of a republican policy gave fuller scope to the reformers, and thus all pre-eminence of order in the church was destroyed, and that form of ecclesiastical government established, which has been since called *Presbyterian*, the situation of the primitive church (oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged by their sufferings to be contented with a form of government extremely simple, and with a parity of rank for want of ambition to propose, or power to support, a subordination) suggested, without doubt, the idea of this latter system; though it would be unfair to alledge this consideration, as a victorious argument in favour of *Presbyterianism*; because a change of circumstances will sometimes justify a change in the methods and plans of government. Be that as it may, the church of *Geneva*, which received the decisions of CALVIN with an amazing docility, restored this *Presbyterian*, or republican form of ecclesiastical policy; Knox studied, admired, and recommended it to his countrymen, and he was seconded by many of the Scotch nobles, of whom some hated the persons, while others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy. But, in introducing this system, the Scottish reformer, did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form, but instead of *bishops* proposed the establishment of ten *superintendants* to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, without pretending to claim either a seat in parliament,

XI. The cause of the reformation underwent, in *Ireland*, the same vicissitudes and revolutions, that had attended it in *England*. When HENRY VIII. after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared *supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England*, GEORGE BROWN, a native of *England*, and a monk of the Augustin order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of *Dublin*, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relicks, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and, by the influence, as well as authority he had in *Ireland*, caused the king's *supremacy* to be acknowledged in that nation [1]. HENRY shewed soon after, that this

liament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops. This proposal was drawn up and presented to a convention of estates, which was held in the year 1561, and what it contained in relation to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and discipline, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly, had not a design to recover the patrimony of the church, in order to apply it to the advancement of religion and learning, been insinuated in it. After this, at certain periods, the name of bishops was revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction, or revenues, that were formerly appropriated to that order. They were made subject to the general assemblies of the clergy, and their power was diminished from day to day, until their name, as well as their order, was abolished, at the revolution in 1688, and *Presbyterianism* established in *Scotland* by the laws of the state. See ROBERTSON'S *History of Scotland*, passim.]

[(1) The learned and pious primate USHER, in his Memoirs of the ecclesiastical affairs of *Ireland*, speaks of bishop BROWN in the following manner: "GEORGE BROWN was a man of a chearful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright, to the poor "merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of "the souls of the people, and advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustine order in *England*, to make their application "solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of HENRY "VIII, he became a favourite, and was made archbishop of *Dublin*. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all "superstitious relicks and images to be removed out of the two "cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of all the churches in his diocese "and caused the *Ten commandments*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the "Creed to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was "the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here

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this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of EDWARD VI still farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of bishop BROWN, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in *Ireland*, as it had done in *England* [m].

MARY

“ in *Ireland*, to embrace the reformation of the church of *England*.” See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, 558. entitled, *Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland, &c.*]

[(m) Here Dr. MOSHEIM has fallen into a mistake by not distinguishing between the *designs* of the queen which were, indeed, cruel, and their *execution*, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has been copied from the papers of Richard, earl of *Cork*, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, is as follows :

“ Queen Mary having dealt severely with the protestants in *England*, about the latter end of her reign signed a commission for to take the same course with them in *Ireland*; and, to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. *Cole*, one of the commissioners. This doctor coming, with the commission, to *Chester* on his journey, the mayor of that city hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into *Ireland*, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who, in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloke-bag a leather box, saying unto him, *Here is a commission that shall lash the beretics of Ireland*, (calling the protestants by that title.) The good woman of the house, being well affected to the protestant religion, and also having a brother named *John Edmonds* of the same, then a citizen in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced uppermost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box, as formerly. The next day going to the water side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards *Ireland*, and landed, on the 7th of October 1558, at *Dublin*. Then coming to the castle, the lord *Fitz-Walters*, being lord-deputy, sent for him to come before

MARY pursued with fire and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived BROWN and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of ELIZABETH gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in *England*. [n].

XII. The reformation had not been long established in *Britain*, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontiff. PHILIP II, king of *Spain*, apprehending the danger to which the religion of *Rome* was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which reigned in the inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, took the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe and barbarous laws

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The reformation takes place in the united provinces.

“ fore him and the privy council ; who, coming in, after he had
 “ made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he
 “ presents the box unto the lord-deputy, who, causing it to be
 “ opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was
 “ nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost ;
 “ which not only startled the lord-deputy and council, but the
 “ doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not
 “ how it was gone ; then the lord-deputy made answer : *Let us*
 “ *have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean*
 “ *while.* The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went away,
 “ and returned into *England* ; and, coming to the court, obtained
 “ another commission ; but, staying for a wind on the water-side,
 “ news came to him, that the queen was dead, and thus God
 “ preserved the protestants of *Ireland*.”

Queen ELIZABETH was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by lord *Fitz-Walter* on his return to *England*, that she sent for *Elizabeth Edmonds*, whose husband's name was *Matter-shad*, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See Cox. *Hibernia Anglicana*, or *History of Ireland*, &c. vol. ii. p. 308. — *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568.]

[n] See *The Life of Dr. George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin*, published in *London* in 4to. in the year 1681, and which has been reprinted in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, No. LXXIX.

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laws against all innovators in matters of religion, and erected that unjust and inhuman tribunal of the *inquisition*, which would intimidate and tame, as he thought, the manly spirit of an oppressed and persecuted people. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful, as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate zeal for the superstitions of *Rome* accelerated their destruction, and the papal authority, which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to a desperate one by the very steps that were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an *association* in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but, their solicitations and requests being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force what they hoped to have gained from clemency and justice. They addressed themselves to a free and an abused people, revolted against the authority of a cruel yoke, and with an impetuosity and vehemence, that were perhaps excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the church of *Rome* [a]. To quell these

[(a) Dr. MOSHEIM seems here to distinguish, too little, between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more *temperate* and *decent* than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more *tumultuous* and *irregular* than the behaviour of the latter. While the multitude destroyed churches, pulled down monasteries, broke the images used in public worship, abused the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand enormities, the effects of furious resentment and brutish rage; the nobility and more opulent citizens kept within the bounds of moderation and prudence. Though justly exasperated against a despotic and cruel government, they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Nay, many of them united their counsels and forces with those of the governors (the dutchess of *Parma*) to restrain the seditious and turbulent spirit of the people. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmont* (whose memories will live for ever in the grateful remembrance of the Dutch nation, and be dear to all the lovers of heroic patriotism and sacred liberty throughout the world) signalized their moderation upon this occasion, and were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their opposition to the government proceeded from the dictates of humanity and justice, and not from a spirit of licentiousness and rebellion; and such was their influence and authority among the people, that, had

these tumults a powerful army was sent from *Spain*, under the command of the duke of ALVA, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United provinces derived its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of WILLIAM of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the succours of England and France, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke. And no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in *Switzerland*, was established in the united provinces [p]; and, at the same time, an universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of *Rome*, or embraced the reformation in another form [q], provided still that they made no attempts against the authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public [r].

XIII. The reformation made a considerable progress in *Spain* and *Italy* soon after the rupture between LUTHER and the Roman pontiff. In all the provinces of *Italy*, but more especially in the territories of *Venice*, *Tuscany*, and *Naples*, the religion of *Rome* lost ground, and

The progress
of the reformation in
Spain and
Italy.

had the imperious court of *Spain* condescended to make any reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have been again restored, and the affections of the people entirely regained. See LE CLERC, *Histoire des Prov. Un.* livr. 1. p. 18.]

[p] In the year 1573.

[(q) It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman catholics, and that which the *Anabaptists*, *Lutherans*, and other protestant sects enjoyed. They were all indiscriminately excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom the churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.]

[r] See a farther account of this matter in GERARD BRANDT'S *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, of which there was a French abridgment published at *Amsterdam*, in three volumes 12mo. in the year 1730. The original work was published in Dutch. in four volumes 4to.

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and great numbers of persons, of all ranks and orders, expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of *Naples* in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were BERNARD OCHINO and PETER MARTYR, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of CHARLES V, and his viceroy DON PEDRO DI TOLEDO [s]. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the reformation by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody *inquisitors*, who spread the marks of their usual barbarity through the greatest part of *Italy*. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of *Rome*, at least in external appearance. But the terrors of the *inquisition*, which frightened back into the profession of popery several protestants in other parts of *Italy*, could not penetrate into the kingdom of *Naples*, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the Roman pontiffs engage the Neopolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors [t].

The

[s] See GIANONE *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 108.—VITA GALEACII in *Museo Helvetic*, tom. ii. p. 524.

[(t)] It was an attempt to introduce a Roman inquisitor into the city of *Naples*, that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. MOSHEIM attributes in this section to the pulpit discourses of OCHINO and MARTYR; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and converted many secretly without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at *Naples*, declared, that *he preached with such spirit and devotion as was sufficient to make the very stones weep*. After OCHINO's departure from *Naples*, the disciples he had formed gave private instructions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics, and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and

con-

The eyes of several persons in *Spain* were opened up-
on the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which
the controversies between LUTHER and *Rome* had excited
in *Europe*, but even by those very divines, which CHAR-
LES V had brought with him into *Germany*, to combat
the pretended *heresy* of the reformers. For these Spa-
nish doctors imbibed this heresy instead of refuting it,
and propagated it more or less, on their return home, as
appears evidently from several circumstances [u]. But

the
conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy TOLEDO,
who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some
productions of MELANCTHON and ERASMUS to be publicly burnt,
looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed
several academies, which had been erected about this time by the
nobility for the advancement of learning, and, having received or-
ders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired pope
PAUL III to send from *Rome* to *Naples* a deputy of that formidable
tribunal. It was this, that excited the people to take up arms in
order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny,
which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and
which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and suc-
cess. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommoda-
tion of matters and a general pardon; while the emperor and vice-
roy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of intro-
ducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of *Naples*. Several other
attempts were afterwards made, during the reigns of PHILIP II, III, IV,
and CHARLES II, to establish the inquisition in *Naples*; but, by the jea-
lousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At
length the emperor CHARLES VI, in the beginning of this present
century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating
to the holy faith, to be tried by any persons, except the archbishops and
bishops as ordinaries. See GIANNONE *Histoire de Naples*, livr. xxxii. sect.
2 and 3.—*Modern Univ. History*, vol. xxviii. p. 273, &c. edit. octavo.]

[(u) This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics
that had attended CHARLES V, and followed him into his retire-
ment. No sooner was the breath of that monarch out, than they
were put into the inquisition, and were afterwards committed to
the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such
was the fate of AUGUSTIN CASAL, the emperor's preacher; of
CONSTANTINE PONTIUS, his confessor; of the learned EGI-
DIUS, whom he had named to the bishoprick of *Tortosa*; of BAR-
THOLOMEW DE CARANZA, a Dominican, who had been confessor
to King PHILIP and queen MARY, with above twenty more of less
note. All this gave reason to presume that CHARLES V died a
protestant. Certain it is, that he knew well the corruptions and frauds
of the church of *Rome*, and the grounds and reasons of the pro-
testant faith; though business, ambition, interest, and the preju-
dices

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the *inquisition*, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of *Naples*, reigned triumphant in *Spain*; and by racks, gibbets, stakes, and other such formidable instruments of its method of persuading, soon terrified the people back into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion [w].

What judgment we are to form concerning the reformation and the means by which it was produced?

XIV. I shall not pretend to dispute with those writers, whatever their secret intentions may be, who observe, that many unjustifiable proceedings may be charged upon some of the most eminent promoters of this great change in the state of religion. For every impartial and attentive observer of the rise and progress of the reformation will ingenuously acknowledge, that wisdom and prudence did not always attend the transactions of those, that were concerned in this glorious cause; that many things were done with violence, temerity, and precipitation; and what is still worse, that several of the principal agents in this great revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passions and views of interest, than by a zeal for the advancement of true religion. But, on the other hand, the wise and candid observer of things will own, as a most evident and incontestible truth, that many things, which, when stripped of the circumstances and motives that attended them, appear to us at this time as real crimes, will be deprived of their enormity and even acquire the aspect of noble deeds, if they be considered in one point of view with the times and places in which they were transacted, and with the frauds and crimes of the Roman pontiffs and their creatures, by which they were occasioned. But after all, in defending the cause of the reformation, we are under no obligation to defend, in all things, the moral characters of its promoters and instruments.

These

dices of education may have blinded him for a while, until leisure, retirement, the absence of worldly temptations, and the approach of death removed the veil, and led him to wise and serious reflexions. See BURNET's *History of the Reformation*, and the book cited in the following note.]

[w] See GEDDES, his *Spanish Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom, i. p. 445.

These two objects are entirely distinct. The most just and excellent cause may be promoted with low views and from sinister motives, without losing its nature, or ceasing to be just and excellent. The true state of the question here, is, whether the opposition made, by LUTHER and the other reformers, to the Roman pontiff, was founded on just and solid reasons? and this question is entirely independent of the virtues or vices of particular persons [x]. Let many of these persons be supposed as odious, nay, still more detestable, than they are pleased to represent them, provided the cause in which they were embarked be allowed to have been just and good [y].

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SECTION II.

The GENERAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

THE Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may give credit to their historians, exerted themselves, with the greatest vigour and success, in the propagation of the Gospel, among the darkened nations [a]. And it must, indeed, be confessed, that they communicated some notions, such as they were, of the Christian religion to the inhabitants of *America*, to those parts of *Africa* where they carried their arms, and to the islands and maritime provinces of *Asia*, which they reduced under

The borders
of the
church en-
larged.

[(x)] The translator has added here some paragraphs to render more palpable the important observation of the learned author.]

[(y)] See *A Dissertation concerning the Spirit and Genius, the Causes and Instruments of the Reformation*, composed by the translator of this History, and prefixed to this volume.]

[a] See JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 420. All the relations, given by this eloquent writer, (who was afterwards created bishop of *Sisteron*) are taken from the Portuguese historians. — The other writers, who have cast light upon this part of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Salutar. Evangelii toto orbe exorients*, cap. 42, 43. 48 and 49.

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under their dominion. It is also true, that considerable numbers of these savage people, who had, hitherto, lived, either under the bondage of the most extravagant superstitions, or, in a total ignorance of any object of religious worship, embraced, at least in outward appearance, the doctrines of the gospel. But when we consider the methods of conversion that were employed by the Spanish missionaries among these wretched nations, the barbarous laws and inhuman tortures that were used to force them into the profession of Christianity; when it is considered, farther, that the denomination of Christians was conferred upon such of those poor wretches, as discovered a blind and excessive veneration for their stupid instructors, and were able, by certain gestures and the repetition of a little jargon, to perform a few superstitious rites and ceremonies, then, instead of rejoicing at, we shall be tempted to lament such a propagation of the gospel, and to behold the labours of such miserable apostles with indignation and contempt. Such is the judgment passed upon these missionaries, not only by those whom the church of *Rome* places in the list of *heretics*, but also by many of the most pious and eminent of her own doctors in *France, Germany, Spain, and Italy*.

The zeal
of the Ro-
man pontiffs
in the pro-
pagation of
Christianity.

II. When the Roman pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the reformation, which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in *Europe*, they turned their lordly views towards the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous, than ever, about the propagation of the gospel among the nations, that lay yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in *Europe*, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the title of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society, which, in the year 1540, took the denomination of *jesuits*, or, *the company of Jesus*, seemed, every way proper, to assist the court of *Rome* in the execution of this extensive design. And accordingly, from their
first

first rise, this peculiar charge was given them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the Roman pontiff, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should fix for the exercise of their ministry [b]. The many histories and relations, which mention the labours, perils, and exploits of that prodigious multitude of jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly shew, with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the Roman pontiffs [c]. And their labours would have undoubtedly crowned them with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident, from the most authentic records, that the greatest part of these new apostles had more in view the promoting the ambitious views of *Rome*, and the advancing the interests of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honour of

[(b) When the fanatic, IGNATIUS, first solicited the confirmation of his order by the Roman pontiff, PAUL III, the learned and worthy cardinal GUIDICIONI opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of IGNATIUS, who, changing the articles of his *institution*, in which he had promised obedience to the pope *with certain restrictions*, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn vow of *implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience* to the Roman pontiff. This change produced the desired effect, and made the popes look upon the jesuits as the chief support of their authority; and hence the zeal which *Rome* has ever shewn for that order, and that even at present, when their secret enormities have been brought to light, and procured the suppression of their society in *Portugal* and in *France*, where their power was so extensive. It is indeed remarkable that IGNATIUS and his company, in the very same character of their order in which they declare their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of *Rome*, promise a like implicit unlimited allegiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of serving two absolute masters, whose commands may be often contradictory. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed at *Utrecht* in 1741, tom. i. p. 77, &c.]

[c] See JO. ALB. FABRICII *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorients*, cap. xxxiii. p. 550.

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its divine author [d]. It may also be affirmed from records of the highest credit and authority, that the *inquisition* erected by the jesuits at Goa, and the penal law whose terrors they employed, so freely, in propagation of the gospel, contributed much more than their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity [e]. The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which, had, for a long time, been not only cooled, but almost totally extinguished, was animated, anew, by the example of the jesuits. And several other religious orders, that slumbered in their cells, were roused from their lethargy, if not by a principal of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.

The propa-
gation of the
gospel in
India, Japan,
and China.

III. Of all the jesuits, who distinguished themselves by their zealous and laborious attempts to extend the limits of the church, none acquired a more shining reputation than FRANCIS XAVIER, who is commonly called the *Apostle of the Indians* [f]. An undaunted resolution, and no small degree of genius and sagacity, rendered this famous missionary one of the properest persons that could be employed in such an arduous task. Accordingly, in the year 1522, he set sail for the Portuguese settlements in *India*, and, in a short space of time, spread the knowledge of the Christian, or to speak more properly of the Popish religion, over a great part of the continent, and in several of the islands of that remote region. From thence, in the year 1529, he passed into *Japan*, and

[d] B. CHRIST. EBERH. WEISMANNI *Oratio de virtutibus et vitiis Mission. Romanar. in Oratt. ejus Academ.* p. 286.

[e] See the *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 171. 207.

[f] The late king of Portugal obtained for XAVIER, or rather for his memory, the title of *Protector of the Indies*, from BENEDICT XIV. in the year 1747. See the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangeres*, tom. xliii. *Pref.* p. 36. The body of this sainted missionary lies interred at Goa, where it is worshipped with the highest marks of devotion. There is also a magnificent church at Cotati dedicated to Xavier, to whom the inhabitants of that Portuguese settlement pay the most devout tribute of veneration and worship. See *Lettres Edifiantes, &c.* tom. iii. p. 85, 89. 203. tom. v. p. 38—48. tom. vi. p. 78.

laid there, with amazing rapidity, the foundations of the famous church, which flourished, during so many years in that vast empire. His indefatigable zeal prompted him to attempt the conversion of the Chinese, and with this view he embarked for that extensive and powerful kingdom, in sight of which he ended his days in the year 1553 [g]. After his death, other members of his insinuating order penetrated into *China*. The chief of these was MATTHEW RICCI, an Italian, who, by his skill in the Mathematics, became so acceptable to the Chinese-nobility, and even to their emperor, that he obtained both for himself and his associates the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrines of the gospel [h]. This famous missionary may, therefore, be considered as the parent and founder of the Christian churches, which, though often dispersed and tossed to and fro by the storms of persecution, subsist, nevertheless, still in *China* [i].

IV. The jurisdiction and territories of those princes, who had thrown off the papal yoke, being confined within the limits of *Europe*, the churches that were under their protection could contribute but little to the propagation of the gospel in those distant regions of which we have been speaking. It is, however, recorded in history, that in the year 1556, fourteen protestant missionaries were sent from *Geneva* to convert the Americans [k], though it is not well known who was

The attempts of the protestants towards the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts.

[g] See the writers enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. cap. xxxix. p. 677. Add to these, LAFITAU *Histoire des Decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 419. 424. tom. iv. p. 63: 102.—*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 90.

[h] J. B. DU HALDE *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 84. edit. *Holland*.

[i] It appears, however, that before the arrival of RICCI in *China*, some of the Dominicans had already been there, though to little purpose. See LE QUIEN *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1354.

[k] PICTETI *Oratio de Trophæis Christi*, in *Orat. ejus*, p. 570.—There is no doubt, but that the doctors here mentioned were those which the illustrious admiral COLIGNI invited into *France*, when, in the year 1555, he had formed the project of sending a colony of protestants into *Brasil* and *America*. See CHARLEVOIX *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tom. i. p. 22.

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the promoter of this pious design, nor with what success it was carried into execution. The English, also, who, towards the conclusion of this century, sent colonies into the northern parts of *America*, transplanted with them the reformed religion, which they themselves professed; and, as their possessions were extended and multiplied from time to time, their religion also made a considerable progress among that rough and uncivilized people. We learn, moreover, that about this time the Swedes exerted their religious zeal in converting to Christianity many of the inhabitants of *Finland* and *Lapland*, of whom a considerable number had hitherto retained the impious and extravagant superstitions of their Pagan ancestors.

The ene-
mies of
Christianity.

V. It does not appear, from authentic records of history, that the sword of persecution was drawn against the Gospel, or any public oppositions made to the progress of Christianity during this century. And it would betray a great ignorance, both of the situation, opinions, and maxims of the Turks, to imagine, that the war they waged against the Christians was carried on upon religious principles, or with a view to maintain and promote the doctrines of MAHOMET. On the other hand, it is certain, that there lay concealed, in different parts of *Europe*, several persons who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general, and in a more especial manner, against the religion of the gospel; and who, both in their writings and in private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and instilled their odious principles into weak, unsteady, and credulous minds. In this pernicious and unhappy class are generally placed several of the Peripatetic philosophers, who adorned *Italy* by their erudition, and particularly POMPONATIUS; several French wits and philosophers, such as JOHN BODIN, RABELAIS, MONTAGNE, BONAVENTURE DES PERIERES, DOLET, CHARRON; several Italians, at whose head appears the Roman pontiff, LEO X, followed by PETER BEMBO, POLITIAN, JORDANO BRUNO, OCHINO; and some Germans, such as THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS,

NICHOLAS

NICHOLAS TAURELLUS, and others [1]. It is even reported, that, in certain provinces of *France* and *Italy*, schools were erected, from whence whole swarms of these impious doctors soon issued out to deceive the simple and unwary. This accusation will not be rejected, in the lump, by such as are acquainted with the spirit and genius of these times; nor can it be said with truth, that all the persons, charged with this heavy reproach, were entirely guiltless. It is, nevertheless, certain, on the other hand, that, upon an accurate and impartial examination of this matter, it will appear that the accusation brought against many of them is entirely groundless; and that with respect to several, who may be worthy of censure in a certain degree, their errors are less pernicious and criminal, than they are uncharitably or rashly represented to be.

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VI. It is, at the same time, evident, that, in this century, the arts and sciences were carried to a degree of perfection unknown to preceding ages; and from this happy renovation of learning, the European churches derived the most signal and inestimable advantages, which they also transmitted to the most remote and distant nations. The benign influence of true science, and its tendency to improve both the form of religion and the institutions of civil policy, were perceived by many of the states and princes of *Europe*. Hence large sums were expended, and great zeal and industry employed in promoting the progress of knowledge, by founding and encouraging literary societies, by protecting and exciting a spirit of emulation among men of genius, and by annexing distinguished honours and advantages to the culture of the sciences. And it is particularly worthy of observation, that this was the period, when the wise and salutary law, which excludes ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred functions of the Christian ministry, acquired, at length, that force which it still retains in the greatest part of the

The public
advantages
that arose
from the
restoration
of letters,

[1] See REIMANNI *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum*. Hildesf. 1725. in 8vo.—JO. FRANC. BUDDEUS *Thesibus de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i.—*Dictionnaire de BAYLE*, passim.

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Christian world. There still remained, however, some seeds of that ancient discord between religion and philosophy, that had been sown and fomented by ignorance and fanaticism; and there were found, both among the friends and enemies of the reformation, several well-meaning, but inconsiderate men, who, in spite of common sense, maintained with more vehemence and animosity than ever, that vital religion and piety could never flourish until it was totally separated from learning and science, and nourished by the holy simplicity that reigned in the primitive ages of the church.

The flourishing state of philology.

VII. The first rank in the literary world was now held by those, who consecrated their studious hours and their critical sagacity to the publication, correction, and illustration of the most famous Greek and Latin authors of ancient times, to the study of antiquity and the languages, and to the culture of eloquence and poetry. We see by the productions of this age, (that yet remain and continue to excite the admiration of the learned) that in all the provinces of *Europe* these branches of literature were cultivated, with a kind of enthusiasm, by such as were most distinguished by their taste and genius; nay, what is still more extraordinary (and perhaps not a little extravagant) the welfare of the church and the prosperity of the state was supposed to depend upon the improvement of these branches of erudition which were considered as the very essence of true and solid knowledge. If such encomiums were swelled beyond the bounds of truth and wisdom by enthusiastical philologists, it is, nevertheless, certain, that the species of learning, here under consideration, was of the highest importance, as it opened the way that led to the treasures of solid wisdom, to the improvement of genius, and thus undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to deliver both reason and religion from the prepossessions of ignorance and the servitude of superstition [m]. And, therefore,

we

[(m) Many vehement debates have been carried on concerning the respective merit of *Literature* and *Philosophy*. But these debates are almost as absurd, as a comparison that should be made between the

we ought not to be surprized, when we meet with persons who exaggerate the merit, and dwell beyond measure on the praises, of those, who were our first guides from the regions of darkness and error into the smiling sphere of evidence and truth.

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VIII. Though the lovers of philology and Belles Lettres were much superior in number to those who turned their principal views to the study of philosophy; yet the latter were far from being contemptible either in point of number or capacity. The philosophers were divided into two classes, of which the one was wholly absorbed in contemplation, while the other was employed in the investigation of truth, and endeavoured by experience, as well as by reasoning, to trace out the laws and operations of nature. The former were subdivided into two sects, of which the one followed certain leaders, while the other, unrestrained by the dictates of authority, struck out a new way for themselves, following freely their own inventions. Those, who submitted to the direction of certain philosophical guides, enlisted themselves, under the standards of ARISTOTLE, or those of PLATO, who continued still to have many admirers, especially in *Italy*. Nor were the followers of ARISTOTLE, agreed among themselves; they all acknowledged the Stagirite as their chief, but they followed him through very different paths. Some were for retaining the ancient method of proceeding in philosophi-

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the means and the end, the instrument and its effect. Literature is the key by which we often open the treasures of wisdom, both human and divine. But as the sordid miser converts absurdly the means into an end, and acquires a passion for the shining metal, considered abstractedly from the purposes it was designed to serve, so the Pedantic philologist erects literature into an independent science, and contemns the divine treasures of philosophy, which it was designed both to discover and to illustrate. Hence that wretched tribe of *word-catchers that live on syllables* (as POPE, I think, happily expresses their tasteless pursuits) who make the republic of letters groan under their commentaries, annotations, various readings, &c. and forget that the knowledge of words and languages was intended to lead us to the improvement of the mind and to the knowledge of things.]

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cal pursuits, which their doctors, falsely, called the Peripatetic system. Others pleaded for the pure and unmixed philosophy of ARISTOTLE, and recommended the writings of that Grecian sage, as the source of wisdom, and as the system, which was most adapted, when, properly illustrated and explained, to the instruction of youth. A third sort of Aristotelicians, who differed equally from those now mentioned, and of whom the celebrated MELANCTHON was the chief, pursued another method. They extracted the marrow out of the lucubrations of ARISTOTLE, illustrated it by the aids of genuine literature and the rules of good criticism, and corrected it by the dictates of right reason and the doctrines and principles of true religion.

Of those, who struck out a path to themselves in the regions of philosophy, without any regard to that which had been opened by ancient sages, and pursued by their followers, CARDAN [n], TELESIIUS [o], CAM-

PANELLA

[(n) CARDAN was a man of a bold, irregular, enterprising genius, who, by a wild imagination, was led into the study of astrology and magic, by which he excited the astonishment and attracted the veneration of the multitude, while his real merit as a philosopher was little known. He was accused of atheism, but seems much rather chargeable with superstition. His life and character was an amazing mixture of wisdom and folly, and nothing can give a more unfavourable idea of his temper and principles, than the hideous portrait he has drawn of himself in a book *De genituris*. His knowledge of physic and mathematics was considerable, and his notions of natural philosophy may be seen in his famous book *De subtilitate et verietate rerum*, in which some important truths and discoveries are mixed with the most fanatical visions, and the most extravagant and delirious effusions of mystical folly. See the ample and judicious account that has been given of the character and philosophy of this writer (whose voyage to *England* and *Scotland* is well known) by the learned BRUCKER, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part. II. lib. i. cap. iii.]

[(o) This philosopher, less known than the former, was born A. D. 1508, at *Cosensa*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and was the restorer of the philosophy formerly taught by PARMENIDES, upon whose principles he built a new system, or, at least, a system which appeared new by the elegant connexion which TELESIIUS gave to its various parts, and the arguments he used to maintain and support

PANELLA [*p*] hold, deservedly, the first rank, as they were, undoubtedly, men of superior genius, though too much addicted to the suggestions and visions of an irregular fancy. To these may be added PETER RAMUS, that subtle and ingenious French philosopher, who, by attempting to substitute in the place of ARISTOTLE's logic, a method of reasoning more adapted to the use of rhetoric and the improvement of eloquence, excited such a terrible uproar in the Gallic schools. Nor must we omit here the mention of THEOPHRASTUS PARACELsus, who, by an assiduous observation of nature, by a great number of experiments indefatigably repeated, and

port it against the philosophy of ARISTOTLE. It was the vague and uncertain method of reasoning, which the Stagirite had introduced into natural philosophy, that engaged TELESÍUS to compose his famous book *De principiis rerum naturalium*. In this work, after having refuted the visionary principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, he substitutes in their place, such as are immediately derived from the testimony of the senses, even *heat* and *cold*, from which, like PARMENIDES, he deduces the nature, origin, qualities, and changes of all material beings. To these two principles he adds a third, *viz. Matter*, and on these three builds, with dexterity enough, his physical system, for a part of which he seems also to have been indebted to a book of PLUTARCH, *De primo frigido*. It will be entertaining to the philosophical reader to compare this work of TELESÍUS, with Lord BACON's physical account of the story of *Cupid and Coelus*, in his book *De principiis et Originibus*, &c.]

[(*p*) CAMPANELLA, a native of *Calabria*, made a great noise, in the seventeenth century, by his innovations in philosophy. Shocked at the atheism and absurdities of the Aristotelian system, he acquired early a contempt of it, and turned his pursuits towards something more solid, perusing the writings of all the ancient sages, and comparing them with the great volume of nature, to see whether the pretended copies resembled the original. The sufferings that this man endured are almost incredible, but they were said to be inflicted on him in consequence of the treasonable practices that were imputed to him, partly against the court of *Spain*, and partly against the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had formed the design of delivering into the hands of the Turks. He was freed from his prison and tortures by the interposition of Pope URBAN VIII, who gave him particular marks of his favour and esteem; and, finding that he was not safe at *Rome*, had him conveyed to *Paris*, where he was honoured with the protection of LEWIS XIII and Cardinal RICHLIEU, and ended his days in peace. As to the writings and phi-

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and by applying the penetrating force of fire [q] to discover the first principles or elements of bodies, endeavoured to cast new light and evidence on the important science of natural philosophy. As the researches of this industrious inquirer into nature excited the admiration of all, his example was consequently followed by many; and hence arose a new sect of philosophers, who assumed the denomination of *Theosophists* [r], and who, placing little confidence in the decisions of human reason, or the efforts of speculation, attributed all to divine illumination and repeated experience.

The method
of teaching
theology
improved.

IX. This revolution in philosophy and literature, together with the spirit of emulation that animated the different sects or classes into which the learned men of this age were divided, produced many happy effects of various kinds. It, in a more particular manner, brought into disrepute, though it could not at once utterly eradicate, that intricate, barbarous, and insipid method of

philosophy of this great man, they are tinged, indeed, with the colour of the times, and bear, in many places, the marks of a chimerical and undisciplined imagination; but among a few visionary notions, they contain a great number of important truths. He undertook an entire reformation of philosophy, but was unequal to the task. For an account of his principles of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, see BRUCKER'S *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part. II. p. 127. &c. He was accused of atheism, but unjustly; he was also accused of suggesting cruel measures against the protestants, and not without reason.]

[(q) The principal merit of PARACELSUS consisted in inventing, or, at least, restoring from oblivion and darkness the important science of *Chemistry*, giving it a regular form, reducing it into a connected system, and applying it most successfully to the art of healing, which was the peculiar profession of this philosopher, whose friends and enemies have drawn him in the falsest colours. His application to the study of *Magic*, which he treats of in the tenth volume of his works, under the denomination of the *Sagacious Philosophy*, is a circumstance dishonourable to his memory, and nothing can discover a more total absence of common sense and reason, than his discourses on that subject. As to his philosophical system, it is so obscure, and so contradictory, that we shall not pretend to delineate it here.]

[r] See, for an ample account of the lives, transactions, and systems of these philosophers, BRUCKER'S *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

teaching

teaching theology, that had universally prevailed hitherto in all the schools and pulpits of Christendom. The sacred writings, which, in the preceding ages, had been either entirely neglected, or very absurdly explained, were now much more consulted and respected in the debates and writings of the Christian doctors than they had formerly been; the sense and language of the inspired writers were more carefully studied, and more accurately unfolded; the doctrines and precepts of religion taught with more method, connexion, and perspicuity; and that dry, barren, and unaffecting language, which the ancient schoolmen affected so much in their theological compositions, was wholly exploded by the wiser part of the divines of this century. It must not, however, be imagined, that this reformation of the schools was so perfect, as to leave no new improvements to be made by succeeding ages; this, indeed, was far from being the case. Much imperfection yet remained in the method of treating theology, and many things, which had great need of a correcting hand, were left untouched. It would, nevertheless, be either an instance of ingratitude, or a mark of great ignorance, to deny this age the honour of having begun what was afterwards more happily finished, and of having laid the foundations of that striking superiority, which the divines of succeeding ages obtained over those of ancient times.

X. Nor did the improvements, which have been now mentioned, as proceeding from the restoration of letters and philosophy, extend only to the method of conveying theological instruction, but purified moreover the science of theology itself. For the true nature, genius, and design of the Christian religion, which even the most learned and pious doctors of antiquity had but imperfectly comprehended, were now unfolded with evidence and precision, and drawn, like truth, from an abyss in which they had hitherto lain too much concealed. 'Tis true, the influence of error was far from being totally suppressed, and many false and absurd doctrines are still maintained and propagated in the Christian world. But it may, nevertheless, be affirmed, that the Christian societies,

The genius and spirit of the Christian religion better explained.

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societies, whose errors, at this day, are the most numerous and extravagant, have much less absurd and perverse notions of the nature and design of the gospel, and the duties and obligations of those that profess it, than were entertained by those doctors of antiquity, who ruled the church with an absolute authority, and were considered as the chief oracles of theology. It may farther be observed, that the reformation contributed much to soften and civilize the manners of many nations, who, before that happy period, were sunk in the most savage stupidity, and carried the most rude and unfocial aspect. It must, indeed, be confessed, that a variety of circumstances combined to produce that lenity of character, and that milder temperature of manners, maxims, and actions, that discovered themselves gradually, and increased, from day to day, in the greatest part of the European nations after the period that LUTHER rendered so famous. It is, nevertheless, evident, beyond all contradiction, that the disputes concerning religion, and the accurate and rational inquiries into the doctrines and duties of Christianity, to which these disputes gave rise, had a great tendency to eradicate out of the minds of men that ferocity that had been so long nourished by the barbarous suggestions of unmanly superstition. It is also certain, that at the very dawn of this happy revolution in the state of Christianity, and even before its salutary effects were manifested in all their extent, pure religion had many sincere and fervent votaries, though they were concealed from public view by the multitudes of fanatics, with which they were surrounded on all sides.

S E C T.

SECTION III.

The PARTICULAR HISTORY of the CHURCH.

PART I.

The HISTORY of the ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

The HISTORY of the ROMAN or LATIN CHURCH.

I. **T**HE Roman or Latin church is a system of government, whose jurisdiction extends to a great part of the known world, though its authority has been circumscribed within narrower limits since the happy revolution that, in many places, delivered Christianity from the yoke of superstition and spiritual tyranny. This system of ecclesiastical policy, extensive as it is, is under the direction of the bishop of Rome alone, who, by virtue of a sort of *hereditary succession*, claims the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. PETER, the *supposed* prince of the apostles, and gives himself out for the *supreme head* of the universal church, the *vice-gerent* of Christ upon earth. This lordly ruler of the church is, at this time, elected to his high office by the chosen members of the Roman clergy, who bear the ancient denomination of *cardinals*. Of these, *six* are *bishops* within the precincts of Rome; *fifty* are ministers of the Roman churches, and are called *priests* or presbyters; and *fourteen* are inspectors of the hospitals and charity-houses, and are called *deacons*. These *cardinals*, while the papal chair is vacant, and they are employed in the choice of a successor to the deceased pontiff, are shut up and closely confined in a certain sort of

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how elect-
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of prison, called the *Conclave*, that they may thus be engaged to bring this difficult matter to a speedy conclusion. No person, that is not an Italian by birth, and has not already obtained a place in the college of cardinals, is capable of being raised to the head of the church; nor have all the Italian cardinals the privilege of aspiring to this high office [a]. Some are rendered incapable of filling the papal chair by the place of their birth, others by their manner of life, and a few by other reasons of a more incidental nature [b]. It is also to be observed, that the emperor, the kings of *France* and *Spain* have acquired, whether expressly by stipulation, or, imperceptibly through custom, the privilege of excluding from the number of the candidates for this high office such as they think proper to oppose or dislike. Hence it often happens, that, in the numerous college of cardinals, a very small number are permitted, upon a vacancy, to aspire at the papacy; the greatest part being

[a] See Jo. FRID. MAYERI *Commentarius de Electione Pontificis Romani*, published in 4to. at *Hamburg*, in the year 1691. The ceremonial observed in the *election* and *installation* is amply described by MEUSCHENIUS, in a work published at *Francfort* in the year 1732 under the following title: *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani*.

[(b) The great obstacle that prevents several cardinals from aspiring at the pontificate, is what they call at *Rome*, *il peccato Originale*, or *original sin*. This mark of exclusion belongs to those who are born subjects of some crown, or republic, which is not within the bounds of *Italy*, or which are upon a footing of jealousy with the court of *Rome*. Those also, who were made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or their adherents, are also included in this imputation of *original sin*, which excludes from the papal chair. The accidental circumstances that exclude certain cardinals from the pontificate, are their being born princes or independent sovereigns, or, their declaring themselves openly in favour of certain courts, or, their family's being too numerous, or, their morals being irregular. Even youth and a good complexion and figure are considered as obstacles. But all these maxims and rules vary and change according to the inconstant and precarious impulse of policy and faction.

For an account of the different methods of electing the pope, whether by *compromise*, *inspiration*, *scrutiny*, or *access* (by which latter is meant a *second election* employed when the other methods fail) See ARMON *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, edit. 2de, p. 40. &c.]

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generally prevented by their birth, their character, their circumstances, and by the force of political intrigues from flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of ascending that towering summit of ecclesiastical power and dominion.

II. It must not be imagined, that the personal power and authority of the Roman pontiffs are circumscribed by no limits; since it is well known, that, in all his decisions relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the *brethren*, i. e. the cardinals, who compose his ministry or privy council. Nay more, in matters of religious controversy and doctrine, he is obliged to ask the advice and opinion of eminent divines, in order to secure his pretended infallibility from the suggestions of error. Besides this, all matters, that are not of the highest moment and importance, are divided, according to their respective nature, into certain classes, and left to the management of certain colleges, called *Congregations* [c], in every one of which, one or more

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[(c) These congregations are as follow: I. *The congregation of the Pope*, instituted first by SIXTUS V, to prepare the matters that were to be brought before the *consistory*, at which the pontiff is always present. Hence this is called the *consistorial congregation*, and, in it, are treated all affairs relative to the erection of bishoprics and cathedral churches, the reunion or suppression of episcopal sees, the alienation of church goods, and the taxes and *annates* that are imposed upon all benefices in the pope's giving. The cardinal dean presides in this assembly. II. *The congregation of the Inquisition*, or (as it is otherwise called) *of the Holy Office*, instituted by PAUL III, which takes cognizance of heresies, apottacy, magic, and profane writings, which assemble thrice in the week, and every Thursday in presence of the pope, who presides in it. The office of *grand inquisitor*, which encroached upon the prerogatives of the pontiff, has been long suppressed, or rather distributed, among the cardinals, who belong to this congregation, and whose decisions come under the supreme cognizance of his Holiness. III. *The congregation for the propagation of the Roman catholic Faith*, founded under the pontificate of GREGORY XV, composed of eighteen cardinals, one of the secretaries of state, a protonotary, a secretary of the inquisition, and other members of less rank. Here it is, that the deliberations are carried on, which relate to the extirpation of heresy, the appointment of missionaries, &c. This congregation has built a most beautiful and magnificent palace in one of the most agreeable

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cardinals preside [*d*]. The decisions of these societies are generally approved of by the Roman pontiff, who has

agreeable situations that could be chosen at *Rome*, where proselytes to popery from foreign countries are lodged and nourished *gratis*, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition, and instructed in those branches of knowledge to which the bent of their genius points. The prelates, curates, and vicars also, who are obliged, without any fault of theirs, to abandon the places of their residence, are entertained charitably in this noble edifice in a manner proportioned to their station in the church. IV. *The congregation designed to explain the decisions of the council of Trent.* V. *The congregation of the Index*, whose principal business is to examine manuscripts and books that are designed for publication, to decide whether the people may be permitted to read them, to correct those books whose errors are not numerous, and which contain useful and salutary truths, to condemn those, whose principles are heretical and pernicious, and to grant the peculiar privilege of perusing heretical books to certain persons. This congregation, which is sometimes held in presence of the pope, but generally in the palace of the cardinal president, has a more extensive jurisdiction than that of the inquisition, as it not only takes cognizance of those books that contain doctrines contrary to the Roman-catholic faith, but of those also that concern the duties of morality, the discipline of the church, and the interests of society. Its name is derived from the alphabetical Tables or *Indexes* of heretical books and authors, which have been composed by its appointment. VI. *The congregation for maintaining the rights and immunities of the Clergy, and of the Knights of Malta.* This congregation was formed by URBAN VIII, to decide the disputes and remove the difficulties and inconveniencies that arose from the trials of ecclesiastics, before princes or other lay judges. VII. *The congregation relating to the Bishops and regular Clergy*, instituted by SIXTUS V, to decide the debates which arise between the bishops and their diocesans, and to compose the differences that happen so frequently among the monastic orders. VIII. *The congregation*, appointed by GREGORY XIV, for examining into the capacity and learning of the bishops: IX. Another for inquiring into their lives and morals: X. A third for obliging them to reside in their dioceses, or to dispense them from that obligation. XI. *The congregation for suppressing monasteries*, i. e. such, whose revenues are exhausted, and who thereby become a charge upon the public. XII. *The congregation of Apostolic Visitation*, which names the visitors, who perform the duties and visitations of the churches and convents within the district of *Rome*, to which the pope is obliged as archbishop of that city. XIII. *The congregation of Relicks*, designed to examine the marks and to augment the number of those instruments of superstition. XIV. *The congregation of Indulgences*, designed to examine the case of those, who have recourse to this method

has not a right, without alledging the most weighty and evident reasons, to reverse what they pronounce to be just and expedient. This form of ecclesiastical government is, doubtless, a check to the authority of the pope; and hence it is, that many things are transacted at *Rome* in a manner, that is in direct opposition to the sentiments of its spiritual ruler. This may serve to shews us, that those persons are little acquainted with the nature and limits of the papal hierarchy, who pretend, that all the iniquitous proceedings of the court of *Rome*, the calamities it has occasioned, the contentions, rebellions, and tumults it has excited, are to be entirely and wholly laid to the charge of the Roman pontiff [e].

III. The

method of quieting the conscience. XV. *The congregations of Rites*, which SIXTUS V appointed to regulate and invent the religious ceremonies, that are to be observed in the worship of each new saint, that is added to the Kalendar.

These are the congregations of cardinals, set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church, and they are undoubtedly, in some respects, a check upon the power of the pontiff, enormous as it may be. There are six more which relate to the temporal government of the papal territories. In these congregations, where the pope is never present, all things are transacted, which relate to the execution of public justice in civil, or criminal matters, the levying of taxes, the providing the cities and provinces with good governors, the relieving those who are unjustly oppressed by subordinate magistrates, the coinage, the care of the rivers, aquæducts, bridges, roads, churches, and public edifices.]

[d] The court of *Rome* is very particularly and accurately described by AYMOR (who had been, before his conversion to the protestant religion, domestic chaplain to INNOCENT XI) in a book, entitled, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, of which the first edition was published at the *Hague* in 8vo, in the year 1707, and the second in 1726.—See also *Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Cereemonies qui s'y observent*, which father LABAT has translated into French, from the Italian of Jerom Limadoro, and subjoined to his *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. viii. p. 105.—For an account of the Roman congregations, &c. see DOROTH. ASCIAN. *De Montibus Pietatis Romanis*, p. 510. as also HUNOLD PLETTENBERG *Notitia Tribunal. et Congregat. Curiae Romanæ. Hildesie*, in 8vo. 1693.

[e] Hence arises that important distinction frequently employed by the French and other nations in their debates with the Roman pontiff, I mean, the distinction between the *Pope of Rome*, and the *Court of Rome*. The latter is often loaded with the bitterest re-

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Debates arise concerning the power of the Roman pontiffs.

III. The power of the Roman pontiff had excited debates even among those that are under the papal hierarchy; and the spiritual subjects of this, pretended, head of the church, are very far from being agreed with respect to the extent of his authority and jurisdiction. Hence it happens, that this authority and dominion are not the same in all places, having a larger scope in some provinces, and being reduced within narrower bounds in others. If indeed, we consider only the pretensions of the pontiff, then we shall find that his power is unlimited and supreme; for there are no prerogatives, that can flatter ambition, which he does not claim for himself and his court. He not only pretends, that the whole power and majesty of the church reside in his person, and are transmitted, in certain portions, from him to the inferior bishops, but moreover asserts the absolute infallibility of all decisions and decrees that he pronounces from his lordly tribunal. These arrogant pretensions are, however, opposed by many, and chiefly by the French nation, which expressly maintains, that every bishop receives immediately from Christ himself a portion of that spiritual power which is imparted to the church; that the collective sum, or whole of this power, is lodged in the collective body of its pastors, or, which is the same thing, in a general council, lawfully assembled; and that the pontiff considered personally, and as distinct from the church, is liable to error. This complicated and important controversy may be easily brought within narrower bounds, and may be reduced to the following plain question: *viz. Is the Roman pontiff, properly speaking, the LAWGIVER of the church, or, is he no more than the GUARDIAN and DEPOSITORY of the laws enacted by Christ and by the church?* There is no prospect of seeing this question decided,

proaches and the heaviest accusations, while the *former* is spared, and in some measure excused. Nor is this distinction by any means groundless; since the cardinals and congregations, whose rights and privileges are held sacred, undertake and execute many projects without the knowledge, and sometimes against the will and consent of the Roman pontiff.

nor

nor the debates terminated to which it has given rise ; since the contending parties are not even agreed about the proper and lawful judge of this important controversy [f]. Some great revolution can only effect the decision of this matter.

IV. The church of *Rome* lost much of its ancient splendor and majesty, as soon as LUTHER, and the other luminaries of the reformation, had exhibited to the view of European nations the Christian religion restored, at least, to a considerable part of its native purity, and delivered from many of the superstitions, under which it had lain so long disfigured. Among the most opulent states of *Europe*, several withdrew entirely from the jurisdiction of *Rome* ; in others, certain provinces threw off the yoke of papal tyranny ; and, upon the whole, this defection produced a striking diminution, both of the wealth and power of the Roman pontiffs. It must also be observed, that even the kings, princes, and sovereign states who adhered to the religion of *Rome*, yet changed their sentiments with respect to the claims and pretensions of its bishop. If they were not persuaded by the writings of the protestants to renounce the superstitions of popery, yet they received most useful instruction from them in other matters of very great moment. They drew from these writings important discoveries of the groundless claims and unlawful usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and came, at length, to perceive, that, if the jurisdiction and authority of *Rome* continued the same, that it was before the rise of LUTHER, the rights of temporal princes and the majesty of civil government would, sooner or later, be absorbed

The declension of the church of *Rome*.

[f] The arguments, employed by the creatures of the Roman pontiff in defence of his unlimited authority, may be seen in BEL-LARMINE and other writers, of which an enormous collection has been made by ROCCABERTI ; and, what is not a little extraordinary, a French writer, named PETITDIDIER, appeared in defence of the pope's pretensions, in a book published at *Luxemburg* in the year 1724, *Sur l'Autorité et l'Infallibilité des Papes*. The sentiments of the Gallican church, and the arguments by which it opposes the pretensions of *Rome*, may be seen in the writings of RICHER and LAUNOX.

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in the gulph of papal avarice and ambition. Hence it was, that most of the sovereign states of *Europe*, partly by secret and prudent measures, partly by public negotiations and remonstrances, set bounds to the daring ambition of *Rome*, which aimed at nothing less than universal dominion both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; nor did the Roman pontiff think it either safe or expedient to have recourse to the ancient arms of the church, *war* and *excommunication*, in order to repel these attacks upon his authority. Even those very kingdoms, who acknowledge the Roman pontiff as the lawgiver of the church, and an infallible guide, confine, nevertheless, his power of enacting laws within narrow limits.

The methods employed by the Roman pontiffs to repair their losses.

Missions.

V. In this declining state of their affairs, it was natural for the humbled pontiffs to look about for some method of repairing their losses; and, for this purpose, they exerted much more zeal and industry, than had been shewn by their predecessors, in extending the limits of their spiritual dominion beyond *Europe*, and left no means unemployed of gaining proselytes and adherents in the *Indies*, both among the Pagan nations and the Christian sects. The Jesuits, as we have already had occasion to observe, were the first missionaries that were sent for this purpose into these distant parts of the world; but able men, selected out of the other Monastic orders, were afterwards employed in this arduous undertaking. If, however, we except the exploits of FRANCIS XAVIER, and his companions in *India*, *China*, and *Japan*, of which notice has been taken above, there were no great matters effected in this century; as, generally speaking, the persons, who were set apart to execute this grand project, were not as yet endowed with that experience and dexterity that it necessarily required, and set about the work with more zeal than prudence and knowledge.

The Portuguese had, in the preceding century, opened a passage into the country of the Abyssinians, who professed the doctrine, and observed the religious rites, of the *Monophysites*; and this offered a favourable occasion of reducing this people under the papal yoke. Accordingly,

Accordingly, JOHN BERMUDES was sent into *Ethiopia* CENT. XVI. for this purpose; and, that he might appear with a certain degree of dignity, he was clothed with the title of *Patriarch of the Abyssinians*. The same important commission was afterwards given to IGNATIUS LOYOLA, and the companions of his labours [g]; and at their first setting out, several circumstances, and particularly a war with a neighbouring prince, which the Abyssinian monarch was desirous of terminating by the powerful succours of the Portuguese, seemed to promise them a successful and happy ministry. But the event did not answer this fond expectation; and, in some time, it appeared plainly, that the Abyssinians stood too firm in the faith of their ancestors to be easily engaged to abandon and forsake it; so that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Jesuits had almost lost all hopes of succeeding in their attempts [h].

VI. The *Egyptians* or *Copts*, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians in their religious sentiments, and also in their external forms of worship, became next the objects of Rome's ambitious zeal: and, in the year 1562, CHRISTOPHER RODERIC, a Jesuit of note, was sent, by the express order of pope PIUS IV, to propagate the cause of popery among that people. This ecclesiastic, notwithstanding the rich presents and subtle arguments, by which he attempted to change the sentiments and shake the constancy of GABRIEL [i], who was, at that time, patriarch of *Alexandria*, returned to *Rome* with no other effect of his embassy than fair words, and

The Egyptians and Armenians.

[[g] It is certainly by mistake that Dr. MOSHEIM mentions LOYOLA, as having made a voyage into *Abyssinia*. Jesuits were sent, at different periods, to that country, and with little success; but their founder was never there in person.]

[h] See LUDOLFI *Histor. Aethiopica et Comm.*—GEDDES, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 120.—LE GRAND, *Dissertation de la Conversion des Abyssins*, which is to be found in the second volume of the *Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie* du R. P. JEROME LOBO, p. 13.—LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, livr. ii. p. 90.

[i] FRANC. SACHINI *Histor. Societat. Jesu.* part II. lib. v.—EUSEB. RENAUD, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrin.* p. 611.—*Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 314.

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a few compliments [k]. It is, however, true, that, towards the conclusion of this century, and during the pontificate of CLEMENT VIII, an embassy from another patriarch of *Alexandria*, whose name was also GABRIEL, appeared at *Rome*, and was considered as a subject of triumph and boasting by the creatures of the pope [l]. But the more candid and sensible, even among the Roman-catholics, looked upon this embassy, and not without reason, as a stratagem of the Jesuits, to persuade the Abyssinians (who were so prone to follow the the example of their brethren of *Alexandria*) to join themselves to the communion of *Rome*, and to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff [m]. It is, at least, certain, that, after this solemn embassy, we do not find in the records of history the smallest token of a propensity in the *Copts* to embrace the doctrine or discipline of *Rome*.

Many years before this period, a considerable sect of the Armenians had been accustomed to treat the Roman pontiff with particular marks of veneration and respect, without departing, however, from the religious doctrine, discipline, or worship of their ancestors. Of this a farther

[(k)] This patriarch offered to send one of his bishops to the council of *Trent*, in order to get rid of the importunity of these Jesuits; but he refused, positively, the sending any of his young students to be educated among their order, and declared plainly, that he owed no obedience nor submission to the bishop of *Rome*, who had no more dignity nor authority than any other bishop, except within the bounds of his own diocese. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 322 324.]

[l] The transactions of this embassy, adorned with an ample and pompous Preface, are subjoined to the sixth volume of the *Annal. Eccl.* of BARONIUS, p. 707. edit. *Antwerp*.

[m] RENAUDOT, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 611, 612. endeavours to maintain the credit and importance of this embassy, of which BARONIUS has given such a pompous account. He is, however, much mistaken when he asserts, that Father SIMON, relying upon the fallacious testimony of GEORGE DOUZA, was the only person that ever considered this embassy as a stratagem; since it is evident, that THOMAS à JESU, in the sixth book of his *Treatise De conversione omnium gentium procuranda*, has considered it in the same light, as well as several other writers. See GENDES, *Church-History of Ethiopia*, p. 231, 232.

account

III. Chap. I. of the Roman or Latin CHURCH.

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account shall be given in the History of the Eastern Churches; it may, nevertheless, be proper to observe here, that the attachment of this sect to the bishop of *Rome* was greatly encreased, and the votaries of the pontiff considerably multiplied, by the zeal of SERAPION, an opulent man, who was entirely devoted to the court of *Rome*, and who, by engaging himself to discharge the debts under which the Armenians groaned, obtained, in the year 1593, the title and dignity of Patriarch, though there were already two patriarchs at the head of the Armenian church. He did not, however, enjoy this dignity long; for, soon after his promotion, he was sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the desire of those Armenians who adhered to the ecclesiastical discipline of their ancestors; and thus the boasting and exultation of the Romans subsided all of a sudden, and their hopes vanished [n].

VII. The ambitious views of the Roman pontiffs Nestorians, and Indians, sowed the pestilential seeds of animosity and discord among all the eastern churches; and the Nestorian Christians, who are also known by the denomination of *Chaldeans*, felt, early, the effects of their imperious counsels. In the year 1551, a warm dispute arose among that people, about the creation of a new patriarch, SIMÉON BARMAMAS being proposed by one party, and SULAKA earnestly desired by the other. The latter, to support his pretensions the more effectually, repaired to *Rome*, and was consecrated patriarch, in the year 1553, by pope JULIUS III, whose jurisdiction he had acknowledged, and to whose commands he had promised unlimited submission and obedience. JULIUS gave the name, JOHN, to the new Chaldean patriarch, and, upon his return to his own country, sent with him several persons, skilled in the Syriac language, to assist him in establishing and extending the papal empire among the Nestorians. From this time that unhappy people were divided into two factions, and were often involved in the

[n] See *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. iii. p. 132, 133.

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greatest dangers and difficulties by the jarring sentiments and perpetual quarrels of their patriarchs [o].

The Nestorians, or, as they are more commonly called, the *Christians of St. THOMAS*, who inhabited the maritime coasts of *India*, suffered much from the methods employed by the Portuguese to engage them to embrace the doctrine and discipline of the church of *Rome*, and to abandon the religion of their ancestors, which was much more simple, and infinitely less absurd [p]. The finishing stroke was put to the violence and brutality of these attempts by Don ALEXIS DE MENEZES, bishop of *Goa*, who, about the conclusion of this century, calling the Jesuits to his assistance, obliged this unhappy and reluctant people to embrace the religion of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the pope's supreme jurisdiction; against both of which acts they had always expressed the utmost abhorrence. These violent counsels and arrogant proceedings of MENEZES, and his associates, were condemned by such of the Roman-catholics as were most remarkable for their equity and wisdom [q].

VIII. The greatest part of the first legates and missionaries of the court of *Rome* treated with much severity and injustice the Christians whom they were desirous of gaining over to their communion. For they did not only require that these Christians should renounce the particular opinions that separated them from the Greek and Latin churches, and that they should acknowledge the Roman pontiff as CHRIST's sole *vice-gerent* upon earth: their demands went still farther; they opposed

[o] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Bibliotheca Oriental. Clementino-Vaticana*, tom. iii. part. II. p. 164.—See the *History of the Eastern Church* in the following chapter of this history.

[(p) For an account of the doctrines and worship of these, and the other eastern Christians, see the following *Chapter*:—As also two learned books of Monsieur LA CROZE, the one entitled, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*; and the other, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*.]

[q] See LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme aux Indes*, livr. ii. p. 88, &c. in which there is an ample account of the *Christians of St. Thomas*, and of the rough methods employed by MENEZES to gain them over to the church of *Rome*.

many

many of the opinions of this people, some of which were, at least, worthy of toleration, and others highly agreeable to the dictates both of reason and scripture; they insisted upon the suppression and abolition of several customs, rites, and institutions, which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, and which were perfectly innocent in their nature and tendency; in a word, they would be satisfied with nothing less than an entire and minute conformity of the religious rites and opinions of this people, with the doctrine and worship of the church of *Rome*. The papal court, however, rendered wise, by experience, perceived, at length, that this manner of proceeding was highly imprudent, and every way improper to extend the limits of the papal empire in the East. It was, therefore, determined to treat with more artifice and moderation a matter of such moment and importance, and the missionaries were, consequently, ordered to change the plan of their operations, and confine their views to the two following points: to wit, the subjection of these Christians to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and their renouncing, or, at least, professing to renounce, the opinions that had been condemned in the general councils of the church. In all other matters, the Roman envoys were commanded to use a perfect toleration, and to let these people remain unmolested in following the sentiments and observing the institutions they had derived from their ancestors. To give the greater credit and plausibility to this new method of conversion, certain learned doctors of the church endeavoured to demonstrate, that the religious tenets of *Rome* when explained according to the simplicity of truth, and not by the subtilties and definitions of the schools, differed very little from the opinions received in the Greek and the other eastern churches. But this demonstration was very far from being satisfactory, and it discovered less of an ingenuous spirit, than a disposition to gain proselytes with more appearance of success, by all sorts of means and at all events. Be that as it may; the cause of *Rome* received much more advantage from this plan of moderation

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The internal
constitution
of the church
of Rome
strengthened
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ation than it had derived from the severity of its former counsels; though much less than the authors of this reconciling plan fondly expected.

IX. While the Roman pontiffs were using their utmost efforts to extend their dominion abroad, they did not neglect the means that were proper to strengthen and maintain it at home. On the contrary, from the dawn of the reformation, they began to redouble their diligence in defending the internal form and constitution of the church of *Rome* against the dexterity and force of its adversaries. They could, no more, have recourse to the expedient of *crusades*, by which they had so often diminished the power and influence of their enemies. The revolutions that had happened in the affairs of *Rome*, and in the state of *Europe*, rendered any such method of subduing heretics, visionary, and impracticable. Other methods were, therefore, to be found out, and all the resources of prudence were to be exhausted in support of a declining church. Hence the laws and procedures of the *inquisition* were revised, and corrected in those countries where that formidable court is permitted to exert its dreadful power. Colleges and schools of learning were erected in various places, in which the studious youth were trained up, by perpetual exercise, in the art of disputing, that thus they might wield with more dexterity and success the arms of controversy against the enemies of *Rome*. The circulation of such books as were supposed to have a pernicious tendency, was either entirely prevented, or, at least, much obstructed by certain lists or indexes, composed by men of learning and sagacity, and published by authority, in which these books were marked with a note of infamy and their perusal prohibited, though with certain restrictions. The pursuit of knowledge was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and honourable marks of distinction, as well as ample rewards were bestowed on those, who made the most remarkable progress in the cultivation of letters. And, to enlarge no farther on this head, the youth, in general, were more carefully instructed in the principles and precepts of their

their religion, than they had formerly been. Thus CENT. XVI. it happens that signal advantages are frequently derived from what are looked upon as the greatest evils, and much wisdom and improvement are daily learning in the school of opposition and adversity. It is more than probable, that the church of *Rome* would never have been enriched with the acquisitions we have now been mentioning, had it continued in that state of uninterrupted ease and undisputed authority that nourish a spirit of indolence and luxury, and had not the pretended heretics attacked its territories, trampled upon its jurisdiction, and eclipsed a great part of its ancient majesty and splendor.

X. The Monastic orders and religious societies have been always considered by the Roman pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. It is chiefly by them that they rule the church, maintain their influence on the minds of the people, and augment the number of their votaries. And, indeed, various causes contribute to render the connexion between the pontiff and these religious communities much more intimate, than that which subsists between him and the other clergy, of whatever rank or order we may suppose them to be. It was therefore judged necessary, when the success of LUTHER and the progress of the reformation had effaced such a considerable part of the majesty of *Rome*, to found some new religious fraternity, that should, in a particular manner, be devoted to the interests of the Roman pontiff, and the very express end of whose institution should be to renew the vigour of a declining hierarchy, to heal the deep wound it had received, to preserve those parts of the papal dominions that remained yet entire, and to augment them by new accessions. This was so much the more necessary, as the two famous *Mendicant* societies [*r*], by whose ministry the popes had chiefly governed during many ages, and that with the greatest success and glory, had now lost, on several accounts, a considerable part of their influence and

Ignatius
Loyola
the founder
of the order
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[(*r*) These two orders were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.]
authority

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authority, and were thereby less capable of serving the church with efficacy and vigour than they had formerly been. What the pontiff sought for, in this declining state of his affairs was found in that famous and most powerful society, which deriving its title from the name of JESUS, were commonly called *Jesuits*, while they were styled by their enemies *Loyolites*, and sometimes *Inighists* [*s*], from the Spanish name of their founder. [*t*] This founder was IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a Spanish knight, who, from an illiterate soldier, became an unparalleled fanatic; a fanatic, indeed, of a fertile and enterprising genius [*u*], who after having passed through various scenes of life, came to *Rome*, and being there directed by the prudent counsels of persons much wiser than himself, was rendered capable of instituting such an order as the state of the church at that time essentially required. [*w*].

XI. The

[*s*] The Spanish name of the founder of the order of Jesuits was DON INIGO DE GUIPUSCOA.]

[*t*] The writers who have given the most particular and circumstantial accounts of the order of the Jesuits are enumerated by CHRISTOPH. AUG. SALIG. in his *Historia August. Confessionis*, tom. ii. p. 73.

[*u*] Many Jesuits have written the life of this extraordinary man; but the greatest part of these biographers seem more intent on advancing the glory of their founder, than solicitous about the truth and fidelity of their relations; and hence the most common events, and the most trivial actions, that concern IGNATIUS, are converted into prodigies and miracles. The history of this enterprising fanatic has been composed with equal truth and ingenuity, though seasoned with a very large portion of wit and pleasantry, by a French writer, who calls himself HERCULES RASIEL DE SELVE*. This work, which is divided into two volumes, is entitled, *Histoire de l'admirable Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et fondateur de la Monarchie des Inighistes*, and it has passed already through two editions at the *Hague*.

[*w*] Not only the protestants, but also a great number of the more learned and judicious *Roman catholics* have unanimously denied that IGNATIUS LOYOLA had either learning sufficient to compose the writings of which he is said to be the author, or genius enough to form the society of which he is considered as the founder. They maintain, on the contrary, that he was no more than a flexible instrument in the hands of able and ingenious men, who made use of

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[* This is a feigned name. The real author was Monsieur LE VIER, an ingenious bookseller, who lived formerly at the *Hague*.]

XI. The Jesuits hold a middle rank between the *monks* and the *secular clerks*, and, with respect to the nature of their institute, approach nearer to the *regular canons* than to any other order. For though they resemble the monks in this, that they live separate from the multitude and are bound by certain religious vows, yet they are exempt from stated hours of worship, and other numerous and burthensome services that lie heavy upon the Monastic orders, that they may have more time to employ in the education of youth, in directing the consciences of the faithful, in edifying the church by their pious and learned productions, and in transacting other matters that relate to the prosperity of the papal hierarchy. Their whole order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the *professed members*, who live in what are called the *professed houses*; the second contains the *scholars*, who instruct the youth in the *colleges*; and to the third belong the *novices*, who live in the *houses of probation* [x]. The *professed members*, besides the three ordinary vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*, that are common to all the Monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves *to go without deliberation or de-*

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The nature
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his fortitude and fanaticism to answer their purposes; and that persons much more learned than he, were employed to compose the writings which bear his name. See GEDDES, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 429.—The greatest part of his works are supposed to have proceeded from the pen of his secretary JOHN DE PALANCO; see LA CROZE *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, p. 55. 271. The Benedictines affirm, that his book of *Spiritual Exercises* is copied from the work of a Spanish Benedictine Monk, whose name was CISNEROS, (see *La Vie de M. de la Croze*, par JORDAN) and the *Constitutions* of the Society were probably the work of LAINEZ and SALMERON, two learned men, who were among its first members. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 115.

[(x) Other writers add a fourth class, consisting of the *Spiritual* and *Temporal Coadjutors*, who assist the professed members, and perform the same functions, without being bound by any more than the three *simple* vows; though after a long and approved exercise of their employment, the *Spiritual Coadjutors*, are admitted to the *fourth* vow, and thus become *professed members*.]

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lay wherever the pope shall think fit to send them; they are also a kind of *Mendicants*, being without any fixed subsistence, and living upon the liberality of pious and well-disposed people. The other *Jesuits*, and more particularly the *scholars*, are possessed of large revenues, and are obliged, in case of urgent necessity, to contribute to the support of the *professed members*. These latter, who are few in number considering the multitudes that belong to the other classes) are, generally speaking men of prudence and learning, deeply skilled in the affairs of the world, and dexterous in transacting all kinds of business from long experience added to their natural penetration and sagacity; in a word, they are the *true* and *perfect* Jesuits. The rest, have, indeed, the title, but are rather the companions and assistants of the *Jesuits*, than real members of that mysterious order; and it is only in a very vague and general sense, that the denomination of Jesuits can be applied to them. But, what is still more remarkable, the secrets of the society are not revealed even to all the *professed members*. It is only a small number of this class, whom old age has enriched with thorough experience, and long trial declared worthy of such an important trust, that are instructed in the mysteries of the order.

The zeal of
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XII. The church and court of *Rome*, since the remarkable period when so many kingdoms and provinces withdrew from their jurisdiction, have derived more influence and support from the labours of this single order, than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all the various exertions of their power and opulence. It was this famous company, which, spreading itself with an astonishing rapidity through the greatest part of the habitable world. confirmed the wavering nations in the faith of *Rome*, restrained the progress of the rising sects, gained over a prodigious number of Pagans in the most barbarous and remote parts of the globe to the profession of popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all denominations; appearing almost alone in the field of controversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution the whole

whole burthen of this religious war, and surpassing, by far, the champions of antiquity both in the subtilty of their reasonings and the eloquence of their discourses. Nor is this all; for by the affected softness and complying spirit that reigns in their conversation and manners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil transactions, by their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplishments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar favour and protection of statesmen, persons of the first distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did any thing contribute more to give them that ascendancy they have universally acquired, than the cunning and dexterity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to the propensities of mankind, and depriving it, on certain occasions, of that severity, that rendered it burthensome to the sensual and voluptuous. By this they supplanted, in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, the Dominicans and other rigid doctors, who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of consciences, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of royal grandeur, from whence issue the counsels that govern mankind [y]. An order of this nature could not but be highly adapted to promote the interests of the court of *Rome*; and this, indeed, was its great end, and the leading purpose which it never lost sight of; employing every where its utmost vigilance and art to support the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and to save them from the contempt, of which they must have been naturally apprehensive in consequence of a revolution that opened the eyes of a great part of mankind.

All these circumstances placed the order of Jesuits in a conspicuous point of light. Their capacity, their influence,

[y] Before the order of Jesuits was instituted, the Dominicans alone directed the consciences of all the European kings and princes. And it was by the Jesuits that the Dominicans were deprived of a privilege so precious to spiritual ambition. See PEYRAT *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France*, livr. i. p. 322.

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fluence, and their zeal for the papacy, had a very advantageous retrospect upon themselves, as it swelled the sources of their opulence, and procured to their society an uncommon and indeed an excessive degree of veneration and respect. But it is also true, that these signal honours and advantages exposed them, at the same time, to the envy of other religious orders; that their enemies multiplied from day to day; and that they were often involved in the greatest perplexities and perils. Monks, courtiers, civil magistrates, public schools united their efforts to crush this rising fabric of ambition and policy; and a prodigious number of books were published to prove that nothing could be more detrimental to the interests of religion and the well-being of society, than the institution of the Jesuits. In *France*, *Poland*, and the other countries, they were declared public enemies of their country, traitors and parricides, and were even banished with ignominy [z]. But the prudence, or rather the cunning and artifice, of the disciples of *Loyola*, calmed this storm of opposition, and, by gentle and imperceptible methods, restored the credit and authority of their order, delivered it from the perils with which it had been threatened, and even put it in a state of defence against the future attempts of its adversaries [a].

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[z] See the *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. passim.—BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris*. tom. vi. p. 559—648, & passim.—As well as almost all the writers who have given accounts of the sixteenth century.

[(a)] The character and spirit of the Jesuits were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold with a sagacity almost prophetic, so early as the year 1551, in a sermon preached in *Christ-Church, Dublin*, by Dr. GEORGE BROWN, bishop of that see; a copy of which was given to Sir JAMES WARE, and may be found in the *Harleian Miscellany* (vol. v. p. 566). The remarkable passage that relates to the Jesuits is as follows: “ But there are a
“ new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*,
“ which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and
“ Pharisees’ manner. Amongst the *Jews* they shall strive to abolish
“ the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will
“ turn themselves into several forms; with the Heathens a Heathen-
“ ist, with the Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the
“ Reform-

XIII. The pontiffs of this century that ruled the church after the decease of ALEXANDER VI, were CENT XVI.
 PIUS III, JULIUS II [b], LEO X, ADRIAN VI, whose Roman pontiffs.
 characters and transactions have been already taken notice of, CLEMENT VII, of the house of Medicis,—
 PAUL III, of the illustrious family of Farnese [c]—JULIUS III[d], whose name was JOHN MARIA GIOCCI,—

“ Reformers a Reformed, purposely to know your intentions, your
 “ minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you,
 “ at last, to be like the fool that said, in his heart, there was no God.
 “ These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into
 “ the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of
 “ them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets
 “ therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from
 “ falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of
 “ God; and by winking at their sins; yet, in the end, God, to
 “ justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands
 “ of those who who have most succoured them, and made use of them;
 “ so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They
 “ shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth,
 “ and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit.”—This singular passage, I had almost said prediction, seems to be accomplished, in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in France (I write this note in the year 1762) and by the universal indignation, which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society, have excited among all the orders of the French nation from the throne to the cottage.]

[b] It was from a foolish ambition of resembling CÆSAR (a very singular model for a Christian pontiff) that this pope whose name was ROVERE, assumed the denomination of JULIUS II. It may be, indeed, said, that CÆSAR was sovereign pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), and that the pope of Rome enjoyed the same dignity, though with some change in the title.]

[c] The sentiments and character of PAUL III have given rise to much debate, even in our time, especially between the late Cardinal QUIRINI, and KEISLING, SCHELHORN, and some other writers. The cardinal has used his utmost efforts to defend the probity and merit of this pontiff; while the two learned men abovementioned represent him as a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud. See QUIRINUS, *De gestis PAULI III, Farnesii. Brixia 1745*, in 4to.—[Among the *res gestæ* of PAUL III were two illegitimate children, whose offspring, Farnese and Sforza, were made cardinals in their infancy. See KEISLINGII *Epistola de gestis PAULI III*.—SCHELHORN. *Amoenitates Histor. Eccles. et Liter.*]

[d] This was the worthy pontiff, who was scarcely seated in the papal chair, when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper

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MARCELLUS II,—PAUL IV [*e*], whose name, before his elevation to the pontificate, was JOHN PETER CARAFFA,—PIUS IV, who was ambitious of being looked upon as a branch of the house of *Medicis*, and who had been known, before his promotion, by the name of JOHN ANGELI DE MEDICIS,—PIUS V, a Dominican, called MICHAEL GHISLERI, a man of an austere and melancholy turn of mind, by which, and other similar qualities, he obtained a place in the Kalender, GREGORY XIII, who was known previously by the name of HUGO BUONCOMPAGNO [*f*], SIXTUS V, otherwise named FELIX PERETTI DI MONTALTO, who, in pride, magnificence, intrepidity, and strength of mind, and in other great virtues and vices, surpassed by far all his predecessors,—URBAN VIII, GREGORY XIV, INNOCENT IX, the shortness of whose reigns prevented them from acquiring reputation, or falling into reproach.

Among

of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See THUAN. lib. vi, & xv.—HOFFING. *Hist. Eccl.* tom. v. p. 572.—and more especially SLEIDAN, *Histor.* lib. xxi. *Folio*, m. 609.—When JULIUS was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning, nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, *What virtue or merit they had found in him, that could induce them to place him (JULIUS) in the papal chair?*

[*e*] Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment of Queen ELIZABETH. See BURNET's *History of the Reformation*.—It was he, who by a bull, pretended to raise *Ireland* to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also, who first instituted the *Index of prohibited books*, mentioned above § IX.]

[*f*] See Jo. PETR. MAFFEI *Annales Gregorii XIII*, Rôm. 1742, in 4to.

[*g*] Pius V and SIXTUS V made a much greater figure in the Annals of Fame, than the other pontiffs here mentioned; the former on account of his excessive severity against hereticks and the famous bull in *Coena Domini*, which is read publicly at Rome every year on the Festival of the Holy Sacrament; and the latter in consequence of many services rendered to the church and numberless

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Among these pontiffs there were better and worse[g]; but they were, all, men of exemplary characters, when compared with the greatest part of those, who governed the church before the reformation. The number of adversaries, both foreign and domestic, that arose to set limits to the despotism of *Rome*, and to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff, rendered the college of cardinals and the Roman nobility more cautious and circumspect in the choice of a spiritual ruler; nor did they almost dare, in these critical circumstances of opposition and danger, to entrust such an important dignity to any ecclesiastic, whose bare-faced licentiousness, frontless arrogance, or inconsiderate youth might render him peculiarly obnoxious to reproach, and furnish, thereby, new matter of censure to their adversaries. It is also worthy of observation, that from this period of opposition, occasioned by the ministry of the reformers, the Roman pontiffs have never pretended to such an exclusive authority, as they had formerly usurped; nor could they, indeed, make good such pretensions, were they so extravagant as to avow them. They claim, therefore, no longer a power of deciding, by their single authority, matters of the highest moment and importance; but, for the most part, pronounce according to the sentiments that prevail in the college of cardinals, and in the different congregations which are intrusted with their respective parts in the government of the church. Nor do they any more venture to foment divisions in sovereign states, to arm subjects against their rulers, or to level the thunder of their excommunications at the heads of princes. All such proceed-

attempts, carried on with spirit, fortitude, generosity, and perseverance, to promote its glory and maintain its authority,—Several modern writers employed their pens in describing the life and actions of Pius V, so soon as they saw him canonised, in the year 1712, by CLEMENT XI. Of his bull, entitled, *In Coena Domini*, and the tumults it occasioned, there is an ample account in GIANNONE'S *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 248. The life of SIXTUS V has been written by GREGORY LETI, and translated into several languages; it is, however, a very indifferent work, and the relations it contains are, in many places, inaccurate and unfaithful.

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ings, which were formerly so frequent at the court of *Rome*, have been prudently suspended since the gradual decline of that ignorance and superstition that prescribed a blind obedience to the pontiff, and the new degrees of power and authority that monarchs and other civil rulers have gained by the revolutions that have shaken the papal throne.

The state of
the clergy.

XIV. That part of the body of the clergy, that is more peculiarly devoted to the Roman pontiffs, seemed to have undergone no visible change during this century. As to the bishops, it is certain that they made several zealous attempts, and some even in the council of *Trent*, for the recovery of the ancient rights and privileges, of which they had been forcibly deprived by the popes. They were even persuaded that the pope might be lawfully obliged to acknowledge, that the episcopal dignity was of divine original, and that the bishops received their authority immediately from CHRIST himself [b]. But all these attempts were successfully opposed by the artifice and dexterity of the court of *Rome*, which never ceases to propagate and enforce this despotic maxim: "That the bishops are no more than the legates or ministers of Christ's vicar; and that the authority they exercise is entirely derived from the munificence and favour of the apostolic see:" a maxim, however, that several bishops, and more especially those of *France*, treat with little respect. Some advantages, however, and those not inconsiderable, were obtained for the clergy at the expence of the pontiffs; for those *reservations, provisions, exemptions, and expectatives* (as they are termed by the Roman lawyers) which before the reformation had excited such heavy and bitter complaints throughout all *Europe*, and exhibited the clearest proofs of papal avarice and tyranny, were now almost totally suppressed.

The lives
and morals
of the clergy.

XV. Among the subjects of deliberation in the council of *Trent*, the reformation of the lives and manners of the clergy, and the suppression of the scandalous vices,

[b] See PAOLO SARPI's *History of the Council of Trent*.

that had too long reigned in that order, were not forgot; nay, several wise and prudent laws were enacted with a view to that important object. But those, who had the cause of virtue at heart, complained (and the reason of these complaints still subsists) that these laws were no more than feeble precepts, without any avenging arm to maintain their authority, and that they were transgressed, with impunity, by the clergy of all ranks, and, particularly, by those who filled the higher stations and dignities of the church. In reality, if we cast our eyes upon the Romish clergy, even in the present time, these complaints will appear as well founded now, as they were in the sixteenth century. In *Germany*, as is notorious to daily observation, the bishops if we except their habit, their title, and a few ceremonies that distinguish them, have nothing, in their manner of living, that is, in the least, adapted to point out the nature of their sacred office. In other countries a great part of the episcopal order, unmolested by the remonstrances, or reproofs, of the Roman pontiff, pass their days amidst the pleasures and cabals of courts, and appear rather the slaves of temporal princes, than the servants of him *whose kingdom is not of this world*. They court glory; they aspire after riches, while very few employ their time and labours in edifying their people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit of practical religion and substantial virtue. Nay, what is still more deplorable, those bishops, who, sensible of the sanctity of their character and the duties of their office, distinguish themselves by their zeal in the cause of virtue and good morals, are frequently exposed to the malicious efforts of envy, often loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds. It may, indeed, be partly owing to the examples they have received, and still, too often, receive, from the heads of the church, that so many of the bishops live dissolved in the arms of luxury, or toiling in the service of ambition. Many of them, perhaps, would have been more attentive to their vocation, and more exemplary in their manners, had they not been corrupted by the models exhibited to

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them by the bishops of *Rome*, and had constantly before their eyes a splendid succession of popes and cardinals, remarkable only for their luxury and avarice, their arrogance and vindictive spirit, their voluptuousness and vanity.

That part of the clergy, that go under the denomination of *canons*, continue almost every where, their antient course of life, and consume, in a manner far remote from piety and virtue, the treasures which the religious zeal and liberality of their ancestors had consecrated to the uses of the church and the relief of the poor.

It must not, however, be imagined, that all the other orders of the clergy are at liberty to follow such corrupt models, or, indeed, that their inclinations and reigning habits tend towards such a loose and voluptuous manner of living. For it is certain, that the reformation had a manifest influence, even upon the Roman-catholic clergy, by rendering them, at least, more circumspect and cautious in their external conduct, that they might be thus less obnoxious to the censures of their adversaries; and it is accordingly well known, that since that period the clergy of the inferior orders have been more attentive to the rules of outward decency, and have given less offence by open and scandalous vices and excesses, than they had formerly done.

Monks.—
the ancient
orders re-
formed.

XVI. The same observation holds good with respect to the Monastic orders. There are, indeed, several things, worthy of the severest animadversion; chargeable upon many of the heads and rulers of these societies; nor are these societies, themselves, entirely exempt from that laziness, intemperance, ignorance, artifice, discord, and voluptuousness, that were, formerly, the common and reigning vices in the Monastic retreats. It would be, nevertheless, an instance of great partiality and injustice to deny, that in many countries the manner of living, among these religious orders, has been considerably reformed, severe rules employed to restrain licentiousness, and much pains taken to conceal, at least, any vestiges of ancient corruption and irregularity

larity that may yet remain. In some places, the austerity of the ancient rules of discipline, which had been so shamefully relaxed, was restored by several zealous patrons of Monastic devotion; while others, animated with the same zeal, instituted new communities, in order to promote, as they piously imagined, a spirit of religion, and thus to contribute to the well-being of the church.

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Of this latter number was MATTHEW DE BASSI, a native of *Italy*, the extent of whose capacity was much inferior to the goodness of his intentions, and who was a Franciscan of the more rigid class [*i*], who were zealous in *observing* rigorously the primitive rules of their institution. This honest enthusiast seriously persuaded himself, that he was divinely inspired with the zeal that impelled him to restore the original and genuine rules of the Franciscan order to their primitive austerity; and, looking upon this violent and irresistible impulse as a celestial commission attended with sufficient authority, he set himself to this work of Monastic reformation with the most devout assiduity and ardor [*k*]. His enterprize was honoured, in the year 1525, with the solemn approbation of CLEMENT VII; and this was the origin of the order of *Capuchins*. The vows of this order implied the greatest contempt of the world and its enjoyments, and the most profound humility accompanied with the most austere and sullen gravity of external aspect [*l*];

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and

[(*i*) The dispute, that arose among the Franciscans by INNOCENT IV's relaxing so far their *institute* as to allow of *property* and *possessions* in their community, produced a division of the order into two classes, of which the most considerable who adopted the papal relaxation were denominated *Conventuals*, and the other, who rejected it, *Brethren of the Observance*. The latter professed to *observe* and follow rigorously the primitive laws and institute of their founder.]

[(*k*) The *Brethren of the Observance*, mentioned in the preceding note, had degenerated, in process of time, from their primitive self-denial; and hence the reforming spirit that animated BASSI.]

[(*l*) See LUC. WADDINGI *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. xvi. p.

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and its reputation and success excited, in the other Franciscans, the most bitter feelings of indignation and envy [m]. The *Capuchins* were so called from the sharp-pointed *Capuche*, or Cowl [n], which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit, and which is supposed to have been used by St. FRANCIS himself, as a covering for his head [o].

Another branch of the Franciscan order formed a new community under the denomination of *Recollets* in France, *Reformed Franciscans* in Italy, and *Bare-footed Franciscans* in Spain, and were erected into a separate order with their respective laws and rules of discipline, in the year 1532, by the authority of CLEMENT VI. They differ from the other Franciscans in this only, that they profess to follow, with greater zeal and exactness, the austere institute of their common founder and chief; and hence also they were called *Friars Minors of the strict observance* [p].

St. THERESA, a Spanish lady of an illustrious family, undertook the difficult task of reforming the Carmelite order [q], which had departed much from its primitive sanctity, and of restoring its neglected and violated laws to their original credit and authority. Her associate, in this arduous attempt, was JOHANNES DE 207. 257. *Edit. Roman.*—HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. vii. ch. xxiv. p. 264.—And above all ZACH. BOVERII *Annales Capucinatorum*.

[(m) One of the circumstances that exasperated most the Franciscans, was the innovation made in their habit by the *Capuchins*. Whatever was the cause of their choler, true it is, that their provincial persecuted the new monks, and obliged them to fly from place to place, until, they, at last, took refuge in the palace of the duke of Camerino, by whose credit they were received under the obedience of the *Conventuals*, in the quality of *hermits minors*, in the year 1527. The next year the pope approved this union, and confirmed to them the privilege of wearing the square *capuche*; and thus the order was established in 1528.]

[(n) I know not on what authority the learned MICHAEL GEDDES attributes the erection and denomination of this order to one FRANCIS PUCHINE.]

[o] See DU FRESNE, *Glossarium Latinitat. Medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 298. *Edit. Benedict.*

[p] See WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. xvi. p. 167.—HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres Monast.* tom. vii. ch. xviii. p. 129.

[q] Otherwise called the *White Fryars*.

SANTA

SANTA CRUSA, and her enterprize was not wholly destitute of success, notwithstanding the opposition she met with from the greatest part of the *Carmelites*. Hence the order was, during the space of ten years, divided into two branches, of which one followed a milder rule of discipline, while the other embraced an institute of the most severe and self-denying kind [r]. But, as these different rules of life among the members of the same community were a perpetual source of animosity and discord, the more austere or *bare-footed Carmelites* were separated from the others, and formed into a distinct body, in the year 1580, by GREGORY XIII, at the particular desire of PHILIP II, king of *Spain*. This separation was confirmed, in the year 1587, by SIXTUS V, and compleated, in 1593, by CLEMENT VIII, who allowed the *bare-footed Carmelites* to have their own chief, or *general*. But, after having withdrawn themselves from the others, these austere friars quarrelled among themselves, and in a few years their dissensions grew to an intolerable height; hence they were divided anew, by the pontiff last mentioned, into two communities, each of which were governed by their respective *general* [s].

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XVII. The most eminent of all the new orders that were instituted in this century, was, beyond all doubt, that of the *Jesuits*, which we have already had occasion to mention in speaking of the chief pillars of the church of *Rome*, and the principal supports of the declining authority of its pontiffs. Compared with this aspiring and formidable society, all the other religious orders appear inconsiderable and obscure. The reformation, among the other changes which it occasioned, even in the Roman church, by exciting the circumspection and emulation of those who still remained addicted to popery, gave rise to various communities, which were

New Monastic orders.

[(r) The former, who were the *Carmelites of the ancient observance*, were called the *moderate* or *mitigated*; while the latter, who were of the *strict observance*, were distinguished by the denomination of *bare-footed Carmelites*.]

[s] HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. ch. xlvii. p. 340.

all

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all comprehended under the general denomination of *Regular Clerks*. And as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with a design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of piety and virtue, that had distinguished the sacred order in the primitive times; this was a plain, though tacit, confession of the present corruption of the clergy, and consequently of the indispensable necessity of the reformation.

The first society of these regular clerks was formed in the year 1524, under the denomination of *Theatins*, which they derived from their principal founder JOHN PETER CARAFFA (then bishop of *Theate*, or *Chieti*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards pope, under the title of PAUL IV) who was assisted, in this pious undertaking, by CAJETAN or GAETAN, and other devout associates. These monks, being by their vows destitute of all possessions and revenues, and even secluded from the resource of begging, subsist entirely upon the voluntary liberality of pious persons. They are called by their profession and institute to revive a spirit of devotion, to purify and reform the eloquence of the pulpit, to assist the sick and the dying by their spiritual instructions and counsels, and to combat heretics of all denominations with zeal and assiduity [1]. There are also some female convents established under the rule and title of this order.

The establishment of the *Theatins* was followed by that of the *Regular Clerks of St. Paul*, so called from their having chosen that apostle for their patron; though they are more commonly known under the denomination of *Barnabites*, from the church of St. BARNABAS, at *Milan*, which was bestowed upon them in the year 1545. This order, which was approved by CLEMENT VII, and confirmed, about three years after, by PAUL III, was originally founded by ANTONIO MAVIA ZACHARIAS of *Cremona*, and BARTHOLOMEW FERRARI and JACOB. ANT. MORIGIA, noblemen of *Milan*. Its

[1] HELYOT, *ibid.* tom. iv. ch. xii. p. 71.

members were at first obliged to live after the manner of the *Theatins*, renouncing all wordly goods and possessions, and depending upon the spontaneous donations of the liberal for their daily subsistence. But they grew soon weary of this precarious method of living from hand to mouth, and therefore took the liberty, in process of time, of securing to their community certain possessions and stated revenues. Their principal function is to go from place to place, like the apostles, in order to convert sinners, and bring back transgressors into the paths of repentance and obedience [u].

The *Regular Clerks of St. Maieul*, who are also called the *fathers of Somasque*, from the place where their community was first established, and which was also the residence of their founder, were erected into a distinct society by JEROM ÆMILIANI, a noble Venetian, and were afterwards successively confirmed, in the years 1540 and 1543, by the Roman pontiffs PAUL III and PIUS IV [w]. Their chief occupation was to instruct the ignorant, and, particularly, young persons, in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to procure assistance for those that were reduced to the unhappy condition of orphans. The same important ministry was committed to the *fathers of the Christian doctrine* in France and Italy. The order that bore this title in France was instituted by CÆSAR DE BUS, and confirmed, in the year 1597, by CLEMENT VIII; while that, which is known in Italy under the same denomination, derives its origin from MARK CUSANI, a Milanese knight, and was established by the approbation and authority of PIUS V and GREGORY XIII.

XVIII. It would be an endless and, indeed, an unprofitable labour to enumerate particularly that prodigious multitude of less considerable orders and religious associations, that were instituted in Germany and other

Other new
religious
communi-
ties.

[u] HELYOT *loc. cit.* tom. iv. ch. xvi. p. 100.—In the same part of this incomparable work, this learned author gives a most accurate, ample, and interesting account of the other religious orders, which are here, for brevity's sake, but barely mentioned.

[w] *Acta Sanctor. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 217.

countries,

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countries, from an apprehension of the pretended heretics, who disturbed, by their innovations, the peace, or rather the lethargy, of the church. For certainly no age produced such a swarm of monks, and such a number of convents, as that in which LUTHER and the other reformers opposed the divine light and power of the gospel to ignorance, superstition, and papal tyranny. We therefore pass over in silence these less important establishments, of which many have been long buried in oblivion, because they were erected on unstable foundations, while numbers have been suppressed by the wisdom of certain pontiffs, who have considered the multitude of these communities rather as prejudicial than advantageous to the church. Nor can we take particular notice of the female convents, or nunneries, among which the *Ursulines* shine forth with a superior lustre both in point of number and dignity. The *Priests of the Oratory* founded in *Italy* by PHILIP NERI, a native of *Florence*, and publicly honoured with the protection of GREGORY XIII, in the year 1577, must, however, be excepted from this general silence on account of the eminent figure they have made in the republic of letters. It was this community that produced BARONIUS, RAYNALDUS, and LADERCHIUS, who hold so high a rank among the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and following centuries; and there are still to be found in it men of considerable erudition and capacity. The name of this religious society was derived from an apartment, accommodated in the form of an *Oratory* [x], or cabinet for devotion, which St. PHILIP NERI built at *Florence* for himself, and in which for many years he held spiritual conferences with his more intimate companions [y].

The state of
learning.

XIX. It is too evident to admit of the least dispute, that all kinds of erudition, whether sacred or profane,

[x] HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, &c. tom. viii. ch. iv. p. 12.

[(y) He was peculiarly assisted in these conferences by BARONIUS, author of the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, who also succeeded him as general of the order, and whose *Annals*, on account of his imperfect knowledge of the Greek language, are so remarkably full of gross faults, misrepresentations, and blunders.]

were

were held in much higher esteem in the western world CENT. XVI. since the time of LUTHER, than they had been before that auspicious period. The Jesuits, more especially, boast, and perhaps not without reason, that their society contribute more, at least in this century, to the culture of the languages, the improvement of the arts, and the advancement of true science, than all the rest of the religious orders. It is certain, that the schools and academies, either through indolence or design, persisted obstinately in their ancient method of teaching, though that method was intricate and disagreeable in many respects; nor would they suffer themselves to be better informed, or permit the least change in their uncouth and disgusting systems. The monks were not more remarkable for their docility than the schools; nor did they seem at all disposed to admit into the retreats of their gloomy cloisters a more solid and elegant method of instruction, than they had been formerly accustomed to. These facts furnish a rational account of the surprizing variety that appears in the *style* and *manner* of the writers of this age; of whom several express their sentiments with elegance, perspicuity, and order, while the diction of a great part of their contemporaries is barbarous, perplexed, obscure, and insipid.

CÆSAR BARONIUS, already mentioned, undertook to throw light on the history of religion by his annals of the christian church; but this pretended light was scarcely any thing better than perplexity and darkness [z]. His example, however, excited many to enterprizes of

[z] The learned ISAAC CASAUBON undertook a refutation of the *Annals* of BARONIUS in an excellent work, entitled, *Exercitationes*, &c. and though he carried it no farther down than the 34th year of the Christian era, yet he pointed out a prodigious number of palpable and (many of them) shameful errors, into which the Romish annalist has fallen during that short space. Even the Roman-catholic *Literati* acknowledge the inaccuracies and faults of BARONIUS; hence many learned men, such as PAGI, NORIS, and TILLEMONT, have been employed to correct them. And accordingly a few years ago a new edition of these *Annals* was published at *Lucca*, with the corrections of these reviewers at the foot of each page.]

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the same nature. The attempts of the persons, they called heretics, rendered indeed such enterprizes necessary. For these heretics, with the learned FLACKIUS and CHEMNITZ at their head [a], demonstrated with the utmost evidence, that not only the declarations of holy scripture, but also the testimony of ancient history, and the records of the primitive church, were in direct opposition both to the doctrines and pretensions of the church of *Rome*. This was wounding popery with its own arms and attacking it in its pretended strong holds. It was, therefore, incumbent upon the friends of *Rome* to employ, while it was time, their most zealous efforts in maintaining the credit of those ancient fables, on which the greatest part of the papal authority reposed, as its only foundation and support.

The state of
philosophy.

XX. Several men of genius in *France* and *Italy*, who have been already mentioned with the esteem that is due to their valuable labours [b], used their most zealous endeavours to reform the barbarous philosophy of the times. But the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the Aristotelian philosophy on the one hand, and, on the other, the timorous prudence of many weak minds, who were apprehensive that the liberty of striking out new discoveries and ways of thinking might be prejudicial to the church, and open a new source of division and discord; crushed all these generous endeavours, and rendered them ineffectual. The throne of the subtle Stagirite remained therefore unshaken; and his philosophy, whose very obscurity afforded a certain gloomy kind of pleasure, and flattered the pride of those who were implicitly supposed to understand it, reigned unrivalled in the schools and monasteries. It even acquired new credit and authority from the Jesuits, who taught it in their colleges, and made use of it in their writings and disputes. By this, however, these artful ecclesiastics shewed evidently, that the captious jargon and subtilities of that intricate philosophy was much more adapt-

[a] The former in the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*; the latter in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*.

[b] See above, SECT. II. VIII, and IX.

ed to puzzle heretics, and to give the popish doctors, at least, the appearance of carrying on the controversy with success, than the plain and obvious method of disputing, which is pointed out by the genuine and unbiassed dictates of right reason.

XXI. The church of *Rome* produced, in this century, a prodigious number of theological writers. The most eminent of these, both in point of reputation and merit, are as follow: THOMAS DE VIO, otherwise named cardinal CAJETAN,—ECKIUS,—CHOCLÆUS,—EMSER,—SURIUS,—HOSIUS,—FABER,—SADOLET,—PIGHIUS,—VATABLE,—CANUS, D'ESPENCE,—CARANZA,—MALDONAT,—TURRIANUS,—ARIAS MONTANUS,—CATHARINUS,—REGINALD POLE,—SIXTUS SENENSIS,—CASSANDER,—PAYA D'ANDRADA,—BAIUS,—PAMELIUS, and others [c].

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Theological
writers of
the Romish
persuasion.

XXII. The religion of *Rome*, which the pontiffs are so desirous of imposing upon the faith of all that bear the Christian name, is derived, according to the unanimous accounts of its doctors, from two sources, the *written word of God*, and the *un-written*; or, in other words, from *scripture* and *tradition*. But as the most eminent divines of that church are far from being agreed concerning the person or persons, who are authorized to interpret the declarations of these two oracles, and to determine their sense; so it may be asserted with truth, that there is, as yet, no possibility of knowing, with certainty, what are the real doctrines of the church of *Rome*, nor where, in that communion, the judge of religious controversies is to be found. It is true, the court of *Rome*, and all those who favour the despotic pretensions of its pontiff, maintain that he alone, who governs the church as CHRIST'S vice-gerent, is entitled to explain and determine the sense of *scripture* and *tradition* in matters pertaining to salvation, and that, of consequence, a devout and unlimited obedience is due to his

The principles of the
Roman catholic faith.

[c] For an ample account of the literary character, rank, and writings of these learned men, and of several others whose names are here omitted, see LOUIS-ELL. DU PIN, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xiv. & xvi.

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decisions. To give weight to this opinion, Pius IV. formed the plan of a council, which was afterwards instituted and confirmed by Sixtus V. and called the *Congregation for interpreting the decrees of the council of Trent*. This congregation was authorized to examine and decide, in the name of the pope, all matters of small moment relating to ecclesiastical discipline, while every debate of any consequence, and, particularly, all disquisitions concerning points of faith and doctrine, were left to the decision of the pontiff alone, as the great oracle of the church [d]. But notwithstanding all this, it was impossible to persuade the wiser part of the Roman catholic body to acknowledge this exclusive authority in their head. And accordingly, the greatest part of the Gallican church, and a considerable number of very learned men of the popish religion in other countries, think very differently from the court of *Rome* on this subject. They maintain, that all bishops and doctors have a right to consult the sacred fountains of *scripture* and *tradition*, and to draw from thence the rules of faith and manners for themselves and their flock; and that all difficult points and debates of consequence are to be referred to the cognizance and decision of general councils. Such is the difference of opinion (with respect to the determination of doctrine and controversies) that still divides the church of *Rome*; and as no judge has been, nor perhaps can be found, to compose it, we may, therefore, reasonably despair of seeing the religion of *Rome* acquire a permanent, stable, and determined form.

The council
of Trent.

XXIII. The council of *Trent* was assembled, as was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigour of

[d] See ARMON, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part V. ch. iv. p. 282. [Hence it was that the approbation of INNOCENT XI. was refused to the artful and insidious work of BOSSUET, bishop of Meaux, entitled, *An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, until the author had suppressed entirely the first edition of that work, and made considerable corrections and alterations in the second.]

its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. But in the opinion of those, who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaints of the wisest men in both communions. They complain that many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points (that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate) were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay imposed, with violence, upon the consciences of the people under pain of excommunication. They complain of the ambiguity that reigns in the decrees and declarations of that council, by which the disputes and dissensions, that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear definitions and wise and charitable decisions, were rendered, on the contrary, more perplexed and intricate, and were, in reality, propagated and multiplied instead of being suppressed or diminished. Nor were these the only reasons of complaint; for it must have been afflicting to those that had the cause of true religion and Christian liberty at heart, to see all things decided, in that assembly, according to the despotic will of the Roman pontiff, without any regard to the dictates of truth, or the authority of scripture, its genuine and authentic source, and to see the assembled fathers reduced to silence by the Roman legates, and deprived, by these insolent representatives of the papacy, of that influence and credit, that might have rendered them capable of healing the wounds of the church. It was, moreover, a grievance justly to be complained of, that the few wise and pious regulations, that were made in that council, were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to degenerate into a mere lifeless form or shadow of law, which was treated with indifference and transgressed with impunity. To sum up all in one word, the most candid and impartial observers of things consider the council of *Trent* as an assembly that was more attentive to what might maintain the

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despotic authority of the pontiff, than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church. It will not therefore appear surprizing, that there are certain doctors of the Romish church, who, instead of submitting to the decisions of the council of *Trent*, as an ultimate rule of faith, maintain, on the contrary, that these decisions are to be explained by the dictates of *scripture* and the language of *tradition*. Nor, when all these things were duly considered, shall we have reason to wonder that this council has not throughout the same degree of credit and authority, even in those countries, that profess the Roman catholic religion [e].

Some countries, indeed, such as *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Italy*, have adopted *implicitly* and *absolutely* the decrees of this council, without the smallest restriction of any kind. But in other places it has been received and acknowledged on certain conditions, which modify, not a little, its pretended authority. Among these latter we may reckon the Spanish dominions, which disputed, during many years, the authority of the council, and acknowledged it, at length, only so far as it could be adopted *without any prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain* [f]. In other countries, such as *France* [g] and *Hungary* [h], it never has been *solemnly* received or publicly acknowledged. It is true indeed, that, in the former of these kingdoms, those decrees of *Trent*, that relate to points of religious doctrine, have, *tacitly* and *imperceptibly*, through the power

[(e) The translator has here inserted into the text the note [h] of the original, and has thrown the citations it contains into different notes.]

[f] See GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 235.

[g] See HECT. GODOFR. MASII *Diff. de Contemptu Concilii Tridentini in Gallia*, which is published among his other dissertations collected into one volume. See also the excellent discourse, which Dr. COURRAYER has subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of PAUL SARPI'S *History of the Council of Trent*, entitled, *Discours sur la Reception du Concile de Trente, particulierement en France*, p. 775. 789.

[h] See LORANDI SAMUELOF, *Vita Andr. Dudithii*, p. 56.

of custom, acquired the force and authority of a rule of faith; but those which regard external discipline, spiritual power, and ecclesiastical government, have been constantly rejected, both in a public and private manner, as inconsistent with the authority and prerogatives of the throne, and prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church [i].

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XXIV. Notwithstanding all this, such as are desirous of forming some notion of the religion of *Rome*, will do well to consult the decrees of the council of *Trent*, together with the compendious *confession of faith*, which was drawn up by the order of Pius IV. Those however, who expect to derive, from these sources, a clear, compleat, and perfect knowledge of the Romish faith will be greatly disappointed. To evince the truth of this assertion it might be observed, as has been already hinted, that, both in the decrees of *Trent* and in this papal confession, many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that then reigned in the church. This other singular circumstance might also be added, that several tenets are omitted in both, which no Roman catholic is allowed to deny, or even to call in question. But, waving both these considerations, let it only be observed, that in these *decrees* and in this *confession* several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church, and in the public practice of its members [k].

The principal heads of the Roman-catholic religion.

Hence

[i] See LOD. ELL. DU PIN, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xv. p. 380.

[For what relates to the Literary History of the Council of Trent, the historians that have transmitted accounts of it, and other circumstances of that nature, see JO. CHR. KOCHER *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 325. 377. as also SALIG'S *History of the Council of Trent* (in German), p. 190—320.]

[(k) This is true, in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of *Trent* relating to the doctrine of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relicks. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen so as to avoid the

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Hence we may conclude, that the justest notion of the doctrine of *Rome* is not to be derived so much from the *terms*, made use of in the decrees of the council of *Trent*, as from the *real signification* of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions, and observances, that are, every where, in use in the Roman church. Add to all this, another consideration, which is, that in the bulls issued out from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines, which were obscurely proposed in the council of *Trent*, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this CLEMENT XI gave a notorious example in the famous *bull*, called UNIGENITUS, which was an enterprize as audacious, as it proved unsuccessful.

The state of
exegetic
theology,
or scripture-
knowledge.

XXV. As soon as the popes perceived the remarkable detriment their authority had suffered from the accurate interpretations of the holy scriptures, that had been given by the learned, and the perusal of these divine oracles, which was now grown more common among the people, they left no methods unemployed that might discourage the culture of this most important branch of sacred erudition. While the tide of resentment ran high, they forgot themselves in the most unaccountable manner. They permitted their champions to indulge themselves openly in reflexions injurious to the dignity of the sacred writings, and, by an excess of blasphemy almost incredible (if the passions of men did not render them capable of the greatest enormities) to declare publicly, that the edicts of the pontiffs and the records of oral tradition were superior, in point of authority, to the express language of the holy scriptures. But as it was impossible to bring the sacred writings wholly into disrepute, they took the most effectual methods, in their power, to render them obscure and useless. For this purpose the ancient

imputation of idolatry, in the *philosophical* sense of that word; for in the *scripture* sense they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman-catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word.]

Latin

Latin translation of the Bible, commonly called the *Vulgate* [l], though it abounds with innumerable gross errors, and, in a great number of places, exhibits the most shocking barbarity of style, and the most impenetrable obscurity with respect to the sense of the inspired writers, was declared, by a solemn decree of the council of *Trent*, an *authentic*, i. e. a *faithful, accurate, and perfect* [m] translation, and was consequently recommended as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure. It was easy to foresee that such a declaration was every way adapted to keep the people in ignorance, and to veil from their understandings the true meaning of the sacred writings. In the same council farther steps were taken to execute, with success, the designs of *Rome*. A severe and intolerable law was enacted, with respect to all interpreters and expositors of the scriptures, by which they were forbidden to explain the sense of these divine books, *in matters relating to faith and practice*, in such a manner, as to make them speak a different language from that of the church and the ancient doctors. The same law farther declared, that the *church* alone (i. e. its ruler, the Roman pontiff) had the right of determining the true meaning and signification of scripture. To fill up the measure of these tyrannical and iniquitous proceedings, the church of *Rome* persisted obstinately in affirming, though not always with the same impudence and plainness of speech, that the holy scriptures were not composed for the use of the multitude; but only for that of their spiritual teachers; and, of consequence, ordered these divine records to be taken from the people in all places, where it was allowed to execute its imperious commands [n].

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[(l) This is a Latin translation of the Bible, compiled partly from the famous one of St. JEROME, and partly from the Old Italic Version. It was first published in the year 1590; but, being found to be full of errors, a second and more correct edition of it came out about two years after.]

[(m) If we consult the canons of the council of *Trent*, we shall find that the word *authentic*, is there explained in terms somewhat less strong and offensive than those used by Dr. MOSHEIM.]

[n] The pontiffs were not allowed to execute this despotic order

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XXVI. These circumstances had a visible influence upon the spirit and productions of the commentators and expositors of scripture, which the example of LUTHER and his followers had rendered, through emulation, extremely numerous. The popish doctors, who vied with the protestants in this branch of sacred erudition, were insipid, timorous, servilely attached to the glory and interests of the court of *Rome*, and discovered in their explications all the marks of slavish dependance and constraint. They seem to have been in constant terror lest any expression should escape from their pen, that favoured of opinions different from what were commonly received; they appeal, every moment, to the declarations and authority of the holy *fathers*, as they usually style them; nor do they appear to have so much consulted the real doctrines taught by the sacred writers, as the language and sentiments which the church of *Rome* has taken the liberty to put into their mouths. Several of these commentators rack their imaginations in order to force out of each passage of scripture the four kinds of significations, called *Literal*, *Allegorical*, *Tropological*, and *Anagogical*, which ignorance and superstition had first invented, and afterwards held so sacred in the explication of the inspired writings. Nor was their attachment to this manner of interpretation so ill imagined, since it enabled them to make the sacred writers speak the language that was favourable to the views of the church, and to draw out of the Bible, with the help of a little subtilty, whatever doctrine they had a mind to impose upon the credulity of the multitude.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that, besides these miserable commentators that dishonour the church of *Rome*, there were some in its communion, who had wisdom enough to despise these senseless methods of interpretation, and who, avoiding all mysterious significations and fancies, followed the plain, natural, and lite-

in all countries that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the church of *Rome*. The French and some other nations have the Bible in their mother-tongue, in which they peruse it, though much against the will of the creatures of the pope.

ral sense of the expressions used in the holy scriptures. In this class the most eminent were ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*, who translated into Latin, with an elegant and faithful simplicity, the books of the New Testament, and explained them with judgment in a paraphrase which is deservedly esteemed; Cardinal CAJETAN, who disputed with LUTHER at *Augsburg*, and who gave a brief, but judicious exposition of almost all the books of the Old and New Testament; FRANCIS TITELMAN, ISIDORUS CLARIUS, JOHN MALDONAT, BENEDICT JUSTINIAN, who acquired no mean reputation by their commentaries on the Epistles of St. *Paul*. To these may be added GAIGNY, D'ESPENCE, and other Expositors [o]. But these eminent men, whose example was so adapted to excite emulation, had almost no followers; and, in a short space of time, their influence was gone, and their labours were forgot. For, towards the conclusion of this century, EDMUND RICHER, that strenuous opposer of the encroachments made by the pontiffs on the liberties of the Gallican church, was the only doctor in the university of *Paris*, who followed the literal sense and the plain and natural signification of the words of scripture; while all the other commentators and interpreters, imitating the pernicious example of several ancient expositors, were always racking their brains for mysterious and sublime significations, where none such were, nor could be designed by the sacred writers [p].

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XXVII. The seminaries of learning were filled, before the reformation, with that subtle kind of theological doctors, commonly known under the denomination of *schoolmen*; so that even at *Paris*, which was considered as the principal seat of sacred erudition, no doctors were to be found, who were capable of disputing with the protestant divines in the method they generally pursued, which was that of proving the doctrines they maintained by arguments drawn from the Holy scrip-

The state of
didactic
theology.

[o] See SIMON, *Hist. Critique de Vieux, et de Nouv. Testament*.

[p] See BAILLET, *Vie d'Edmund Richer*, p. 9, 10.

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tures and the writings of the fathers. This uncommon scarcity of *didactic* and *scriptural* divines produced much confusion and perplexity, on many occasions, even in the council of *Trent*; where the scholastic doctors fatigued some, and almost turned the heads of others, by examining and explaining the doctrines that were there proposed, according to the intricate and ambiguous rules of their captious philosophy. Hence it became absolutely necessary to reform the methods of proceeding in theological disquisitions, and to restore to its former credit that which drew the truths of religion more from the dictates of the sacred writings and from the sentiments of the ancient doctors, than from the uncertain suggestions of human reason, and the ingenious conjectures of philosophy [q]. It was, however, impossible to deprive entirely the scholastic divines of the ascendant they had acquired in the seminaries of learning, and had so long maintained almost without opposition. Nay,

[q] See DU BOULAY's account of the Reformation of the Theological Faculty, or College at *Paris*, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 790. In this reform the Batchelors of Divinity called *Sententarii* and *Biblici*, are particularly distinguished; and, (what is extremely remarkable) the *Augustine* monks, who were LUTHER's fraternity, are ordered to furnish the college of divinity once a year with a *scriptural Batchelor* (*Baccalaureum Biblicum præsentare*); from whence we may conclude, that the monks of the *Augustine* order, to which LUTHER belonged, were much more conversant in the study of the Holy Scriptures than the other Monastic societies. But this academical law deserves to be quoted here at length, and that so much the more as DU BOULAY's History is in few hands. It is as follows: *Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum præsentabunt secundum statutum fol. 21. quod sequitur: Quilibet Ordo Mendicantium et Collegium S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum qui legat ordinarie, alioqui priventur Baccalareo sententiariorum.* It appears by this law, that each of the Mendicant orders was, by a decree of the Theological Faculty, obliged to furnish, yearly, a *scriptural Batchelor*, (such was LUTHER); and yet we see that in the *Reformation* already mentioned this obligation is imposed upon none but the *Augustine* monks; from which it is natural to conclude, that the *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and the other Mendicants, had entirely neglected the study of the Scriptures, and, consequently, had among them no *scriptural Batchelors*, and that the *Augustine* monks alone were in a condition to satisfy the demands of the Theological Faculty.

after

after having been threatened with a diminution of their authority, they seemed to resume new vigour from the time that the Jesuits adopted their philosophy, and made use of their subtle dialectic, as a more effectual armour against the attacks of the heretics, than either the language of scripture, or the authority of the fathers. And, indeed, this intricate jargon of the schools was every way proper to answer the purposes of a set of men, who found it necessary to puzzle and perplex, where they could neither refute with perspicuity, nor prove with evidence. Thus they artfully concealed their defeat, and retreated, in the dazzled eyes of the multitude, with the appearance of victory [r].

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The Mystics lost, almost, all their credit in the church of *Rome* after the reformation; and that, partly, on account of the favourable reception they found among the protestants, and, partly, in consequence of their pacific system, which, giving them an aversion to controversy in general, rendered them little disposed to defend the papal cause against its numerous and formidable adversaries. These enthusiasts however were, in some measure, tolerated in the church of *Rome*, and allowed to indulge themselves in their philosophical speculations, on certain conditions, which obliged them to abstain from censuring either the laws or the corruptions of the church, and from declaiming, with their usual freedom and vehemence, against the vanity of external worship, and the dissensions of jarring and contentious doctors.

XXVIII. There was no successful attempt made, in this century, to correct or improve the practical or moral system of doctrine that was followed in the church of *Rome*; nor, indeed, could any make such an attempt without drawing upon him the displeasure, and perhaps the fury of the papal hierarchy. For, in reality, such a project of reformation seemed in no wise conducive to the interests of the church, as these interests were understood by its ambitious and rapacious rulers. And it is un-

The state of
morality and
practical re-
ligion.

[(r) The translator has added the two last sentences of this paragraph, to illustrate more fully the sense of the author.]

doubtedly

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doubtedly certain, that many doctrines and regulations, on which the power, opulence, and grandeur of that church essentially depended, would have run the risk of falling into discredit and contempt, if the pure and rational system of morality, contained in the gospel, had been exhibited, in its native beauty and simplicity, to the view and perusal of all Christians without distinction. Little or no zeal was therefore exerted in amending or improving the doctrines that immediately relate to practice. On the contrary, many persons of eminent piety and integrity, in the communion of *Rome*, have grievously complained (with what justice shall be shewn in its proper place [s]), that, as soon as the Jesuits had gained an ascendant in the courts of princes and in the schools of learning, the cause of virtue began visibly to decline. It has been alledged, more particularly, that this artful order employed all the force of their subtle distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and, in process of time, opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness and iniquity by the loose and dissolute rules of conduct they propagated as far as their influence extended. This poisonous doctrine spread, indeed, its contagion, in a latent manner, during the sixteenth century; but, in the following age, its abettors ventured to expose some specimens of its turpitude to public view, and thus gave occasion to great commotions in several parts of *Europe*.

All the moral writers of the Romish church, in this century, may be distinguished into three classes, the *School-men*, the *Dogmatists* [t] and the *Mystics*. The first explained, or rather obscured, the virtues and duties of the Christian life, by knotty distinctions, and unintelligible forms of speech, and buried them under an enormous load of arguments and demonstrations. The second illustrated them from the declarations of scripture

[(s) See CENT. XVII. SECT. II. PART I. CHAP. I. § XXXIV.]

[(t) The reader will easily perceive by the short account of these three classes, that is given by Dr. MOSHEIM, that the word *Dogmatist* must not be taken in that *magisterial* sense, which it bears in modern language.]

and

and the opinions of the ancient doctors. While the third placed the whole of morality in the tranquillity of a mind, withdrawn from all sensible objects, and habitually employed in the contemplation of the divine nature.

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XXIX. The number of combatants that the pontiffs brought into the field of controversy, during this century, was prodigious, and their glaring defects are abundantly known. It may be said, with truth, of the most of them, that, like many warriors of another class, they generally lost sight of all considerations, except those of victory and plunder. The disputants, which the order of Jesuits sent forth in great number, against the adversaries of the church of *Rome*, surpassed all the rest in subtilty, impudence, and invective. But the chief leader and champion of the polemic tribe was ROBERT BELLARMINE, a Jesuit, and one of the college of cardinals, who treated, in several bulky volumes, of all the controversies that subsisted between the protestants and the church of *Rome*, and whose merit as a writer consisted, principally, in clearness of style and a certain copiousness of argument, which shewed a rich and fruitful imagination. This eminent defender of the church of *Rome* arose about the conclusion of this century, and, on his first appearance, all the force and attacks of the most illustrious protestant doctors were turned against him alone. His candor and plain-dealing exposed him, however, to the censures of several divines of his own communion; for he collected, with diligence, the reasons and objections of his adversaries, and proposed them, for the most part, in their full force, with integrity and exactness. Had he been less remarkable on account of his fidelity and industry; had he taken care to select the weakest arguments of his antagonists, and to render them still weaker, by proposing them in an imperfect and unfaithful light, his fame would have been much greater among the friends of *Rome*, than it actually is [u].

The state of
religious
controversy.

[u] See Jo. FRID. MAYERI *Ecloga de fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsius pontificiis dubia*, published at Amsterdam in 8vo. in 1698.

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The contro-
versies that
divide the
church of
Rome.

XXX. If we turn our view to the internal state of the church of *Rome*, and consider the respective sentiments, opinions, and manners of its different members, we shall find that, notwithstanding its boasted unity of faith, and its ostentatious pretensions to harmony and concord, it was, in this century, and is, at this day, divided and distracted with dissensions and contests of various kinds. The Franciscans and Dominicans contend with vehemence about several points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists are at eternal war. The bishops have never ceased disputing with the pontiff (and the *congregations* that he has instituted to maintain his pretensions) concerning the origin and limits of his authority and jurisdiction. The French and Flemings, together with other countries, openly oppose the Roman pontiff on many occasions, and refuse to acknowledge his supreme and unlimited dominion in the church; while, on the other hand, he still continues to encroach upon their privileges, sometimes with violence and resolution, when he can do so with impunity, at other times, with circumspection and prudence, when vigorous measures appear dangerous or unnecessary. The Jesuits, who, from their first rise, had formed the project of diminishing the credit and influence of all the other religious orders, used their warmest endeavours to share with the Benedictines and other monasteries, which were richly endowed, a part of their opulence; and their endeavours were crowned with success. Thus they drew upon their society the indignation and vengeance of the other religious communities, and armed against it the monks of every other denomination; and, in a more especial manner, the Benedictines and Dominicans, who surpassed all its enemies in the keenness and bitterness of their resentment. The rage of the Benedictines is animated by a painful reflection on the possessions of which they had been deprived; while the Dominicans contend for the honour of their order, the privileges annexed to it, and the religious tenets by which it is distinguished. Nor are the theological colleges and seminaries of learning more exempt from the flame of controversy than the clerical

clerical and monastic orders; on the contrary, debates concerning almost all the doctrines of Christianity are multiplied in them beyond number, and conducted with little moderation. It is true, indeed, that all these contests are tempered and managed by the prudence and authority of the Roman pontiffs in such a manner as to prevent their being carried to an excessive height, to a length that might prove fatal to the church, by destroying that phantom of external unity that is the source of its consistence, as an ecclesiastical body. I say *tempered* and *managed*; for to heal entirely these divisions, and calm these animosities, however it may be judged an undertaking worthy of one, who calls himself the *Vicar of Christ*, is, nevertheless, a work beyond the power, and contrary to the intention, of the Roman pontiff.

XXXI. Besides these debates of inferior moment, which made only a slight breach in the tranquillity and union of the church of *Rome*, there arose, after the period in which the council of *Trent* was assembled, controversies of much greater importance, which deservedly attracted the attention of Christians of all denominations. These controversies were set on foot by the Jesuits, and from small beginnings have encreased gradually and gathered strength, so that the flame they produced has been transmitted even to our times, and continues, at this very day, to divide the members of the Romish church in a manner that does not a little endanger its stability. While the Roman pontiffs foment perhaps, instead of endeavouring to extinguish, the less momentous disputes mentioned above, they observe a different conduct with respect to those now under consideration. The most zealous efforts of artifice and authority are constantly employed to calm the contending parties (since it appears impossible to unite and reconcile them) and to diminish the violence of commotions which they can scarcely ever hope entirely to suppress. Their efforts, however, have hitherto been, and still continue to be, ineffectual. They have not even been able to calm the agitation and vehemence with which these debates are carried on, nor to inspire any sentiments of moderation and mutual forbearance

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The more
momentous
controversies
that have
divided the
church of
Rome.

CENT. XVI. bearance into minds, which are less animated by the love of truth, than by the spirit of faction.

Two general classes of doctors in the church of *Rome*.

XXXII. Whoever looks with attention and impartiality into these controversies, will easily perceive, that there are two parties in the Roman church, whose notions with respect both to doctrine and discipline are extremely different. The Jesuits, in general, considered as a body [*w*], maintain, with the greatest zeal and obstinacy, the ancient system of doctrine and manners, which was universally adopted in the church before the rise of LUTHER, and which, though absurd and ill-digested, has, nevertheless, been considered as highly favourable to the views of *Rome*, and the grandeur of its pontiffs. These sagacious ecclesiastics, whose peculiar office it is to watch for the security and defence of the papal throne, are fully persuaded that the authority of the pontiffs, as well as the opulence, pomp, and grandeur of the clergy, depend entirely upon the preservation of the ancient forms of doctrine, and that every project that tends either to remove these forms, or even to correct them, must be, in the highest degree, detrimental to, what they call, the interests of the church, and gradually bring on its ruin. On the other hand, there are within the pale of the Roman church, especially since the dawn of the reformation, many pious and well-meaning men, whose eyes have been opened, by the perusal of the inspired and primitive writers, upon the corruptions and defects of the received forms of doctrine and discipline. Comparing the dictates of primitive Christianity with the vulgar system of popery, they have found the latter full of enormities, and have always been desirous of a reformation (though, indeed, a partial one, according to their particular fancies) that thus the church might be purified from those unhappy abuses, that have given rise to such fatal divisions, and still draw upon it the censures and reproaches of the heretics.

[(*w*) The Jesuits are here taken in the general and collective sense of that denomination; because there are several individuals of that order, whose sentiments differ from those that generally prevail in their community.]

From

From these opposite ways of thinking arose naturally the warmest contentions and debates between the Jesuits and several doctors of the church of *Rome*. These debates may be reduced under the *six* following heads:

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The main
controversies that divide the church of *Rome* reduced to six heads.
First subject of debate.

The *First* subject of debate concerns the *limits and extent of the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff*. The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependents, all maintain, that the pope is *infallible*;—that he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power, which CHRIST has granted to the church;—that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested;—that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils that compose it;—and that he alone is the supreme law-giver of that sacred community, a law-giver whose edicts and commands it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far from being universally adopted. For other doctors of the church of *Rome* hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error;—that his authority is inferior to that of a general council;—that he is bound to obey the commands of the church, and its laws, as they are enacted in the councils that represent it;—that these councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted;—and, that in consequence of these principles, the bishops and other inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the Roman pontiff, but from CHRIST himself.

XXXIII. The *extent and prerogatives of the church* form the *Second* subject of debate. The Jesuits and their adherents stretch out its borders far and wide. They comprehend within its large circuit, not only many who live separate from the communion of *Rome* [*x*], but

Second subject of debate.

[*(x)* They were accused at *Spoletto*, in the year 1653, of having maintained, in their public instructions there, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See LA CLERC, *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 329.]

even

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even extend the inheritance of eternal salvation to nations that have not the least knowledge of the Christian religion, or of its divine author, and consider as true members of the church open transgressors which profess its doctrines. But the adversaries of the Jesuits reduce within narrower limits the kingdom of CHRIST, and not only exclude from all hope of salvation, those who are not within the pale of the church of *Rome*, but also those who, though they live within its eternal communion, yet dishonour their profession by a vicious and profligate course of life. The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, assert, that the church can never pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either relating to *matters of fact*, or *points of doctrine* [y]; while the adverse party declare, that, in judging of matters of fact, it is not secured against all possibility of erring.

The third
subject of
debate.

XXXIV. The *Third* class of controversies, that divides the church of *Rome*, comprehends the debates relating to the *nature, efficacy, and necessity* of *divine grace*, together with those that concern *original sin*, the *natural power* of men to obey the laws of God, the *nature and foundation* of those *eternal decrees* that have for their object the salvation of men. The Dominicans, Augustins, and Jansenists, with several other doctors of the church, adopt the following propositions: That the *impulse* of divine grace cannot be *opposed* or *resisted*;—that there are no *remains* of *purity* or *goodness* in human nature since its fall;—that the *eternal decrees* of God, relating to the salvation of men, are neither founded upon, nor attended

{(y) This distinction, with respect to the *objects* of infallibility, was chiefly owing to the following historical circumstance: Pope INNOCENT X condemned *five propositions* drawn from the famous book of JANSENIUS, entitled, *Augustinus*. This condemnation occasioned the two following questions: 1st, Whether or no these propositions were erroneous? This was the question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, the question *relating to doctrine*. 2^d, Whether or no these propositions were really taught by JANSENIUS? This was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to the matter of fact. The church was supposed, by some, infallible only in deciding questions of the former kind.]

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with, any condition whatsoever;—that God wills the salvation of all mankind, and several other tenets that are connected with these. The Jesuits maintain, on the contrary, that the *natural dominion* of sin in the human mind, and the hidden corruption it has produced in our internal frame, are less *universal* and *dreadful*, than they are represented by the doctors now mentioned;—that *human nature* is far from being deprived of *all power* of doing good;—that the *succours of grace* are administered to *all mankind* in a measure *sufficient* to lead them to eternal life and salvation;—that the *operations* of grace offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and therefore may be *resisted*;—and that God from all eternity has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments, as the portion of men in a future world, not by an *absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional* decree, but in consequence of that divine and unlimited *prescience*, by which he foresaw the *actions, merits, and characters* of every individual.

XXXV. The *Fourth* head, in this division of the controversies that destroy the pretended unity of the church of *Rome*, contains various subjects of debate, relative to *doctrines of morality* and *rules of practice*, which it would be both tedious and foreign from our purpose to enumerate in a circumstantial manner; though it may not be improper to touch lightly the first principles of this endless controversy [z].

The fourth
subject of
debate.

The

[z] No author has given a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objections that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches that have been cast on their rules of life, and none at the same time has defended their cause with more art and dexterity, than the eloquent and ingenious GABRIEL DANIEL (a famous member of their order), in a piece, entitled, *Entretiens de Cleandre et d'Eudoxe*. This dialogue is to be found in the first volume of his *Opuscules*, p. 351. and was designed as an answer to the celebrated *Provincial Letters* of PASCAL, which did more real prejudice to the society of the Jesuits than can be well imagined, and exposed their loose and perfidious system of morals with the greatest fidelity and perspicuity, embellished by the most exquisite strokes of humour and irony. Father DANIEL, in the piece abovementioned, treats with great acuteness the famous

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The Jesuits and their followers have inculcated a very strange doctrine with respect to the motives, that determine the moral conduct and actions of men. They represent it as a matter of perfect indifference, from what motives men obey the laws of God, provided these laws are really obeyed; and maintain, that the service of those who obey from the fear of punishment is as agreeable to the Deity, as those actions which proceed from a principle of love to him and to his laws. This decision excites the horror of the greatest part of the doctors of the Roman church, who affirm, that no acts of obedience that do not proceed from the love of God, can be acceptable to that pure and holy Being. Nor is the doctrine of the Jesuits only chargeable with the corrupt tenets already mentioned. They maintain farther, that a man never sins, properly speaking, but when he transgresseth a divine law, which is *fully known* to him, which is *present to his mind* while he acts, and of which he *understands the true meaning* and intent. And they conclude from hence, that, in strict justice, the conduct of that transgressor cannot be looked upon as criminal, who is either ignorant of the law, or is in doubt about its true signification, or loses sight of it through forgetfulness, at the time that he violates it. From these propositions they reduce the famous doctrine of *probability* and *philosophical sin*, that have cast an eternal reproach upon the schools of the Jesuits [a]. Their adversaries behold these pernicious

doctrine of *probability*, p. 351; the method of *directing our intentions*, p. 556; *equivocation*, and *mental reservation*, p. 562; *sins of ignorance and oblivion*, p. 719; and it must be acknowledged, that, if the cause of the Jesuits were susceptible of defence or plausibility, it has found in this writer an able and dexterous champion.

[(a) The doctrine of *probability* consists in this: *That an opinion or precept may be followed with a good conscience, when it is inculcated by four, or three, or two, nay even by one doctor of any considerable reputation, even though it be contrary to the judgment of him that follows it, and even of him that recommends it.* This doctrine rendered the Jesuits capable of accommodating themselves to all the different passions of men, and to persons of all tempers and characters, from the most austere to the most licentious.—*Philosophical sin*, according to the Jesuits doctrine, is an action, or course of actions, that

nicious tenets with the utmost abhorrence, and assert that neither ignorance, nor forgetfulness of the law, nor the doubts that may be entertained with respect to its signification, will be admitted as sufficient to justify transgressors before the tribunal of God. This contest, about the main and fundamental points of morality, has given rise to a great variety of debates concerning the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves, and produced two sects of moral doctors, whose animosities and divisions have miserably rent the church of *Rome* in all parts of the world, and involved it in the greatest perplexities.

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XXXVI. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of *penance* and the *eucharist*, forms the *Fifth* subject of controversy in the church of *Rome*. The Jesuits and many other doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the sacraments are produced by their *intrinsic virtue* and *immediate operation* [b] upon the mind at the time they are administered, and, that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity and a heart filled with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And hence it is, that, according to their doctrine, the priests

The fifth
subject of
debate.

that is repugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the Deity. See a fuller account of these two odious doctrines, in the following part of this work, CENT. XVII. SECT. II. PART I. § XXXIV. and in the author's and translator's notes.]

[[b] This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say, that the sacraments produce their effects *opere operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain, that the sacraments have in themselves an *instrumental* and *efficient* power, by virtue of which they work in the soul (independently on its previous preparation or propensities) a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, are necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a *mortal sin* can resist. See Dr. COURRAYER's *Translation of PAUL SARPI's History of the Council of Trent*, tom. i. livr. ii. p. 423, 424. edit. *Amsterdam*.]

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are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of the sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion, who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy, to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the sacraments, before they grant their requests; since, in their sense of things, the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love, *that casteth out fear*. Hence arose that famous dispute in the church of Rome concerning a *frequent approach to the holy communion*, which was carried on with such warmth, in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with ARNAULD [c] at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit PICHON, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French bishops [d]. The frequent celebration of the Lord's supper is one of the main duties which the Jesuits recommend with peculiar earnestness to those who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appealing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity, and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious doctors of the Romish communion, who reject that *intrinsic virtue and efficient operation* that is attributed to the sacraments, and wisely maintain that the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper can be profitable to those only, whose minds are prepared by faith,

[c] ARNAULD published on this occasion his famous book concerning the *Practice of communicating frequently*. The French title is, *Traité de la frequente Communion*.

[d] See *Journal Universel*, tom. xiii. p. 148. tom. xv. p. 363. tom. xvi. p. 124.

repentance,

repentance, and the love of God for that solemn service.

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XXXVII. The *Sixth* and last controversy turns upon the proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion. One part of the Romish doctors, who have the progress of religion truly at heart, look upon it as expedient and even necessary to sow the seeds of divine truth in the mind, in the tender and flexible state of infancy, when it is most susceptible of good impressions, and to give it by degrees according to the measure of its capacity, a full and accurate knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others, who have a greater zeal for the interests of the church, than the improvement of its members, recommend a devout ignorance to such as submit to their direction, and think a Christian sufficiently instructed, when he has learned to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the church. The former are of opinion, that nothing can be so profitable and instructive to Christians as the study of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently judge it highly expedient that they should be translated into the vulgar tongue of each country. The latter exclude the people from the satisfaction of consulting the sacred oracles of truth, and look upon all vernacular translations of the Bible as dangerous, and even of a pernicious tendency. They accordingly maintain, that it ought only to be published in a learned language, to prevent its instructions from becoming familiar to the multitude. The former compose pious and instructive books to nourish a spirit of devotion in the minds of Christians, to enlighten their ignorance and dispel their errors; they illustrate and explain the public prayers and the solemn acts of religion in the language of the people, and exhort all, who attend to their instructions, to peruse constantly these pious productions, in order to improve their knowledge, purify their affections, and to learn the method of worshipping the Deity in a rational and acceptable manner. All this, however, is highly displeasing to the latter kind of doctors, who are always apprehensive, that the blind obedience and implicit submission of the people will diminish in

The sixth
subject of
debate.

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The disputes carried on with Baius concerning grace, &c.

proportion as their views are enlarged and their knowledge increased [e].

XXXVIII. All the controversies that have been here mentioned did not break out at the same time. The disputes concerning divine grace, the natural power of man to perform good actions, original sin, and predestination, which have been ranged under the third class, were publicly carried on in the century of which we are now writing. The others were conducted with more secrecy and reserve, and did not come forth to public view before the following age. Nor will this appear at all surprizing to those who consider that the controversies concerning *grace* and *free-will*, which had been set in

[e] The account here given of the more momentous controversies, that divide the church of *Rome*, may be confirmed, illustrated, and enlarged by consulting a multitude of books published in the last and present centuries, especially in *France* and *Flanders*, by Jansenists, Dominicans, Jesuits, and others. All the productions, in which the doctrine and precepts of the Jesuits and the other creatures of the Roman pontiff are opposed and refuted, are enumerated by DOMINICK COLONIA, a French Jesuit, in a work published, in 1735, under the following title: *Bibliothèque Janseniste ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux livres Jansenistes, ou suspects de Jansenisme, avec des notes Critiques*. This writer is led into many absurdities by his extravagant attachment to the Roman pontiff, and to the cause and tenets of his order. His book, however, is of use in pointing out the various controversies that perplex and divide the church of *Rome*. It was condemned by the late Pope BENEDICT XIV; but was, nevertheless, republished in a new form, with some change in the title, and additions that swelled it from one octavo volume to four of the same size. This new edition appeared at *Antwerp* in the year 1752, under the following title: *Dictionnaire des livres Jansenistes ou qui favorisent le Jansenisme, à Anvers chez J. B. Verdussen*. And it must be acknowledged, that it is extremely useful in shewing the intestine divisions of the church, the particular contests that divide its doctors, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous productions that relate to the six heads of controversy here mentioned. It must be observed, at the same time, that this work abounds with the most malignant invectives against many persons of eminent learning and piety, and with the most notorious instances of impartiality and injustice*.

[See a particular account of this learned and scandalous work in the first and second volumes of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, printed at the *Hague*.]

motion

motion by LUTHER, were neither accurately examined, nor peremptorily decided, in the church of *Rome*, but were rather artfully suspended and hushed into silence. The sentiments of LUTHER were indeed condemned; but no fixed and perspicuous rule of faith, with respect to these disputed points, was substituted in their place. The decisions of St. AUGUSTIN were solemnly approved; but the difference between these decisions and the sentiments of LUTHER was never clearly explained. The first rise of this fatal controversy was owing to the zeal of MICHAEL BAIUS, a doctor in the university of *Louvain*, equally remarkable on account of the warmth of his piety and extent of his learning. This eminent divine, like the other followers of AUGUSTIN, had an invincible aversion to that contentious, subtile, and intricate manner of teaching theology that had long prevailed in the *schools*; and under the auspicious name of that famous prelate, who was his darling guide, he had the courage or temerity to condemn and censure, in an open and public manner, the tenets commonly received in the church of *Rome* in relation to the *natural powers of man*, and the *merit of good works*. This bold step drew upon BAIUS the indignation of some of his academical colleagues and the heavy censures of several Franciscan monks. Whether the Jesuits immediately joined in this opposition, and may be reckoned among the first accusers of BAIUS, is a matter unknown, or, at most, uncertain; but it is unquestionably evident and certain, that, even at the rise of this controversy, they abhorred the principal tenets of BAIUS, which he had taken from AUGUSTIN, and adopted as his own. In the year 1567, this doctor was accused at the court of *Rome*, and *seventy-six propositions*, drawn from his writings, were condemned by pope PIUS V, in a circular letter expressly composed for that purpose. This condemnation, however, was issued out in an artful and insidious manner, without any mention being made of the name of the author; for the fatal consequences, that had arisen from the rash and inconsiderate measures employed by the court of *Rome* against LUTHER, were too fresh in the remem-

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branch of the prudent pontiff to permit his falling into new blunders of the same nature. The thunder of excommunication was therefore suppressed by the dictates of prudence, and the person and functions of BAIUS were spared, while his tenets were censured. About thirteen years after this transaction, GREGORY XIII complied so far with the importunate solicitations of a Jesuit, named TOLET, as to reinforce the sentence of PIUS V by a new condemnation of the opinions of the Flemish doctor. BAIUS submitted to this new sentence, either from an apprehension that it would be followed by severe proceedings in case of resistance, or, which is more probable, on account of the ambiguity that reigned in the papal edict, and the vague and confused manner, in which the obnoxious propositions were therein expressed. But his example, in this respect, was not followed by the other doctors who had formed their theological system upon that of AUGUSTIN [f]; and, even at this day, many divines of the Romish communion, and particularly the Jansenists, declare openly that BAIUS was unjustly treated, and that the two edicts of PIUS and GREGORY mentioned above are absolutely destitute of all authority, and have never been received as laws of the church [g].

Contests
with the
Jesuits, Lef-
sius, and Ha-
melius.

XXXIX. Be that as it may, it is at least certain, that the doctrine of AUGUSTIN, with respect to the nature and operations of divine grace, lost none of its credit in consequence of these edicts, but was embraced and propagated with the same zeal as formerly, throughout all

[f] See, for an account of the disputes relating to BAIUS, the works of that author published in 4to at *Cologne*, in 1696, particularly the second part or appendix, entitled, *Baiana, seu Scripta, quæ controversias spectant occasione sententiarum Baii exortas*.—BAYLE'S *Diction.* at the article BAIUS, in which there is an ample and circumstantial account of these disputes.—DU PIN, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xvi. p. 144.—*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 161.

[g] This is demonstrated fully by an anonymous writer, in a piece, entitled, *Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, ou l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise*, and published in two volumes 8vo at *Utrecht*, in the year 1737.

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the Belgic provinces, and more especially in the two CENT. XVI. flourishing universities of *Louvain* and *Douay*. This appeared very soon after, when two Jesuits, named LESSIUS and HAMELIUS, ventured to represent the doctrine of predestination in a manner different from that, in which it appears in the writings of AUGUSTIN: for the sentiments of these Jesuits were publicly condemned by the doctors of *Louvain* in the year 1587, and by those of *Douay* the year following. The bishops of the Low-countries were disposed to follow the example of these two universities, and had already deliberated about assembling a provincial council for this purpose, when the Roman pontiff, SIXTUS V, suspended their proceedings by the interposition of his authority, and declared, that the cognizance and decision of religious controversies belonged only to the vicar of CHRIST, residing at *Rome*. But this cunning vicar, whose sagacity, prudence, and knowledge of men and things never failed him in transactions of this nature, wisely avoided making use of the privilege he claimed with such confidence, that he might not inflame the divisions and animosities that were already subsisting. And, accordingly, in the year 1588, this contest was finished, and the storm laid in such a manner, as that the contending parties were left in the quiet possession of their respective opinions, and solemnly prohibited from disputing either in public or in private upon the intricate points that had excited their divisions. Had the succeeding pontiffs, instead of assuming the character of judges in this ambiguous and difficult controversy, imitated the prudence of SIXTUS V, and imposed silence on the litigious doctors, who renewed afterwards the debates concerning divine grace, the tranquillity and unity of the church of *Rome* would not have been interrupted by such violent divisions as rage at present in its bosom [b].

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[b] See *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay*, par M. Gery, 1688, in 8vo. The famous PASQUER QUENEL was the author of this apology, if we may give credit to the writer of a book, entitled, *Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les*

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troversies
with the
Molinites.

XL. The Roman church had scarcely perceived the fruits of that calm, which the prudence of SIXTUS had restored, by suppressing, instead of deciding, the late controversies, when new commotions of the same nature, but of a much more terrible aspect, arose to disturb its tranquillity. These were occasioned by LEWIS MOLINA [i], a Spanish Jesuit, professor of divinity in the university of *Ebora* in *Portugal*, who, in the year 1588, published a book to shew that the operations of divine grace were entirely consistent with the freedom of the human will [k], and who introduced a new kind of hypothesis to remove the difficulties attending the doctrines of predestination and liberty, and to reconcile the jarring opinions of *Augustinians*, *Thomists*, *Semi-Pelagians*, and other contentious divines [l]. This attempt of the sub-
tile

les Contestations de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 104.—See an account of this controversy in a piece, entitled, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace*; this curious piece is to be found in the fourteenth tome of LE CLERC's *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*.

[i] From this Spanish doctor's name proceeded the well-known denomination of *Molinites*, by which those Roman catholics are distinguished, who seem to incline to the doctrines of grace and free-will, that are maintained in opposition to those of AUGUSTIN. Many, however, who differ widely from the sentiments of MOLINA, are unjustly ranked in the class of Molinites.

[k] The title of this famous book is as follows: *Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratia donis, divina præscientia, providentia, prædestinatione, et reprobatione, auctore Lud. Molina*. This book was first published at *Lisbon* in folio, in the year 1588.—Afterwards, with additions, and in 4to, at *Antwerp*, *Lyons*, *Venice*, and other places, in 1595.—A third edition, still farther augmented, was published at *Antwerp* in 1609.

[l] MOLINA affirmed, that the Decree of predestination to eternal glory was founded upon a previous knowledge and consideration of the merits of the elect; that the grace, from whose operation these merits are derived, is not efficacious by its own intrinsic power only, but also by the consent of our own will, and because it is administered in those circumstances in which the Deity, by that branch of knowledge, which is called *Scientia Media*, foresees that it will be efficacious. The kind of prescience, denominated in the schools *Scientia Media*, is that foreknowledge of future contingents, that arises from an acquaintance with the nature and faculties of rational beings, of the circumstances in which they shall be placed,

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the Spanish doctor was so offensive to the Dominicans, who followed St. Thomas as their theological guide, that they founded, throughout the whole kingdom of *Spain*, the alarm of heresy, and accused the Jesuits of endeavouring to renew the errors of PELAGIUS. This alarm was followed by great commotions, and all things seemed to prognosticate a general flame, when CLEMENT VIII, in the year 1594, imposed silence on the contending parties, promising that he himself would examine with care and diligence every thing relating to this new debate, in order to decide it in such a manner, as might tend to promote the cause of truth and the peace of the church.

XLI. The pontiff was persuaded that these gentle remedies would soon remove the disease, and that, through length of time, these heats and animosities would undoubtedly subside. But the event was far from being answerable to such pleasing hopes. The Dominicans, who had long fostered a deep-rooted and invincible hatred against the Jesuits, having now a favourable opportunity of venting their indignation, exhausted their furious zeal against the doctrine of MOLINA, notwithstanding the pacific orders of the papal edict. They fatigued incessantly the Spanish monarch, PHILIP II, and the Roman pontiff, CLEMENT VIII, with their importunate clamours, until at length the latter found himself under a necessity of assembling at *Rome* a sort of council for the decision of this controversy. And thus commenced, about the beginning of the year 1598, those famous deliberations concerning the contests of the Jesuits and Dominicans, which were held in what was called the congregation *de auxiliis*, or of aids. This congregation was so denominated on account of the principal point in debate, which was the efficacy of the aids and succours of divine grace, and its consultations were directed by LEWIS MADRUSI, bishop of *Trent*, and one of the college of cardinals, who sat as president

of the objects that shall be presented to them, and of the influence that these circumstances and objects must have on their actions.]

in

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in this assembly, which was composed besides of three bishops and seven divines chosen out of so many different orders. The remaining part of this century was wholly employed by these spiritual judges in hearing and weighing the arguments alledged in favour of their respective opinions by the contending parties [m]. The Dominicans maintained, with the greatest obstinacy, the doctrine of their patron St. THOMAS, as alone conformable to truth. The Jesuits, on the other hand, though they did not adopt the religious tenets of MOLINA, thought the honour of their order concerned in this controversy on account of the opposition so publicly made to one of its members, and consequently used their utmost endeavours to have the Spanish doctor acquitted of the charge of Pelagianism, and declared free from any errors of moment. In this they acted accord-

[m] The history and transactions of this *Congregation* are related and illustrated by several writers of different complexions, by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Jansenists. HYACINTH SERRI, a Dominican, published, under the feigned name of AUGUSTIN LE BLANC in the year 1700, at *Louvain*, a work entitled, *Historia Congregationum de auxiliis Gratiæ divinæ*; which was answered by another history of these debates composed by LIV. DE MEYER, a Jesuit, who assumed the name of THEOD. ELEUTHERIUS, in order to lie concealed from public view, and whose book is entitled, *Historia Controversiarum de Gratiæ divinæ auxiliis*. The Dominicans also published the *Acta congregationum et disputationum, quæ coram Clemente VIII, et Paulo V, de auxiliis divinæ Gratiæ sunt celebrata*, a work composed by THOMAS DE LEMOS, a subtle monk of their order, who, in this very *congregation*, had defended with great applause the glory of St. THOMAS against the Jesuits.—Amidst these jarring accounts, a man must be endowed with a supernatural sagacity to come at the truth. For acts are opposed to acts, testimony to testimony, and narration to narration. It is therefore as yet a matter of doubt, which the court of *Rome* favoured most, on this occasion, the Jesuits or the Dominicans, and which of these two parties defended their cause with the most dexterity and success.—There is also a history of these debates written in French, which was published in 8vo. at *Louvain*, in the year 1702, under the following title: *Histoire des Congregations de auxiliis par un Docteur de la Faculté de Theologie de Paris*. This historian, though he be neither destitute of learning nor elegance, being nevertheless a flaming Jansenist, discovers throughout his enmity against the Jesuits, and relates all things in a manner that favours the cause of the Dominicans.

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ing to the true Monastic spirit, which leads each order to resent the affronts that are offered to any of its members, as if they had been cast upon the whole community, and to maintain, at all adventures, the cause of every individual monk, as if the interests of the society were involved in it.

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XLII. Notwithstanding the zealous attempts that were made, by several persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the church; nor did the pontiffs judge it proper to diminish that pomp and shew, that gave the ministers of religion a great, though ill-acquired, influence on the minds of the people. Besides; many popular customs, and inventions, which were multiplied by the clergy, and were either entirely absurd or grossly superstitious, called loudly for redress; and, indeed, the council of *Trent* seemed disposed to correct these abuses and prevent their farther growth. But this good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned either through the corrupt prudence of the pope and clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority, or through their criminal negligence about every thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Hence it happens, that in those countries, where there are few protestants, and consequently where the church of *Rome* is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the proximity and attempts of these pretended heretics, superstition reigns with unlimited extravagance and absurdity. Such is the case in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity, that yet remain, are overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastical, and unaccountable rites; so that a person who arrives in any of these countries, after having passed through other nations even of the Romish communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into the most gloomy retreats of

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of superstition [n]. Nor, indeed, are even those countries, whom the neighbourhood of the protestants and a more free and liberal turn of mind have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of *Rome*, in its best form and in those places where its external worship is the least shocking, is certainly loaded with rites and observances that are highly offensive to sound reason. If from this general view of things we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of that church; if we attend to the pious, or rather impious, frauds which are imposed, with impunity, upon the deluded multitude, in many places; if we pass in review the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of the Roman-catholic preachers; if we weigh all these things maturely, we shall find, that they have little regard to impartiality and truth, who pretend that since the council of *Trent* the religion and worship of the Roman church have been every where corrected and amended.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Greek and Eastern CHURCHES.

The eastern church may be divided into three branches.

I. **T**HE society of Christians, that goes under the general denomination of the eastern church, is

[n] It is well known that the French, who travel into *Italy*, employ the whole force of their wit and raillery in rendering ridiculous the monstrous superstition of the Italians. The Italians, in their turn, look upon the French that visit their country as totally destitute of all principles of religion. This is evidently the case, as we learn from the testimony of many writers, and particularly from that of Father LABAT, in his *Voyages en Italie et en Espagne*. This agreeable Dominican lets no opportunity escape of censuring and exposing the superstition of the Spaniards and Italians; nor does he pretend to deny that his countrymen, and even he himself, passed for impious libertines in the opinion of these bigots.

dis-

dispersed throughout *Europe, Asia, and Africa*, and may be divided into three distinct communities. The *first* is that of the Greek Christians, who agree in all points of doctrine and worship, with the patriarch, residing at *Constantinople*, and reject the pretended supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The *second* comprehends those Christians, who differ equally from the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch in their religious opinions and institutions, and who live under the government of their own bishops and rulers. The *third* is composed of those who are subject to the see of *Rome*.

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II. That society of Christians, that lives in religious communion with the patriarch of *Constantinople* is, properly speaking, the Greek, though it assumes likewise the title of the Eastern, church. This society is subdivided into two branches, of which the one acknowledges the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of *Constantinople*; while the other, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with that prelate, yet obstinately refuses to receive his legates, or to obey his edicts, and is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers, who are independent on all foreign authority.

The Greek church, properly speaking,

III. That part of the Greek church, which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Constantinople*, is divided, as in the early ages of Christianity, into four large districts or provinces, *Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem*, over every one of which a bishop presides with the title of Patriarch, whom the inferior bishops and monastic orders unanimously respect as their common Father. But the supreme chief of all these patriarchs, bishops, and abbots, and, generally speaking, of the whole church, is the patriarch of *Constantinople*. This prelate has the privilege of nominating the other patriarchs, though that dignity still continues elective, and of approving the election that is made; nor is there any thing of moment undertaken or transacted in the church without his express permission, or his especial order. It is true, indeed, that, in the present decayed state of the Greek churches, whose reve-

is for the most part subject to the patriarch of Constantinople,

nues

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And is divided into four provinces or districts here described.

nues are so small, and whose former opulence is reduced almost to nothing, their spiritual rulers enjoy little more than the splendid title of *Patriarchs*, without being in a condition to extend their fame or promote their cause by any undertaking of signal importance.

IV. The spiritual jurisdiction and dominion of the patriarch of *Constantinople* are very extensive, comprehending a considerable part of *Greece*, the Grecian *Isles*, *Wallachia*, *Moldavia*, and several of the European and Asiatic provinces that are subject to the *Turk*. The patriarch of *Alexandria* resides generally at *Cairo*, and exercises his spiritual authority in *Egypt*, *Nubia*, *Libya*, and part of *Arabia* [o]. *DAMASCUS* is the principal residence of the patriarch of *Antioch*, whose jurisdiction extends to *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and other provinces [p], while the patriarch of *Jerusalem* comprehends,

[o] For an account of the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and the various prelates who have filled that see, it will be proper to consult *SOLLERII Commentar. de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*, which is prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Acta Sanctorum, Mensis Junii*; as also the *Oriens Christianus* of *LE QUIEN*, tom. ii. p. 329. The nature of their office, the extent of their authority, and the manner of their creation, is accurately described by *EUS. RENAUDOT*, in his *Dissertatio de Patriarcha Alexandrino*, which is published in the first volume of his *Liturgiæ Orientales*, p. 365.—The Grecian patriarch has, at this day, no bishops under his jurisdiction; the *chorepiscopi* or rural bishops alone are subject to his authority. All the bishops acknowledge as their chief the patriarch of the *Monophysites*, who is, in effect, the patriarch of *Alexandria*.

[p] The Jesuits have prefixed a particular and learned account of the patriarchs of *Antioch* to the fifth volume of the *Acta SS mensis Julii*, in which, however, there are some omissions and defects. Add to this the account that is given of the district or diocese of the patriarch of *Antioch* by *MICH. LE QUIEN*, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 670. and by *BLASIUS TERTIUS*, in his *Siria Sacra ou Descrittione Historico-Geografica delle due Chiese Patriarchali, Antiocchè, et Gerusalemme*, published in folio at *Rome*, in the year 1695. There are three bishops in *Syria* which claim the title and dignity of patriarch of *Antioch*. The first is the bishop of the *Melchites*, a name given to the Christians in *Syria*, who follow the doctrine, institutions, and worship of the Greek church; the second is the spiritual guide of the Syrian *Monophysites*; and the third is the chief of the *Maronites*, who hold communion with the church of *Rome*.

This

comprehends, within the bounds of his pontificate, *Pa-
lestine, Syria* [q], *Arabia*, the country beyond *Jordan*,
Cana in *Galilee*, and mount *Sion* [r]. The episcopal
dominions of these three patriarchs are, indeed, extreme-
ly poor and inconsiderable; for the Monophysites have
long since assumed the patriarchal seats of *Alexandria*
and *Antioch*, and have deprived the Greek churches of
the greatest part of their members in all those places
where they have gained an ascendant. And as *Jerusa-
lem* is the resort of Christians of every sect, who have
their respective bishops and rulers, the jurisdiction of
the Grecian patriarch is consequently confined there
within narrow limits.

V. The right of electing the patriarch of *Constantino-
ple* is, at this day, vested in the twelve bishops who re-
side nearest that famous capital; but the right of con-
firming this election, and of enabling the new-chosen
patriarch to exercise his spiritual functions, belongs only
to the Turkish emperor. This institution, however, if
it is not entirely overturned, is nevertheless on many oc-
casions prostituted in a shameful manner by the corrup-
tion and avarice of the reigning ministers. Thus it
happens, that many bishops, inflamed with the ambi-
tious lust of power and pre-eminence, purchase by money
what they cannot obtain by merit, and seeing themselves
excluded from the patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of
their brethren, find an open and ready way to it by the
mercenary services of men in power. Nay, what is yet

The patri-
arch of *Con-
stantinople*.

This last bishop pretends to be the true and lawful patriarch of
Antioch, and is acknowledged as such, or, at least, receives this
denomination from the Roman pontiff. And yet it is certain, that
the pope creates at *Rome* a patriarch of *Antioch* of his own choice.
So that the see of *Antioch* has, at this day, four patriarchs, one
from the Greeks, two from the Syrians, and one created at *Rome*,
who is patriarch *in partibus*, i. e. titular patriarch, according to the
signification of that usual phrase.

[(q) *Syria* is here erroneously placed in the patriarchate of *Jeru-
salem*, as it evidently belongs to that of *Antioch*, in which also Dr.
MosHEYM places it in the preceding sentence.]

[r] BLAS. TERTII *Siria Sacra*, lib. ii. p. 165.—D. PAPEBROCHII
Comment. de Patriarch. Hierosolym. tom. iii. *Act. Sanct. Mens. Maii*.
—LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christ.* tom. iii. p. 102.

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more deplorable, has frequently happened; even that prelates, who have been chosen in the lawful way to this eminent office, have been deposed in order to make way for others, whose only pretensions were ambition and bribery. And, indeed, generally speaking, he is looked upon by the Turkish vizirs as the most qualified for the office of patriarch, who surpasses his competitors in the number and value of the presents he employs on that occasion. It is true some accounts worthy of credit represent the present state of the Greek church as advantageously changed in this respect, and it is reported, that, as the Turkish manners have gradually assumed a milder and more humane cast, the patriarchs live under their dominion with more security and repose than they did some ages ago [s].

The power of the patriarch among a people dispirited by oppression, and sunk, through their extreme ignorance, in the greatest superstition, must undoubtedly be very considerable and extensive; and such, indeed, it is. Its extent, however, is not entirely owing to the causes now mentioned, but to others that give no small weight and lustre to the patriarchal dignity. For this prelate does not only call councils, by his own authority, in order to decide, by their assistance, the controversies that arise, and to make use of their prudent advice and wise deliberations in directing the affairs of the church; his prerogatives go yet farther, and, by the special permission of the emperor, he administers justice and takes cognizance of civil causes among the members of his communion. His influence is maintained on the one hand, by the authority of the Turkish monarch, and, on the other, by his right of excommunicating the disobedient members of the Greek church. This right gives the patriarch a singular degree of influence and authority, as nothing has a more terrifying aspect to that people than a sentence of excommunication, which they reckon among the greatest and most tremendous evils.

[s] LEQUIEN, *ibid.* tom. i. p. 145.—ELSNER, *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Turckey*, p. 54.

The revenue of this prelate is drawn particularly from the churches that are subject to his jurisdiction, and its produce varies according to the state and circumstances of the Greek Christians, whose condition is exposed to many vicissitudes [i].

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VI. The holy scriptures and the decrees of the first seven *general* councils are acknowledged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith. It is received, however, as a maxim established by long custom, that no private person has a right to explain, for himself or others, either the declarations of scripture, or the decisions of these councils; and that the patriarch, with his brethren, are alone authorised to consult these oracles, and to declare their meaning. And accordingly, the declarations of this prelate are looked upon as sacred and infallible directions, whose authority is supreme, and which can neither be transgressed nor disregarded without the utmost impiety. The substance of the doctrine of the Greek church is contained in a treatise, entitled, *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church*, which was drawn up by PETER MOGISLAUS, bishop of *Kiow*, in a provincial council assembled in that city. This confession was translated into Greek [u], and publicly approved and adopted, in the year 1643, by PARTHENIUS of *Constantinople*, and all the other Grecian patriarchs. It was afterwards published in Greek and Latin at the expence of PANAGIOTA, the Turkish emperor's interpreter, a man of great opulence and liberality, who ordered it to be distributed *gratis* among the Greek Christians, and it was also enriched with a recommendatory letter composed by NECTARIUS, patriarch of *Jerusalem* [w]. It appears evidently from this

The doctrine of the
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XVI.The design
of uniting
the Greeks
with the
protestants
miscarries.

this confession, that the Greeks differ widely from the votaries of the Roman pontiff, whose doctrines they reject and treat with indignation in several places; but it appears, at the same time, that their religious tenets are equally remote from those of other Christian societies. So that whoever peruses this treatise with attention, will be fully convinced, how much certain writers are mistaken, who imagine that the obstacles which prevent the union of the Greeks with this or the other Christian community, are but small and inconsiderable [x].

VII. The votaries of *Rome* have found this to be true on many occasions, and the Lutherans made an experiment of the same kind, when they presented a fruitless invitation to the Greek churches to embrace their doctrine and discipline, and live with them in religious communion. The first steps in this laudable attempt were taken by MELANTHON, who sent to the patriarch of *Constantinople* a copy of the confession of *Augsburg*, translated into Greek by PAUL DOLSCIUS. This pre-

tin translation, by LAUR. NORMANNUS, in the year 1695. In the Preface we are informed that it had been composed by NECTARIUS: but this assertion is refuted by NECTARIUS himself, in a letter which follows immediately the Preface. It is also affirmed both in the Preface and Title-page, that this is the first public edition that has been given of the Greek confession. But this assertion is also false; since it is well known that it was published in *Holland*, in the year 1662, at the expence of PANAGIOTA. The German translation of this confession was published at *Francfort* and *Leipsick* in 4to. in 1727. The learned JO. CHRIST. KOCHERUS has given, with his usual accuracy and erudition, an ample account both of this and the other confessions received among the Greeks, in his *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbol.* p. 45 & 53. and the laborious Dr. HOFFMAN, principal Professor of Divinity at *Wittenberg*, published at *Breslaw* in 1751, a new edition of the *Orthodox Confession*, with an historical account of it. Those, who are desirous of a circumstantial account of the famous PANAGIOTA, to whom this confession is indebted for a considerable part of its credit, and who has rendered to the Greek church in general the most eminent services, will find it in CANTEMIR's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. iii. p. 149.

[x] The learned FABRICIUS has given, in the tenth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 441. an exact and ample list of the writers, whom it is proper to consult in order to the forming a just notion of the state, circumstances, and doctrines of the Greek church.

sent

sent was accompanied with a letter, in which the learned and humane professor of *Wittemberg* represented the protestant doctrine with the utmost simplicity and faithfulness, hoping that the artless charms of truth might touch the heart of the Grecian prelate. But his hopes were disappointed, for the patriarch did not even deign to send him an answer [y]. After this the divines of *Tubingen* renewed, with his successor JEREMIAH [z]. the correspondence which had been begun by MELANTHON. They wrote frequently, during the course of several years [a], to the new patriarch, sent him another copy of the *confession* of *Augsburg*, together with a *Compend of Theology*, composed by HEERBRAND, and translated into Greek by MARTIN CRUSIUS; nor did they leave unemployed any means, which a pious and well conducted zeal could suggest as proper to gain over this prelate to their communion. The fruits, however, of this correspondence were very inconsiderable, and wholly consisted in a few letters from the Greek patriarch, written, indeed, with an amiable spirit of benevolence and cordiality; but at the same time in terms which shewed the impossibility of the union so much desired by the protestants. The whole strain of these letters discovered in the Greeks an inviolable attachment to the opinions and institutions of their ancestors, and was sufficient to demonstrate the vanity of attempting to dissolve it in the present situation and circumstances of that people [b].

VIII. Nothing

[y] LEO ALLATIUS, *De perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. iii. cap. viii. § ii. p. 1005.

[(z)] The name of the former patriarch was JOSEPH. In the year 1559, he had sent his Deacon DEMETRIUS to *Wittemberg*, to inform himself upon the spot of the genius and doctrines of the protestant religion.]

[a] This correspondence commenced in the year 1576, and ended in 1581.

[b] All the *Acts* and *Papers*, relating to this correspondence, were published in one volume at *Wittemberg*, in the year 1584, see CHRIST. MATTH. PFAFFII *Liber de Actis et scriptis publicis Ecclesiæ Wittembergicæ*, p. 50.—See also JO. ALB. FABRICII *Biblioth. Græcæ* vol. x. p. 517.—EMMAN. à SCHELSTRATE *Acta Ecclesiæ Orientalis*

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XVI.The miserable
state of
the Greeks.

VIII. Nothing, indeed, more deplorable can be conceived than the state of the greatest part of the Greeks, since their subjection to the oppressive yoke of the Turkish emperors. Since that fatal period almost all learning and science, human and divine, have been extinguished among them. They have neither schools, colleges, nor any of those literary establishments that enoble human nature by sowing in the mind the immortal seeds of knowledge and virtue. Those few that surpass the vulgar herd in intellectual acquirements have derived this advantage from the schools of learning in *Sicily* or *Italy*, where the studious Greeks usually repair in quest of knowledge, or from a perusal of the writings of the ancient doctors, and more especially of the theology of St. THOMAS, which they have translated into their native language [c].

Such, at least, is the notion of the learning of the modern Greeks, that is entertained by all the European Christians, as well Roman-catholics as protestants, and it is built upon the clearest evidence, and supported by testimonies of every kind. Many of the Greeks deny with obstinacy this inglorious charge, and not only defend their country-men against the imputation of such gross ignorance, but even go so far as to maintain that all the liberal arts and sciences are in as flourishing a state in modern *Greece*, as they were in any period of the history of that nation. Among the writers that exalt the learning of the modern Greeks in such an extraordinary manner, the first place is due to an eminent historian [d], who has taken much pains to demonstrate the error of those who are of a different opinion. For this purpose he has not only composed a list of the learned men, that adorned that country in the last century,

entalis contra Lutheri hæresin, published at *Rome* in the year 1739.
—LAMI *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. viii. p. 176.

[(c) The translator has inserted the note [k] of the original into the following paragraph of the English text, which begins thus: *Such, at least, &c.*]

[d] See DEM. CANTIMIR *Histoire de l'Empire Ottomann*, tom. ii. p. 38.

but

but also makes mention of an academy founded at *Constantinople* by a certain Greek, whose name was MANOLAX, in which all the branches of philosophy, as well as the liberal arts and sciences, are taught with the utmost success and applause, after the manner of the ancient sages of *Greece*. But all this, though matter of fact, does by no means amount to a satisfactory proof of the point in question. It only proves, what was never doubted of by any thinking person, that the populous nation of the Greeks, in which there is such a considerable number of ancient, noble, and opulent families, is not entirely destitute of men of learning and genius. But it does not at all demonstrate, that this nation, considered in general, is at present enriched with science either sacred or profane, or makes any shining figure in the republic of letters. In a nation, which, generally speaking, is sunk in the most barbarous ignorance, some men of learning and genius may rise, and shine like meteors in a gloomy firmament. With respect to the academy founded at *Constantinople*, it may be observed, that a literary establishment, so necessary and yet so recent, confirms the judgment that has been almost universally formed concerning the erudition of the Greeks.

This ignorance, that reigns among the Greeks, has the most pernicious influence upon their morals. Licentiousness and impiety not only abound among the people, but also dishonour their leaders; and the calamities, that arise from this corruption of manners, are deplorably augmented by their endless contentions and divisions. Their religion is a motley collection of ceremonies, the greatest part of which are either ridiculously trifling, or shockingly absurd. Yet they are much more zealous in retaining and observing these senseless rites, than in maintaining the doctrine or obeying the precepts of the religion they profess. Their misery would be extreme, were it not for the support they derive from the Greeks, who perform the functions of physicians and interpreters at the emperor's court; and who, by their opulence and credit, frequently interpose to reconcile the differences

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XVI.The Greek
church in-
dependent
on foreign
jurisdiction.

or to ward off the dangers that so often portend the destruction of their church.

IX. The *Russians, Georgians, and Mingrelians*, adopt the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church; though they are entirely free from the jurisdiction and authority of the patriarch of *Constantinople*. It is true, indeed, that this prelate had formerly enjoyed the privilege of a spiritual supremacy over the Russians, to whom he sent a bishop whenever a vacancy happened. But, towards the conclusion of this century, this privilege ceased by the following incident. JEREMIAH, patriarch of *Constantinople*, undertook a journey into *Moscow* to levy pecuniary succours, against his rival METROPHANES, and to drive him, by the force of money, from the patriarchal throne. On this occasion, the Moscovite monks, in compliance, no doubt, with the secret orders of the Grand Duke THEODORE, the son of JOHN BASILIDES, employed all the influence both of threatnings and supplications to engage JEREMIAH to place at the head of the Moscovite nation, an independent patriarch. The patriarch of *Constantinople*, unable to resist such powerful solicitations, was forced to yield, and accordingly, in a council assembled at *Moscow* in the year 1589, nominated and proclaimed JOB, archbishop of *Rostow*, the first patriarch of the Moscovites. This extraordinary step was, however, taken on condition, that every new patriarch of the Russians should demand the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and pay, at certain periods, fixed for that purpose, five hundred gold ducats. The transactions of this Moscovite council were afterwards ratified in one assembled by JEREMIAH at *Constantinople* in the year 1593, to which ratification the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent [e]. But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of *Moscow* were still farther extended about the middle of the following age,

[e] See ANTON. POSSEVINI *Moscovia*. — MICH. LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1292. — See also a relation of this transaction, which is published in the *Catalogus Codic. MSS. Biblioth. Taurinens.* p. 433—469.

when

when the four eastern patriarchs, under the pontificate of DIONYSIUS II, patriarch of *Constantinople*, exempted him, at the renewed sollicitation of the Grand Duke of *Moscovy*, from the double obligation of paying tribute, and of depending, for the confirmation of his election and installation, on a foreign jurisdiction [f].

X. The *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, or, as they were anciently called, the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, have declined so remarkably since the Mahometan dominion has been established in these countries, that they can scarcely be ranked in the number of Christians. Such, in a more especial manner, is the depraved state of the latter, who wander about in the woods and mountains, and lead a savage and undisciplined life; for among the *Georgians*, or *Iberians*, there are yet some remains of religion, morals, and humanity. These nations have a pontiff at their head whom they call, the *Catholic*; they have also their bishops and priests; but these spiritual rulers are a dishonour to Christianity, by their ignorance, avarice, and profligacy; they surpass almost the populace in the corruption of their manners, and, grossly ignorant themselves of the truths and principles of religion, they never entertain the least thought of instructing the people. If therefore it be affirmed, that the *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, at this day, are neither attached to the opinions of the *Monophysites*, nor to those of the *Nestorians*, but embrace the doctrine of the Greek church; this must be affirmed rather in consequence of probable conjecture, than of certain knowledge; since it is impossible almost to know, with any degree of precision, what are the sentiments of a people, who seem to lie in the thickest darkness. Any remains of religion, that are observable among them, are entirely comprehended in certain sacred festivals and external ceremonies, of which the former are celebrated, and the latter are performed, without the least appearance of decency; so that the priests administer the sacraments of baptism

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[f] LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christian.* tom. i. p. 155.—NIC. BERGIUS, *De Ecclesia Moscovitica*, par. I. sect. I. c. xviii. p. 164.

and

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Of the eastern churches, that separate from the communion of the Greeks and Latins.

and of the Lord's supper with as little respect and devotion, as if they were partaking of an ordinary repast [g].

XI. The eastern Christians, who renounce the communion of the Greek church, and differ from it both in doctrine and worship, may be comprehended under two distinct classes. To the former belong the *Monophysites* or *Jacobites*, so called from JACOB ALBARDAI [b], who declare it as their opinion, that in the Saviour of the world there is only *one nature*; while the latter comprehends the followers of NESTORIUS, frequently called *Chaldeans*, from the country where they principally reside, and who suppose that there are two distinct *persons* or *natures* in the son of God. The *Monophysites* are subdivided into two sects or parties, the one African, the other Asiatic. At the head of the *Asiatics* is the patriarch of *Antioch*, who resides, for the most part, in the monastery of St. ANANIAS, which is situated near the city of *Merdin*, and sometimes at *Merdin*, his episcopal seat, as also at *Amida*, *Aleppo*, and other *Syrian* cities [i].

The

[g] CLEMENT. GALLANUS, *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenicæ cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 156.—CHARDIN, *Voyage en Perse*, &c. tom. i. p. 67, where the reader will find JOS. MAR. ZAMPI's *Relation de la Colchide et Mingrelie*.—LAMBERTI *Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie*, in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 160.—LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1333. 1339.—See also RICH. SIMON, *Histoire Critique des dogmes et ceremonies des chrétiens orientaux*, ch. v. & vi. p. 71. in which the learned author endeavours to remove, at least, a part of the reproach under which the *Georgians* and *Mingrelians* labour on account of their supposed ignorance and corruption. The *catholics* or pontiffs of Georgia and Mingrelia are, at this day, independent on any foreign jurisdiction; they are, however, obliged to pay a certain tribute to the patriarch of *Constantinople*.

[(b)] This JACOB ALBARDAI restored, in the sixth century, the sect of the *Monophysites*, which was almost expiring, to its former vigour, and modelled it anew; hence they were called *Jacobites*. This denomination is commonly used in an extensive sense, as comprehending all the *Monophysites*, excepting those of *Armenia*; it however more strictly and properly belongs only to those Asiatic *Monophysites*, of which JACOB ALBARDAI was the restorer and the chief. See SIMON, *Histoire de Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. ix. p. 118. a work, nevertheless, that often wants correction.]

[i] ASSEMANI *Dissert. de Monophys.* tom. ii. — *Biblioth. Orient. Clem.*

The government of this prelate is too extensive, and the churches, over which he presides, too numerous to admit of his performing himself, all the duties of his high office; and therefore a part of the administration of the pontificate is given to a kind of colleague, who is called *maphrian* or *primate* of the East, and whose doctrine and discipline are said to be adopted by the eastern churches beyond the *Tigris*. This primate used formerly to reside at *Tauris*, a city on the frontiers of *Armenia*; but his present habitation is the monastery of St. MATTHEW, which is in the neighbourhood of *Mousul*, a city of *Mesopotamia*. It is farther observable, that all the patriarchs of the *Jacobites* assume the denomination of IGNA-TIUS [k].

XII. The African *Monophysites* are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who generally resides at *Grand Cairo*, and they are subdivided into *Copts* and *Abyssinians*. The denomination of *Copts* comprehends all those Christians, who dwell in *Egypt*, *Nubia*, and the countries adjacent, and whose condition is truly deplorable. Oppressed by the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Turks, they draw out their wretched days in misery and want, and are unable to support either their patriarch or their bishops. These are not, however, left entirely destitute; since they are, in a manner, maintained by the liberality of those *Copts*, who, on account of their capacity in household affairs, and their dexterity in the exercise of several manual arts, highly useful, tho' entirely unknown to the Turks, have gained admittance into the principal Mahometan families [l]. As to the *Abyssinians*,

The Copts
and Abyf-
finians.

Clem. Vatican. § viii.—FAUST. NAIRON, *Euoplia fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum Monument.* par. I. p. 40.—LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christ.* tom. ii. p. 1343.

[k] ASSEMANI *Dissertat. de Monophysitis*, § viii.

[l] RENAUDOT published at *Paris* in 4to in the year 1713, a very learned work, relative to the History of the Eastern Patriarchs, under the title of, *Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum, Jacobitarum, &c.* He also published the Office used in the ordination of the Jacobite Patriarch, with remarks, in the first volume of his *Liturgiæ Orient.* p. 467.—The internal state of the *Alexandrian* or *Coptic* church,

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Abyssinians, they surpass considerably the *Copts* both in their numbers, their power, and their opulence; nor will this appear surprising, when it is considered, that they live under the denomination of a Christian emperor; they, nevertheless, consider the Alexandrian pontiff as their spiritual parent and chief, and consequently, instead of choosing their own bishop, receive from that prelate a *primate*, whom they call *abbuna*, and whom they acknowledge as their ghostly ruler [m].

The religious doctrines and rites of the Monophysites.

XIII. These Monophysites differ from other Christian societies, whether of the Greek or Latin communion, in several points both of doctrine and worship; though the principal reason of their separation lies in the opinion they entertain concerning the *nature* and *person* of JESUS CHRIST. Following the doctrine of DIOSCORUS, BARSUMA, XENAIAS, FULLO, and others, whom they consider as the heads or chief ornaments of their sect, they maintain that in CHRIST the *divine* and *human nature* were reduced into *one*, and consequently reject both the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon* and the famous letter of LEO the Great. That, however, they may not seem to have the least inclination towards the doctrine of EUTYCHES, which they profess to reject with the most ardent zeal, they propose their own system with the utmost caution and circumspection, and hold the following obscure principles: That the *two natures* are *united* in CHRIST without either *confusion* or *mixture*; so that though the nature of our Saviour be really *one*,

church, both with respect to doctrine and worship, is described by WANSLEB, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie que nous appellons celle de Jacobites-Coptes*, published at Paris in 1667. Add to this another work of the same author, entitled, *Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte*, p. 293. in which there is a particular account of the *Coptic* monasteries and religious orders. See also *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. ii. p. 9.—MALLET, *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 64.

[m] JOB LUDOLF *Comment. in Histor. Aethiop.* p. 451. 461. 466.—LÖBO *Voyage d'Abissinie*, tom. ii. p. 36.—*Nouveaux Memoires des Missions dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 277.—MICH. LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christian.* tom. ii. p. 641.

yet

yet it is at the same time, *two-fold* and *compound* [n]. CENT.
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By this declaration it appears, that those learned men, who look upon the difference between the *Monophysites* and the Greek and Latin churches, rather as a dispute about *words* than *things*, are not so far mistaken as some have imagined [o]. Be that as it may, both the Asiatic and African Monophysites of the present times are, generally speaking, so deeply sunk in ignorance, that their attachment to the doctrine, by which they are distinguished from other Christian societies, is rather founded on their own obstinacy and on the authority of their ancestors, than on any other circumstance; nor do they even pretend to appeal, in its behalf, to reason and argument [p].

XIV. The Armenians, though they agree with the other *Monophysites* in the main doctrine of that sect relating to the *unity* of the divine and human nature in CHRIST, differ from them, nevertheless, in many points of faith, discipline, and worship; and hence it comes to pass, that they hold no communion with that branch of the Monophysites, who are *Jacobites* in the more limited

The Armenians.

[n] ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 25, 26. 29. 34. 117. 133. 135. 277. 297, &c.—See, in the same work, ABULPHARAGE'S *Subtile Vindication of the Doctrine of his Sect*, vol. ii. p. 288. There is a complete and circumstantial account of the religion of the Abyssinians, in the *Theologia Aethiopica* of GREGORY the Abyssinian, published by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 716. where there is also a list of all the writers, who have given accounts of the Abyssinians.

[o] See LA CROZE, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23.—ASSEMANI *loc. citat.* tom. ii. p. 291. 297.—RICH. SIMON *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*. p. 119.—JO. JOACH. SCHRÖDERI *Tthesaurus Linguae Armenicae*, p. 276. [The truth of the matter is, that the terms used by the Monophysites are something more than equivocal; they are contradictory. It may also be farther observed, that those, who pretend to hold a middle path between the doctrines of Nestorius and Eutyches, were greatly embarrassed, as it was almost impossible to oppose the one, without adopting, or at least appearing to adopt the other.]

[p] The liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published, with learned observations, by RENAUDOT, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgiae Orientales*.

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sense of that term [q]. The Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs [r]. The chief of these, whose diocese comprehends the *Greater Armenia*, beholds forty-two archbishops subjected to his jurisdiction, and resides in a monastery at a place called *Echmiazin*. The revenues of this spiritual ruler are such as would enable him to live in the most splendid and magnificent manner [s]; but there is no mark of pomp or opulence in his external appearance, nor in his domestic œconomy. His table is frugal, his habit plain; nor is he distinguished from the monks, with whom he lives, by any other circumstance than by his superior power and authority. He is, for the most part, elected to his patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at *Echmiazin*, and his election is confirmed by the solemn approbation of the Persian monarch. The second patriarch of the Ar-

[q] The first writer, who gave a circumstantial account of the religion, and history of the Armenians, was CLEMENT GALANI, an Italian of the order of the *Theatins*, whose *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenicæ cum Romana*, was published at Rome in three volumes in folio, in the year 1656. The other authots, who have treated of this branch of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, ch xxxviii. p. 640. to which must be added, LEQUIEN *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1362.—The *History of Christianity in Armenia*, which the learned LA CROZE has subjoined to his account of the progress of the Christian religion in *Abyssinia*, and which was published at the *Hague* in 1739, is by no means answerable to the importance and copiousness of the subject; which must be attributed to the age and infirmities of that author. For an account of the particular institutions and rites of the Armenians, see GEMELLI CARRERI *Voyage du tour du monde*, tom. ii. p. 146.

[(r) Sir PAUL RICAUT mentions four; but his authority, were it more respectable than it really is, cannot be compared with that of the excellent sources from whence Dr. MOSHEIM draws his materials.]

[s] R. SIMON has subjoined to his *Histoire des Chrétiens Orient.* p. 217. an account of all the Armenian churches, that are subject to the jurisdiction of this grand patriarch. But this account, though taken from USCANUS, an Armenian bishop, is, nevertheless, defective in many respects. For an account of the residence and manner of life of the patriarch of ECHMIAZIN, see PAUL LUCAS *Voyage au Levant*, tom. ii. p. 247. & GEMELLI CARRERI *Voyage du tour du monde*, tom. ii. p. 4—10.

menians

menians, who is called the Catholic, resides at *Cis*, a city of *Cilicia*, rules over the churches established in *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Syria*, and hath twelve archbishops under his jurisdiction. He also, at present, acknowledges his subordination to the patriarch of *Echmiazin*. The third and last in rank of the patriarchs above mentioned, who has no more than eight or nine bishops under his dominion, resides in the island of *Agbatamar*, which is in the midst of the Great Lake of *Varaspuracan*, and is looked upon by the other Armenians as the enemy of their church.

Besides these prelates, who are patriarchs in the true sense of that term, the Armenians have other spiritual leaders, who are honoured with the title of Patriarchs; but this, indeed, is no more than an empty title, unattended with the authority and prerogatives of the patriarchal dignity. Thus the archbishop of the Armenians, who lives at *Constantinople*, and whose authority is respected by the churches established in those provinces, that form the connexion between *Europe* and *Asia*, enjoys the title of Patriarch. The same denomination is given to the Armenian bishop who resides at *Jerusalem*; and to the prelate of the same nation, who has his episcopal seat at *Caminec* in *Poland*, and governs the Armenian churches that are established in *Russia*, *Poland*, and the adjacent countries. These bishops assume the title of Patriarchs, on account of some peculiar privileges conferred on them by the Great Patriarch of *Echmiazin*. For by an authority derived from this supreme head of the Armenian church, they are allowed to consecrate bishops, and to make, every third year, and distribute among their congregations, the holy *chrism* or ointment, which, according to a constant custom among the eastern Christians, is the privilege of the patriarchs alone [t].

XV. The

[t] See the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 1—218. where there is an ample and circumstantial account both of the civil and religious state of the Armenians. This account has been highly applauded by M. DE LA CROZE, for the fidelity, accuracy, and industry, with which it is drawn up, and

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XVI.The Nesto-
rians and
Chaldeans.

XV. The *Nestorians*, who are also known by the denomination of *Chaldeans*, have fixed their habitations chiefly in *Mesopotamia* and the adjacent countries. They have several doctrines, as well as some religious ceremonies and institutions, that are peculiar to themselves. But the main points, that distinguish them from all other Christian societies, are, their persuasion that *NESTORIUS* was unjustly condemned by the council of *Ephesus*, and their firm attachment to the doctrine of that prelate, who maintained that there were not only two *natures*, but also two distinct *persons* in the son of God. In the earlier ages of the church, this error was looked upon as of the most momentous and pernicious kind; but in our times it is esteemed of less consequence, by persons of the greatest weight and authority in theological matters, even among the Roman-catholic doctors. They consider this whole controversy as a dispute about words, and the opinion of *NESTORIUS*, as a nominal, rather than a real, heresy; that is, as an error arising rather from the words he employed, than from his intention in the use of them. It is true, indeed, that the Chaldeans attribute to *CHRIST* two *natures*, and even two *persons*; but they correct what may seem rash in this expression, by adding, that these *natures* and *persons* are so closely and intimately united, that they have only one *aspect*. Now the word *barsopa*, by which they express this aspect, is precisely of the same signification with the Greek word (*πρὸς ὡπλον*) which signifies a *person* [u]; and from hence it is evident, that they attached to the word *aspect* the same idea that we attach to the word *person*, and that they understood by the word *person*, precisely what we

no man was more conversant in subjects of this nature than that learned author.—See LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 345.

[u] It is in this manner that the sentiments of the Nestorians are explained in the inscriptions which adorn the tombs of their patriarchs in the city of *Mousul*.—See ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. II. p. 210.—R. SIMON *Histoire de la Creance des Chretiens Orientaux*, ch. vii. p. 94.—PETRUS STROZZA, *De dogmatibus Chaldeorum*, published in 8vo at Rome, in the year 1617.

understand

understand by the term *nature*. However that be, we must observe here, to the lasting honour of the Nestorians, that, of all the Christian societies established in the East, they have been the most careful and successful in avoiding a multitude of superstitious opinions and practices that have infected the Greek and Latin churches [x].

CENT.
XVI.

Their patriarchs.

XVI. In the earlier ages of Nestorianism the various branches of that numerous and powerful sect were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the same pontiff, or *catholic*, who resided, first at *Bagdat*, and afterwards at *Mousoul*. But in this century the Nestorians were divided into two sects. They had chosen in the year 1552, as has been already observed, two bishops at the same time, SIMEON BARMAMA and JOHN SULAKA, otherwise named SIUD. The latter, to strengthen his interest, and to triumph over his competitor, went directly to *Rome* and acknowledged the jurisdiction, that he might be supported by the credit of the Roman pontiff. In the year 1555, SIMEON DENHA, archbishop of *Gelu*, adopted the party of the fugitive patriarch, who had embraced the communion of the Latin church; and, being afterwards chosen patriarch himself, fixed his residence in the city of *Ormia*, in the mountainous parts of *Persia*, where his successors still continue, and are all distinguished by the name of SIMEON. So far down as the last century, these patriarchs persevered in their communion with the church of *Rome*, but seem, at present, to have withdrawn themselves from it [y]. The great Nestorian pontiffs, who form the opposite party, and look with an hostile eye on this little patriarch, have, since the year 1559, been distinguished by the general denomination of ELIAS, and reside constantly in the city of *Mousoul* [z]. Their spiritual

[x] See the learned dissertation of ASSEMANI *de Syris Nestorianis*, which occupies entirely the fourth volume of his *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* and which seems to have been much consulted, and partly copied by MICH. LEQUIEN, in the eleventh volume of his *Oriens Christianus*, p. 1078.

[y] See JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 538. & tom. ii. p. 456.

[z] A list of the Nestorian pontiffs is given by ASSEMANI, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. I. p. 611. which is corrected, however, VOL. III. A a

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spiritual dominion is very extensive, takes in a great part of *Asia*, and comprehends also within its circuit the Arabian Nestorians; as also the CHRISTIANS of *St. Thomas*, who dwell along the coast of *Malabar* [a].

The re-
mains of an-
cient sects.

XVII. Beside the Christian societies now mentioned, who still retained some faint shadow, at least, of that system of religion delivered by CHRIST and his Apostles, there were other sects dispersed through a great part of *Asia*, whose principles and doctrines were highly pernicious. These sects derived their origin from the Ebionites, Valentinians, Manicheans, Basilidians, and other separatists, who, in the early ages of Christianity, excited schisms and factions in the church. Equally abhorred by Turks and Christians, and thus suffering oppression from all quarters, they declined from day to day, and fell, at length, into such barbarous superstition and ignorance, as extinguished among them every spark of true religion. Thus were they reduced to the wretched and ignominious figure they at present make, having fallen from the privileges, and almost forfeited the very name of Christians. The sect, who pass in the East under the denomination of *Sabians*, who call themselves *Mendai Ijahi*, or the *disciples of JOHN*, and whom the Europeans entitle the *Christians of St. JOHN*, because they yet retain some knowledge of the gospel, is probably of Jewish origin, and seems to have been derived from the ancient *Hemerobaptists*, of whom the writers of ecclesiastical history make frequent mention [b]. This, at least, is cer-
tain,

however, in the same volume, par. II. p. CML.—See also LEQUIEN *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078.

[a] The reader will find an ample account of the *Christians of St. Thomas* in LA CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*.—See also ASSEMANI *loc. citat.* tom. iii. par. II. cap. ix. p. ccccxiii.

[(b) The sect of *Hemerobaptists* among the Jews were so called from their washing themselves every day, and their performing this custom with the greatest solemnity, as a religious rite necessary to salvation. The account of this sect given by EPIPHANIUS, in the Introduction to his book of Heresies, has been treated as a fiction, in consequence of the suspicions of inaccuracy and want of veracity under which that author too justly labours. Nay, the existence of the *Hemerobaptists* has been denied, but without reason; since they

tain, that that JOHN, whom they consider as the founder of their sect, bears no sort of similitude to JOHN *the Baptist*, but rather resembles the person of that name whom the ancient writers represent as the chief of the Jewish *Hemerobaptists* [c]. These ambiguous Christians, whatever their origin be, dwell in *Persia* and *Arabia*, and principally at *Bassora*; and their religion consists in bodily washings, performed frequently and with great solemnity [c], and attended with certain ceremonies which the priests mingle with this superstitious service d].

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they are mentioned by JUSTIN MARTYR, EUSEBIUS, and many other ancient writers, every way worthy of credit. That the *Christians of St. John* were descended from this sect, is rendered probable by many reasons, of which the principal and the most satisfactory may be seen in a very learned and ingenious work of Dr. MOSHEIM, entitled, *MOSHEIM De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii*, p. 44.]

[(c) The *Mendæans* at present perform these ablutions only once in a year. Id. ib. p. 45.]

[(c) See the last note.]

[d] See the work of a learned Carmelite named IGNATIUS A JESU, published at *Rome* in 8vo, in the year 1652, under the following title: *Narratio originis rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Johannis: cui adjungitur discursus per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur XXXIV errores ejusdem nationis*.—ENGELB. KAEMPFERI *Amoenitates Exoticæ Fascic. II. Relat. XI.* p. 35.—SALE's *Preface to his English Translation of the Koran*, p. 15.—ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iiii. par. II. p. 609.—THEVENOT's *Voyages*, tom. iv. p. 584.—HERBELOT *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 725.—The very learned BAYER had composed an historical account of these *Mendæans*, which contained a variety of curious and interesting facts, and of which he designed that I should be the editor, but a sudden death prevented his executing his intention. He was of opinion (as appears from the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 21.) that these *Mendæans*, or *Disciples of St. John*, were a branch of the ancient Manicheans, which opinion LA CROZÉ, himself, seems to have adopted, as may be seen in the work now cited, tom. iiii. p. 31. 52. But there is really nothing, either in the doctrines or manners of this sect, that resembles the opinions and practice of the Manicheans. Hence several learned men conjecture, that they derive their origin from the ancient idolators who worshipped a plurality of gods, and more especially from those who paid religious adoration to the stars of heaven, and who were called, by the Arabians, *Sabians* or *Sabiins* (*Sabiin*). This opinion has been maintained with much erudition by the famous FOURMONT, in a *Dissertation* inserted in the

CENT.
XVI.The Jafidi-
ans, or Jez-
dæans.

XVIII. The *Jafidians*, or *Jezdæans*, of whose religion and manners many reports of a very doubtful nature are given by voyage writers, are an unsettled wandering tribe, who frequent the *Gordian* mountains, and the desarts of *Curdistán*, a province of *Persia*; the character of whose inhabitants has something in it peculiarly fierce and intractable. The *Jezdæans* are divided into *black* and *white* members. The former are the priests and rulers of the sect, who go arrayed in sable garments; while the latter, who compose the multitude, are cloathed in white. Their system of religion is certainly very singular, and is not hitherto sufficiently known; though it be evidently composed of some christian doctrines, and a motley mixture of fictions drawn from a different source. They are distinguished from the other corrupt sects, that have dishonoured Christianity, by the peculiar impiety of their opinion concerning the evil genius. This malignant principle they call *Karubin* or *Cherubim*, i. e. one of the ministers of the supreme Being. And if they do not directly address religious worship to this evil minister, they treat him at least with the utmost respect, and not only abstain, themselves, from offering him any marks of hatred or contempt, but moreover will not suffer any contumelious treatment to be given him by others. Nay, they are said to carry this reverence and circumspection to such an excessive height, that no efforts of persecution, no torments, not even death itself, can engage them to conceive or express an abhorrence of this evil genius, and that they will make no scruple

eighteenth volume of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, p. 23. But it is absolutely groundless, and has not even a shadow of probability, if we except the name which the Mahometans usually give to this sect. The *Mendæans*, themselves acknowledge that they are of Jewish origin, and that they were transplanted out of *Palestine* into the country, they at present inhabit. They have sacred books of a very remote antiquity; among others, one which they attribute to ADAM, and another composed by JOHN, whom they revere as the founder of their sect. As these books have been some years ago added to the library of the king of France, it is to be hoped, that they may contribute to give us a more authentic account of this people than we have hitherto received.

to put to death such persons, as express, in their presence, an aversion to him [e].

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XIX. The *Duruzians*, or *Dursians*, a fierce and warlike people that inhabit the craggy rocks and inhospitable wilds of mount *Libanus*, give themselves out for descendants of the Franks, who, from the eleventh century, carried on the Holy war with the Mahometans in *Palestine*; though this pretended origin is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. What the doctrine and discipline of this nation are at present, is extremely difficult to know, as they are at the greatest pains imaginable to conceal their religious sentiments and principles. We find, however, both in their opinions and practice, the plainest proofs of their acquaintance with Christianity. Several learned men have imagined, that both they and the *Curdi* of *Persia* had formerly embraced the senti-

Duruzians,
or Dursians.

[e] See HYDE, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum in Append.* p. 549. — OTTER, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 121. tom. ii. p. 249. In the last century MICHAEL NAU, a learned Jesuit, undertook to instruct this profane sect, and to give them juster notions of religion (see D'ARVIEUX *Memoires ou Voyages*, tom. vi. p. 362. 377.) and after him another Jesuit, whose name was MONIER, embarked in the same dangerous enterprize (see *Memoires des Missions des Jesuites*, tom. iii. p. 291.) but how they were received, and what success attended their ministry, is hitherto unknown. RHENFERDIUS, as appear from the letters of the learned GISEBERT CUPER, published by BAYER (see p. 30.) considered the *Jesdæans* as the descendants of the ancient *Scythians*. But this opinion is no less improbable than that which makes them a branch of the Manicheans; which is sufficiently refuted by their sentiments concerning the *Evil Genius*. BEAUSOBRE, in his *Histoire de Manicheisme*, tom. ii. p. 613, conjectures that the denomination of this sect is derived from the name of JESUS; but it seems rather to be borrowed from the word *Jazid*, or *Jezdan*, which, in the Persian language, signifies the *Good God*, and is opposed to *Abrimns*, or *Arimanius*, the *Evil Principle* (see HERBELOT *Biblioth. Orientale*. p. 484 — CHAREFEDDIN ALY *Hist. de Timurbec*, tom. iii. p. 81.) so that the term *Jazidans* points out that sect as the worshippers of the good, or true God. Notwithstanding the plausibility of this account of the matter, it is not impossible that the city *Jezd*, of which OTTER speaks in his *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 283. may have given rise to the title of *Jasidians*, or *Jezdæans*.

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ments of the Manicheans, and perhaps still persevere in their pernicious errors [f].

The *Chamsi*, or *Solares*, who reside in a certain district of *Mesopotamia*, are supposed, by curious inquirers into these matters, to be a branch of the *Samsæans* mentioned by EPIPHANIUS [g].

There are many other Semi-Christian sects, of these kinds, in the east [h], whose principles, tenets, and institutions, are far from being unworthy of the curiosity of the learned. And those who would be at the pains to turn their researches this way, and more especially to have the religious books of these sects conveyed into *Europe*, would undoubtedly render eminent service to the cause of sacred literature, and obtain applause from all who have a taste for the study of Christian antiquities. For the accounts which have hitherto been given of these nations and sects are full of uncertainty and contradiction.

Of the
Greeks who
embraced
the Roman
communion.

XX. The missionaries of *Rome* have never ceased to display in these parts of the world their dexterity in making profelytes, and accordingly have founded, though with great difficulty and expence, among the greatest part of the sects now mentioned, congregations that adopt the doctrine, and acknowledge the jurisdiction, of the Roman pontiff. It is abundantly known, that, among the Greeks, who live under the empire of the Turk, and also among those, who are subject to the dominion of the Venetians, the emperor of the Romans and other Christian princes, there are several who have adopted the faith and discipline of the Latin church, and are governed by their own clergy and bishops, who receive

[f] See LUCAS, *Voyage en Grece et Asie Mineure*, tom. ii. p. 36. —HYDE, *Histo. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 491. 554. —Sir PAUL RICHAUT's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. i. p. 313.

[g] HYDE, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 555.

[h] See the work of the Jesuit DUSSE, entitled, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tom. i. p. 63. This author tells us, that in the mountains, which separate *Persia* from *India*, there lives a sect of Christians, who imprint the sign of the cross on their bodies with a red-hot iron.

their

their confirmation and authority from *Rome*. In this latter city there is a college expressly founded with a view to multiply these apostatizing societies, and to encrease and strengthen the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff among the Greeks. In these colleges a certain number of Grecian students, who have given early marks of genius and capacity, are instructed in the arts and sciences, and are more especially prepossessed with the deepest sentiments of veneration and zeal for the authority of the pope. Such an institution, accompanied with the efforts and labours of the missionaries, could not fail, one would think, to gain an immense number of proselytes to *Rome*, considering the unhappy state of the Grecian churches. But the case is quite otherwise; for the most respectable writers, even of the Roman-catholic persuasion, acknowledge fairly, that the proselytes they have drawn from the Greek churches make a wretched and despicable figure, in point of number, opulence, and dignity, when compared with those, to whom the religion, government, nay, the very name of *Rome*, are disgusting and odious. They observe farther that the sincerity of a great part of these proselytes is of the Grecian stamp; so that, when a favourable occasion is offered them of renouncing, with advantage, their pretended conversion, they seldom fail, not only to return to the bosom of their own church, but even to recompense the good offices they received from the Romans with the most injurious treatment. The same writers mention another circumstance, much less surprizing, indeed, than those now mentioned, but much more dishonourable to the church of *Rome*; and that circumstance is, that even those of the Greek students who are educated at *Rome* with such care, as might naturally attach them to its religion and government, are, nevertheless, so disgusted and shocked at the corruptions of its church, clergy, and people, that they forget, more notoriously than others, the obligations with which they have been loaded, and exert themselves with peculiar obstinacy and bitterness

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A junction
between the
Russians and
Roman
churches at-
tempted in
vain.

ness in opposing the credit and authority of the Latin church [i].

XXI. In their efforts to extend the papal empire over the Greek churches the designing pontiffs did not forget the church of *Russia*, the chief bulwark and ornament of the Grecian faith. On the contrary, frequent deliberations were held at *Rome* about the proper methods of uniting, or rather subjecting, this church to the papal hierarchy. In this century JOHN BASILIDES, Grand Duke of the Russians, seemed to discover a propensity towards this union, by sending, in the year 1580, a solemn embassy to GREGORY XIII, to exhort that pontiff to resume the negotiations relative to this important matter, that so they might be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion. Accordingly the year following, ANTHONY POSSEVIN, a learned and artful Jesuit, was charged with this commission by the Roman pontiff, and sent into *Moscow* to bring it into execution. But this dexterous Missionary, though he spared no pains to obtain the purposes of his ambitious court, found by experience that all his efforts were unequal to the task he had undertaken; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who arrived at *Rome* soon after, bring any thing to the ardent wishes of the pontiff, but empty promises, conceived in dubious and general terms, on which little dependance could be made [k]. And, indeed, the event abundantly shewed, that

[i] See, among other authors who have treated this point of history, URB. CERRI *Etat present d'Eglise Romaine*, p. 82. in which, speaking of the Greeks, he expresses himself in the following manner: *Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des Catholiques; lorsqu'ils ont appris nos sciences, et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos IMPERFECTIONS: i. e.* in plain English, *They (the Greeks) become the bitterest enemies of us Roman-catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have acquired the knowledge of our IMPERFECTIONS.* Other testimonies of a like nature shall be given hereafter.—MICH. LEQUIEN has given us an enumeration, although a defective one, of the Greek bishops that follow the rites of the Roman church, in his *Origens Christ.* tom. iii. p. 860.

[k] See the conferences between *Possévin* and the duke of *Moscow*, together with the other writings of this Jesuit, relative to the negotiation in question, that are subjoined to his work, called *Moscovia.*

that BASILIDES had no other view, in all these negotiations, than to flatter the pope, and obtain his assistance in order to bring to an advantageous conclusion the unsuccessful war, which he had carried on against *Poland*.

The ministry of POSSEVIN and his associates was, however, attended with more fruit among that part of the Russians, who reside in the Polish dominions, many of whom embraced the doctrine and rites of the Roman church in consequence of an association agreed on in the year 1596, in a meeting at *Bresty*, the capital of the Palatinate of *Cujavia*. Those that thus submitted to the communion of *Rome* were called the *United*, while the adverse party, who adhered to the doctrine and jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Constantinople* were distinguished by the title of the *Non-united* [1]. It is likewise farther worthy of observation here, that there has been established at *Kiovia*, since the fourteenth century, a congregation of Russians, subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and ruled by its own *Metropolitans*, who are entirely distinct from the Russian bishops that reside in that city [m].

XXII. The Roman missionaries made scarcely any spiritual conquests worthy of mention among either the Asiatic or African *Monophysites*. About the middle of the preceding century, a little, insignificant church that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, was erected among the Nestorians, whose patriarchs successively named JOSEPH [n], reside in the city of *Diarbek*. Some of the Armenian provinces embraced the doctrines and discipline of *Rome* so early as the fourteenth century, under the pontificate of JOHN XXII, who, in the year 1318, sent them a Dominican monk, to govern their church with the title and authority of an archbishop.

The votaries of *Rome* still less numerous among the *Monophysites*, Nestorians, and Armenians.

Moscovia.—See also *La Vie du P. Possevin, par JEAN DORIGNY*, livr. v. p. 351.

[1] ADR. REGENVOLSCHII *Histor. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465.

[m] See MICH. LEQUIEN *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1274. & tom. iii. p. 1126.—*Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. *Februar.* p. 693.

[n] See ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. I. p. 615. —LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1084.

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The episcopal seat of this spiritual ruler was first fixed at *Adorbigana*, in the district of *Soldania* [o]; but was afterwards transferred to *Naxivan*, where it still remains in the hands of the Dominicans, who, alone, are admitted to that ghostly dignity [p]. The Armenian churches in *Poland*, who have embraced the faith of *Rome*, have also their bishop, who resides at *Lemberg* [q]. The Georgians and Mingrelians, who were visited by some monks of the Theatin and Capuchin orders, disgusted the missionaries by their ferocity and ignorance, remained inattentive to their counsels, and unmoved by their admonitions; so that their ministry and labours were scarcely attended with any visible fruit [r].

The labours
of the Ro-
man mission-
aries among
all these
sects produce
little fruit.

XXIII. The pompous accounts which the papal missionaries have given of the vast success of their labours among all these Grecian sects, are equally destitute of candour and truth. It is evident from testimonies, of the best and most respectable authority, that in some of these countries, they do nothing more than administer clandestine baptism to sick infants who are committed to their care, as they appear in the fictitious characters of physicians [s]; and that, in other places, the whole success of their ministry is confined to the gathering together some wretched tribes of indigent converts, whose poverty is the only bond of their attachment to the church of *Rome*, and who, when the papal largesses are suspended or withdrawn, fall from their pretended allegiance to *Rome*, and return to the religion of their ancestors [t]. It happens, also, from time to time, that

[o] ODOR. RAYNALD. *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1318. § iv.

[p] LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 1362 & 1403.—
CLEMENS GALANUS, *Conciliatione Ecclesiæ Armenæ cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 527.

[q] *Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 54.

[r] URB. CERRI *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 162.

[s] URB. CERRI *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 164.—
GABR. DE CHINON *Relations nouvelles du Levant*, par. I. c. vi. p. 174. This Capuchin monk delivers his opinions on many subjects with frankness and candour.

[t] See CHARDIN's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 186. tom. ii. p.

that a person of distinction among the Greeks or Orientals embraces the doctrine of the Latin church, and promises obedience to its pontiff, nay, carries matters so far as to repair to *Rome* to testify his respectful submission to the apostolic see. But in these obsequious steps the noble converts are almost always moved by avarice or ambition; and, accordingly, when the face of their affairs changes, when they have obtained their purposes, and have nothing more to expect, then they, generally speaking, either suddenly abandon the church of *Rome* or express their attachment to it in such ambiguous terms, as are only calculated to deceive. Those who, like the Nestorian bishop of *Diarbek* [*u*], continue steadfast in the profession of the Roman faith, and even transmit it, with an appearance of zeal, to their posterity, are excited to this perseverance by no other motive than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff.

On the other hand, the bishops of *Rome* are extremely attentive and assiduous in employing all the methods in their power to maintain and extend their dominion among the Christians of the East. For this purpose, they treat, with the greatest lenity and indulgence, the proselytes they have made in these parts of the world, that their yoke may not appear intolerable. Nay, they carry this indulgence so far, as to shew evidently, that they are actuated, more by a love of power, than by an attachment to their own doctrines and institutions. For they do not only allow the Greek and other eastern proselytes the liberty of retaining, in their public worship, the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors (though in direct opposition with the religious service of the church of *Rome*) and of living in a manner repugnant to the

53. 75. 206. 271. 349. and principally *tom.* iii. p. 433. of the last edition published in *Holland* in 4to, for in the former editions all the scandalous transactions of the Roman missionaries among the Armenians, Colchians, Iberians, and Persians are entirely wanting.— See also CHINON *Relations du Levant*, par. II. p. 308. which regard the Armenians; and MAILLET *Description d'Egypte*, *tom.* iii. p. 65. which is relative to the *Copts*.

[*u*] Otherwise named *Amida* and *Caramit*.

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customs and practice of the Latin world ; but, what is much more surprizing, they suffer the peculiar doctrines, that distinguish the Greeks and Orientals from all other Christian societies, to remain in the public religious books of the profelytes already mentioned, and even to be reprinted at *Rome* in those that are sent abroad for their use [w]. The truth of the matter seems to be briefly this : That at *Rome*, a Greek, an Armenian, or a Copt, is looked upon as an obedient child, and a worthy member of the church, if he acknowledges the supreme and unlimited power of the Roman pontiff over all the Christian world.

The Maronites.

XXIV. The *Maronites*, who inhabit the mounts *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, date their subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff from the time that the Latins carried their hostile arms into *Palestine*, with a view to make themselves masters of the Holy land [x]. This subjection, however, was agreed to, with

[w] ASSEMANI complains in many passages of his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* that even the very books that were printed at *Rome* for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, were not corrected, nor purged from the errors peculiar to these sects ; and he looks upon this negligence, as the reason of the defection of many Roman converts, and of their return to the bosom of the eastern and Greek churches, to which they originally belonged.— See, on the other hand, the *Lettres Choïses du R. Simon.* tom. ii. lett. xxiii. p. 156. in which this author pretends to defend this conduct of the Romans, which some attribute to indolence and neglect, others to artifice and prudence.

[x] The *Maronite* doctors, and more especially those that reside at *Rome*, maintain, with the greatest efforts of zeal and argument, that the religion of *Rome* has always been preserved among them, in its purity, and exempt from any mixture of heresy or error. The proof of this assertion has been attempted, with great labour and industry, by FAUST. NAIRON, in his *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum*, published in 8vo. at *Rome*, in the year 1679. It was from this treatise, and some other Maronite writers, that DE LA ROQUE drew the materials of his discourse concerning the origin of the Maronites, together with the abridgment of their history, which is inserted in the second volume of his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, p. 28, &c. But neither this hypothesis, nor the authorities by which it is supported, have any weight with the most learned men of the Roman church ; who main-

with this exprefs condition, that neither the popes, nor their emiffaries fhould pretend to change or abolifh any thing that related to the ancient rites, moral precepts, or religious opinions of this people. So that, in reality, there is nothing to be found among the Maronites that favours of popery, if we except their attachment to the

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maintain, that the Maronites derived their origin from the *Monophysites*, and adhered to the doctrine of the *Monothelites* *, until the twelfth century, when they embraced the communion of *Rome*. See R. SIMON, *Hiftoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. xiii. p. 146.—EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Hiflor. Patriarch. Alexand.* in *Præfat.* iii. 2. in *Hiflor.* p. 49. The very learned ASSEMANI, who was himfelf a Maronite, fteers a middle way between thefe two oppofite accounts, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496. while the matter in debate is left undecided by MICH. LEQUIEN, in his *Oriens Chriftianus*, tom. iii. p. 1. where he gives an account of the Maronite church and its fpiritual rulers.—For my own part, I am perfuaded, that thofe who confider, that all the Maronites have not as yet embraced the faith, or acknowledged the jurifdiction, of *Rome*, will be little difpofed to receive with credulity the assertions of certain Maronite priefts, who are, after the manner of the Syrians, much addicted to boasting and exaggeration. Certain it is, that there are Maronites in *Syria* who ftill behold the church of *Rome* with the greateft averfion and abhorrence; nay, what is ftill more remarkable, great numbers of that nation refiding in *Italy*, even under the eye of the pontiff, oppofed his authority during the laft century, and threw the court of *Rome* into great perplexity. One body of thefe non-conforming Maronites retired into the vallies of *Piedmont*, where they joined the *Waldenfes*; another, above fix hundred in number, with a bifhop and feveral ecclefiaftics at their head, fled into *Corfica*, and implored the protection of the republic of *Genoa* againft the violence of the *Inquifitors*. See URB. CERRI *Etat prefent de l'Eglife Romaine*, p. 121, 122.—Now may it not be asked here, what could have excited the Maronites in *Italy* to this public and vigorous oppofition to the Roman pontiff, if it be true, that their opinions were in all refpects conformable to the doctrines and decrees of the church of *Rome*? This oppofition could not have been owing to any thing, but a difference in point of doctrine and belief; fince the church of *Rome* allowed, and ftill allows, the Maronites, under its jurifdiction, to retain and perform the religious rites and institutions that have been handed down to them from their anceftors, and to follow the precepts and rules of life to which they have always been accuftomed. Compare with the authors above cited, *Thefaur. Epiftol. Crozian.* tom. i. p. 11.

* Thofe, who maintained, that notwithstanding the two natures in CHRIST, viz. the human and the divine, there was, nevertheless, but one will, which was the divine.

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Roman pontiff [y], who is obliged to pay very dear for their friendship. For as the Maronites live in the utmost distress and poverty under the tyrannical yoke of the Mahometans, the bishop of *Rome* is under a necessity of furnishing them with such subsidies as may appease the voracity of their oppressors, procure a subsistence for their bishop and clergy, provide all things that are requisite for the support of their churches, and the uninterrupted exercise of public worship, and contribute, in general, to lessen their misery. Besides; the college, erected at *Rome* by GREGORY XIII, with a design to instruct the young men, frequently sent from *Syria*, in the various branches of useful science and sacred erudition, and to prepossess them with an early veneration and attachment for the Roman pontiff, is attended with a very considerable expence. The patriarch of the Maronites performs his spiritual functions at *Canobin*, a convent of the monks of St. ANTHONY, on mount *Libanus*, which is his constant residence. He claims the title of *Patriarch of Antioch*, and always assumes the name of PETER, as if he seemed desirous of being considered as the successor of that apostle [z].

[y] The reader will do well to consult principally, on this subject, the *observations* subjoined by RICH. SIMON, to his French translation of the Italian Jesuit DANDINI's *Voyage to mount Libanus*, published in 12mo. at *Paris*, in 1685.—See also EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 548.

[z] See PETITQUEUX, *Voyage à Canobin dans le Mont Liban*, in the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iv. p. 252. & tom. viii. p. 355.—LA ROQUE, *Voyage de Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 10.—LAUR, D'ARVIEUX, *Memoires ou Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 418.

P A R T

PART II.

The HISTORY of the MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

The HISTORY of the LUTHERAN CHURCH.

I. **T**HE rise and progress of the *Evangelical*, or CENT. XVI.
Lutheran church, have been already relat-
 ed, so far as they belonged to the History of

the Reformation. The former of these titles was as-
 sumed by that church in consequence of the original
 design of its founders, which was to restore to its native
 lustre the *Gospel* of CHRIST, that had so long been co-
 vered with the darkness of superstition, or, in other
 words, to place in its proper and true light that impor-
 tant doctrine, which represents salvation as attainable by
 the merits of CHRIST alone. Nor did the church,
 now under consideration, discover any reluctance against
 adopting the name of the great man, whom Providence
 employed as the honoured instrument of its foundation
 and establishment. A natural sentiment of gratitude to
 him, by whose ministry the clouds of superstition had
 been chiefly dispelled, who had destroyed the claims of
 pride and self-sufficiency, exposed the vanity of confi-
 dence in the intercession of saints and martyrs, and
 pointed out the son of God as the only proper object of
 trust to miserable mortals, excited his followers to as-
 sume his name, and to call their community, the
Lutheran church.

The rise of this church must be dated from that re-
 markable period, when the pontiff LEO X. drove MAR-
 TIN LUTHER, with his friends and followers, from the
 bosom of the Roman hierarchy by a solemn and violent
 sentence of excommunication. It began to acquire a
 regular form and a considerable degree of stability and
 consistence from the year 1530, when the system of
 doctrine

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doctrine and morality, it had adopted, was drawn up and presented to the diet of *Augsburg*. And it was raised to the dignity of a lawful, and compleat hierarchy, totally independent on the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in consequence of the treaty concluded at *Passau*, in the year 1552, between CHARLES V. and MAURICE elector of *Saxony*, relating to the religious affairs of the empire.

The sum
and sub-
stance of
its religious
doctrine.

II. The great and leading principle of the Lutheran church, is, that the Holy Scriptures are the only source from whence we are to draw our religious sentiments; whether they relate to faith or practice; and that these inspired writings are, in all matters that are essential to salvation, so plain, and so easy to be thoroughly understood, that their signification may be learned, without the aid of an expositor, by every person of common sense who has a competent knowledge of the language in which they are composed. There are, indeed, certain *formularies* adopted by this church, which contain the principal points of its doctrine, ranged, for the sake of method and perspicuity, in their natural order. But these books have no authority, but what they derive from the scriptures of truth, whose sense and meaning they are designed to convey; nor are the Lutheran doctors permitted to interpret or explain these books so as to draw from them any propositions that are inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God. The chief and the most respectable of these human productions is the *Confession of Augsburg*, with the annexed *Defence* of it against the objections of the Roman-catholic doctors [a]. In the next rank may be placed the

[(a) When the confession of *Augsburg* had been presented to the diet of that city, the Roman-catholic doctors were employed to refute the doctrines it contained; and this pretended refutation was also read to that august assembly. A reply was immediately drawn up by MELANCTHON, and presented to the emperor; who, under the pretext of a pacific spirit, refused to receive it. This reply was published afterwards under the title of *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ*; and is the defence of that confession, mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM as annexed to it. To speak plain, MELANCTHON'S love

the *Articles of Smalcald* [b], as they are commonly called, together with the shorter and larger *Catechisms* of LUTHER, designed for the instruction of youth, and the improvement of persons of riper years. To these standard-books most churches add the *Form of Concord*; which, though it be not universally received, has not, on that account, occasioned any animosity or disunion; as the few points, that prevent its being adopted by

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love of peace and concord seems to have carried him beyond what he owed to the truth, in composing this *Defence* of the confession of *Augsburg*. In the edition of that defence that some Lutherans (and CHYTHREUS among others) look upon as the most genuine and authentic, MELANCTHON makes several strange concessions to the church of *Rome*; whether through servile fear, excessive charity, or hesitation of mind, I will not pretend to determine. He speaks of the *presence* of CHRIST's body in the eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman-catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*; and adopts those remarkable words of THEOPHYLACT, that *the bread was not a figure only, but was TRULY changed into flesh*. He approves of that canon of the mass, in which the priest prays that *the bread may be changed into the body of Christ*. It is true that, in some subsequent editions of the *defence* or *apology* now under consideration, these obnoxious passages were left out, and the phraseology, that had given such just offence, was considerably mitigated. There is an ample account of this whole matter, together with a history of the dissensions of the Lutheran church, in the valuable and learned work of HOSPINIAN, entitled, *Historiæ Sacramentariæ Pars Posterior*, p. 199, & seq.—These expressions, in MELANCTHON'S *Apologia*, will appear still more surprizing, when we recollect that, in the course of the debates concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, he, at length, seemed to lean visibly towards the opinions of BUCER and CALVIN, and that, after his death, his followers were censured and persecuted in *Saxony* on this account, under the denomination of *Philippists*. This shews either, that the great man now under consideration changed his opinions, or, that he had formerly been seeking union and concord at the expence of truth.]

[(b) The *Articles*, here mentioned, were drawn up at *Smalcald* by LUTHER, on occasion of a meeting of the protestant electors, princes, and states at that place. They were principally designed to shew how far the *Lutherans* were disposed to go in order to avoid a final rupture, and in what sense they were willing to adopt the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist. And though the terms in which these *articles* are expressed be somewhat dubious, yet they are much less harsh and disgusting than those used in the *Confession*, the *Apology*, and the *Form of Concord*.]

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monies and
public wor-
ship of the
Lutheran
church.

some churches, are of an indifferent nature [c], and do not, in any degree, affect the grand and fundamental principles of true religion [d].

III. The form of public worship, and the rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted as a part of it, gave rise to disputes in several places, during the infancy of the Lutheran church. Some were inclined to retain a greater number of the ceremonies and customs, that had been so excessively multiplied in the church of *Rome*, than seemed either lawful or expedient to others. The former, after the example of the Helvetic reformers, had their views entirely turned towards that simplicity and gravity that characterised the Christian worship in the primitive times; while the latter were of opinion, that some indulgence was to be shewn to the weakness of the multitude, and some regard paid to

[(c) Dr. MOSHEIM, like an artful painter, shades those objects in the history of Lutheranism, which it is impossible to expose with advantage to a full view. Of this nature was the conduct of the Lutheran doctors in the deliberations relating to the famous *Form of Concord* here mentioned; a conduct that discovered such an imperious and uncharitable spirit, as would have been more consistent with the genius of the court of *Rome* than with the principles of a protestant church. The reader, who is desirous of an ample demonstration of the truth and justice of this censure, has only to consult the learned work of ROD. HOSPINIAN, entitled, *Concordia Discors, seu de Origine et Progressu Formulæ Concordiæ Burgenfis*. The history of this remarkable production is more amply related in the thirty-ninth and following sections of this first chapter, and in the notes, which the translator has taken the liberty to add there, in order to cast a proper light upon some things that are too interesting to be viewed superficially. In the mean time I shall only observe, that the points in the *Form of Concord*, that prevented its being universally received, are not of such an indifferent nature as Dr. MOSHEIM seems to imagine. To maintain the ubiquity, or omnipresence of CHRIST's body, together with its *real* and peculiar presence in the eucharist, and to exclude from their communion the protestants, who denied these palpable absurdities, was the plan of the Lutheran doctors in composing and recommending the *Form of Concord*; and this plan can neither be looked upon as a matter of pure indifference, nor as a mark of christian charity. But for a farther proof of this, see § xxxix, already referred to.]

[d] See, for an account of the Lutheran confessions of faith, CHRIST. KOCKER *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 114.

institutions

institutions that had acquired a certain degree of weight through long established custom. But as these contending parties were both persuaded that the ceremonial part of religion was, generally speaking, a matter of human institution, and that consequently a diversity of external rites might be admitted among different churches professing the same religion, without any prejudice to the bonds of charity and fraternal union, these disputes could not be of any long duration. In the mean time, all those ceremonies and observances of the church of *Rome*, whether of a public or private nature, that carried palpable marks of error and superstition, were, every where, rejected without hesitation; and wise precautions were used to regulate the forms of public worship in such a manner, that the genuine fruits of piety should not be choaked by a multitude of insignificant rites. Besides; every church was allowed the privilege of retaining so much of the ancient form of worship, as might be still observed without giving offence, and as seemed suited to the character of the people, the genius of the government, and the nature and circumstances of the place, where it was founded. Hence it has happened, that, even so far down as the present times, the Lutheran churches differ considerably, one from the other, with respect both to the number and nature of their religious ceremonies; a circumstance so far from tending to their dishonour, that it is, on the contrary, a very striking proof of their wisdom and moderation [e].

IV. The supreme civil rulers of every Lutheran state are cloathed also with the dignity, and perform the functions of supremacy in the church. The very essence of civil government seems manifestly to point out the necessity of investing the sovereign with this spiritual supremacy [f], and the tacit consent of the Lutheran churches

Concerning
the visible
head, and
the form of
government
of the Lu-
theran
church.

[e] See BALTH. MEISNERUS *Lib. de Legibus*, lib iv. art. iv. quæst. iv. p. 662—666. — JO. ADAM SCHERZERUS, *Breviar. Hülsemann Eruct.* p. 1313—1321.

[(f) Since nothing is more inconsistent with that subordination

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churches has confirmed the dictates of wise policy in this respect. It must not, however, be imagined, that the ancient rights and privileges of the people in ecclesiastical affairs have been totally abolished by this constitution of things; since it is certain, that the vestiges of the authority exercised by them in the primitive times, though more striking in one place than in another, are yet more or less visible every where. Besides, it must be carefully remembered, that all civil rulers of the Lutheran persuasion are effectually restrained, by the fundamental principles of the doctrine they profess, from any attempts to change or destroy the established rule of faith and manners, to make any alteration in the essential doctrines of their religion, or in any thing that is intimately connected with them, or to impose their particular opinions upon their subjects in a despotic and arbitrary manner.

The councils, or societies, appointed by the sovereign to watch over the interests of the church, and to govern and direct its affairs, are composed of persons versed in the knowledge both of civil and ecclesiastical law, and, according to a very ancient denomination, are called *Consistories*. The internal government of the Lutheran church seems equally removed from *episcopacy* on the one hand, and from *presbyterianism* on the other, if we except the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who retain the form of ecclesiastical government that preceded the reformation, purged, indeed, from the superstitions and abuses that rendered it so odious [g]. This constitution

and concord, which are among the great ends of civil government, than *imperium in imperio*, i. e. two *independent sovereignties* in the same *body politic*. Hence the genius of government, as well as the spirit of genuine Christianity, proclaims the equity of that constitution, that makes the supreme head of the state, the supreme visible ruler of the church.]

[(g) In these two kingdoms the church is ruled by *bishops* and *superintendants* under the inspection and authority of the sovereign. The archbishop of *Upsal* is primate of *Sweden*, and the only archbishop among the Lutherans. The luxury and licentiousness, that too commonly flow from the opulence of the Roman-catholic clergy, are

stitution of the Lutheran hierarchy will not seem surprising, when the sentiments of that people, with respect to ecclesiastical polity, are duly considered. On the one hand, they are persuaded, that there is no law, of divine authority, which points out a distinction between the ministers of the gospel with respect to rank, dignity, or prerogatives; and therefore they recede from *episcopacy*. But, on the other hand, they are of opinion, that a certain subordination, a diversity in point of rank and privileges among the clergy, are not only highly useful, but also necessary to the perfection of church communion, by connecting, in consequence of a mutual dependence, more closely together the members of the same body; and thus they avoid the uniformity of the *presbyterian* government. They are not, however, agreed with respect to the extent of this subordination, and the degrees of superiority and precedence that ought to distinguish their doctors; for in some places this is regulated with much more regard to the ancient rules of church government, than is discovered in others. As the divine law is silent on this head, different opinions may be entertained, and different forms of ecclesiastical polity adopted, without a breach of Christian charity and fraternal union.

V. Every country has its own *Liturgies*, which are the rules of proceeding in every thing that relates to external worship and the public exercise of religion. These rules, however, are not of an immutable nature, like those institutions which bear the stamp of a divine authority, but may be augmented, corrected, or illustrated by the order of the sovereign, when such changes appear evidently to be necessary or expedient. The liturgies, used in the different countries that have embraced the system of LUTHER, agree perfectly in all the essential branches of religion, in all matters that can be looked upon as of real moment and importance; but

The Lutheran liturgies, their public worship and their method of instructing.

are unknown in these two northern states; since the revenues of the prelate now mentioned do not amount to more than 400 pounds yearly, while those of the bishops are proportionably small.]

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they differ widely in many things of an indifferent nature, concerning which the Holy Scriptures are silent, and which compose that part of the public religion that derives its authority from the wisdom and appointment of men. Assemblies for the celebration of divine worship meet every where at stated times. Here the Holy Scriptures are read publicly, prayers and hymns are addressed to the Deity, the sacraments are administered, and the people are instructed in the knowledge of religion, and excited to the practice of virtue by the discourses of their ministers. The wisest methods are used for the religious education of youth, who are not only carefully instructed in the elements of Christianity in the public schools, but are also examined, by the pastors of the churches to which they belong, in a public manner, in order to the farther improvement of their knowledge, and the more vigorous exertion of their faculties in the study of divine truth. Hence, in almost every province, *Catechisms*, which contain the essential truths of religion and the main precepts of morality, are published and recommended by the authority of the sovereign, as rules to be followed by the masters of schools and by the ministers of the church, both in their private and public instructions. But as LUTHER left behind him an accurate and judicious production of this kind, in which the fundamental principles of religion and morality are explained and confirmed with the greatest perspicuity and force both of evidence and expression, this compendious *Catechism* of that eminent reformer is universally adopted as the first introduction to religious knowledge, and is one of the *standard-books* of the church which bears his name. And, indeed, all the provincial catechisms are no more than illustrations and enlargements on this excellent abridgement of faith and practice.

The holi-
days, and
ecclesiastical
discipline of
the Luthe-
ran church.

VI. Among the days that are held sacred in the Lutheran church (besides that which is celebrated, every week, in memory of CHRIST's resurrection from the dead) we may reckon all such as were signalized by those glorious and important events, that proclaim the celestial mission

mission of the Saviour, and the divine authority of his holy religion [b]. These sacred festivals, the grateful and well-grounded piety of ancient times had always held in the highest veneration. But the Lutheran church has gone yet farther; and, to avoid giving offence to weak brethren, has retained several which seem to have derived the respect that is paid to them, rather from the suggestions of superstition than from the dictates of true religion. There are some churches, who carry the desire of multiplying festivals so far, as to observe religiously the days that were formerly set apart for celebrating the memory of the *Twelve Apostles*.

It is well known that the power of *excommunication*, i. e. of banishing from its bosom obstinate and scandalous transgressors, was a privilege enjoyed and exercised by the church from the remotest antiquity; and it is no less certain, that this privilege was perverted often to the most iniquitous and odious purposes. The founders, therefore, of the Lutheran church undertook to remove the abuses and corruptions under which this branch of ecclesiastical discipline laboured, and to restore it to its primitive purity and vigour. At first their attempt seemed to be crowned with success; since it is plain, that, during the sixteenth century, no opposition of any moment was made to the wise and moderate exercise of this spiritual authority. But in process of time this privilege fell imperceptibly into contempt; the terror of excommunication lost its force, and ecclesiastical discipline was reduced to such a shadow, that, in most places, there are scarcely any remains, any traces of it, to be seen at this day. This change may be attributed partly to the corrupt propensities of mankind, who are naturally desirous of destroying the influence of every institution that is designed to curb their licentious passions. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline was not owing to

[(b) Such (for example) are the *nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension* of the son of God; the descent of the holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, &c.]

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this cause alone; other circumstances concurred to diminish the respect and submission that had been paid to the spiritual tribunal. On the one hand, the clergy abused this important privilege in various ways; some misapplying the severity of excommunication through ignorance or imprudence, while others, still more impiously, perverted an institution in itself extremely useful, to satisfy their private resentments, and to avenge themselves of those who had dared to offend them. On the other hand, the counsels of certain persons in power, who considered the privilege of excommunicating in the hands of the clergy, as derogatory from the majesty of the sovereign, and detrimental to the interests of civil society, had no small influence in bringing this branch of ghostly jurisdiction into disrepute. It is however certain, that, whatever causes may have contributed to produce this effect, the effect itself was much to be lamented; as it removed one of the most powerful restraints upon iniquity. Nor will it appear surprizing, when this is duly considered, that the manners of the Lutherans are so remarkably depraved, and that in a church that is deprived almost of all authority and discipline, multitudes affront the public by their audacious irregularities, and transgress, with a frontless impudence, through the prospect of impunity.

Of the prosperous and calamitous events that have happened to the Lutheran church.

VII. The prosperous and unfavourable events that belong to the history of the Lutheran church, since the happy establishment of its liberty and independence, are neither numerous nor remarkable, and may consequently be mentioned in a few words. The rise and progress of this church, before its final and permanent establishment, have been already related; but that very religious peace, which was the instrument of its stability and independence, set bounds, at the same time, to its progress in the empire, and prevented it effectually from extending its limits [i]. Towards the conclusion of this century, GEBHARD, archbishop of *Cologne*, discovered a propensity to enter into its communion, and, having con-

[(i) The reason of this will be seen in the following note.]

tracted the bonds of matrimony, formed the design of introducing the reformation into his dominions. But this arduous attempt, which was in direct contradiction with the famous *Ecclesiastical Reservation* [k] stipulated in the articles of the peace of religion concluded at *Augsburg*, proved abortive, and the prelate was obliged to resign his dignity and to abandon his country [l]. On the other hand, it is certain, that the adversaries of the Lutheran church were not permitted to disturb its tranquility, or to hurt, in any essential point, its liberty, prosperity, and independence. Their intentions, indeed, were malignant enough; and it appeared evident, from many striking circumstances, that they were secretly projecting a new attack upon the protestants, with a view to annul the treaty of *Passau*, which had been confirmed at *Augsburg*, and to have them declared public enemies to the empire. Such was undoubtedly the unjust and seditious design of FRANCIS BURCKHARD, in composing the famous book *Deq Autonomia*, which was published in the year 1586; and also of PISTORIUS, in drawing up the *Reasons*, which the marquis of BADE alledged in vindication of his returning back from Lutheranism into the bosom of popery [m]. These writers, and others of the same stamp, treat the *Religious Peace*, negociated at *Passau*, as ratified at *Augsburg*, as unjust, because

[(k) In the diet of *Augsburg*, which was assembled in the year 1555, in order to execute the treaty of *Passau*, the several states, that had already embraced the Lutheran religion, were confirmed in the full enjoyment of their religious liberty. To prevent, however, as far as was possible, the farther progress of the reformation, CHARLES V stipulated for the catholics the famous *Ecclesiastical Reservation*; by which it was decreed, that if any archbishop, prelate, bishop, or other ecclesiastic should, in time to come, renounce the faith of *Rome*, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, and his place be filled by the chapter or college, possessed of the power of election.]

[l] See JO. DAV. KÖLERI *Dissertatio de Gebhardo Truchsessio*. — JO. PET. à LUDIWIG *Reliquiæ M Storum omnis ævi*, tom. v. p. 383. — See also a German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1748, p. 484.

[m] See CHR. AUG. SALIG, *Histor. Augst. Confession*. tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 767.

obtained

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obtained by force of arms, and as null, because concluded without the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontiff. They pretend also to prove, that by the changes and interpolations, which they affirm to have been made by MELANCTHON, in the confession of *Augsburg*, after it had been presented to the diet, the protestants forfeited all the privileges and advantages that they derived from the treaty now mentioned. This latter accusation gave rise to long and warm debates during this and the following century. Many learned and ingenious productions were published on that occasion, in which the Lutheran divines proved, with the utmost perspicuity and force of argument, that the Confession of *Augsburg* was preserved in their church in its first state, uncorrupted by any mixture, and that none of their branches had ever departed in any instance from the doctrines it contains [n]. They, that felt most sensibly the bitter and implacable hatred of the papists against the doctrine and worship of the Lutheran church (which they disdainfully called the *new religion*) were the members of that church who lived in the territories of Roman catholic princes. This is more especially true of the protestant subjects of the house of *Austria* [o], who have experienced, in the most affecting manner, the dire effects of bigotry and superstition seated on a throne, and who lost the greatest part of their liberty before the conclusion of this century.

[n] See SALIG. *Hist. August. Confessionis*, tom. i.—It cannot indeed be denied, that MELANCTHON corrected and altered some passages of the Confession of *Augsburg*. Nay more; it is certain, that, in the year 1555, he made use of the extraordinary credit and influence he then had, to introduce among the Saxon churches an edition of that confession, which was not only corrected in several places, but was, moreover, upon the whole very different from the original one. But his conduct in this step, which was extremely audacious, or at least highly imprudent, never received the approbation of the Lutheran church, nor was the *Augsburg* Confession, in this new shape, ever admitted as one of the standard-books of its faith and doctrine.

[o] See the *Austria Evangelica* of the learned RAUPACHIUS, tom. i. p. 152. tom. ii. p. 287. This work is composed in the German language.

VIII. While

VIII. While the votaries of *Rome* were thus meditating the ruin of the Lutheran church, and exerting, for this purpose, all the powers of secret artifice and open violence, the followers of LUTHER were assiduously bent on defeating their efforts, and left no means unemployed, that seemed proper to maintain their own doctrine and to strengthen their cause. The calamities they had suffered were fresh in their remembrance; and hence they were admonished to use all possible precautions to prevent their falling again into the like unhappy circumstances. Add to this, the zeal of princes and men in power for the advancement of true religion, which it must be acknowledged was much greater in this century, than it is in the times in which we live. Hence the original confederacy, that had been formed among the German princes for the maintenance of Lutheranism, and of which the elector of *Saxony* was the chief, gained new strength from day to day, and foreign sovereigns, particularly those of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, were invited to enter into this grand alliance. And as it was universally agreed, that the stability and lustre of the rising church depended much on the learning of its ministers, and the progress of the sciences among those, in general, who professed its doctrines, so the greatest part of the confederate princes promoted, with the greatest zeal, the culture of letters, and banished, wherever their salutary influence could extend, that baneful ignorance, that is the mother of superstition. The academies founded by the Lutherans at *Jena*, *Helmstadt*, and *Altorf*, and by the Calvinists at *Franeker*, *Leyden*, and other places, the ancient universities reformed and accommodated to the constitution and exigencies of a purer church than that under whose influence they had been at first established; the great number of schools in every city; the ample rewards, together with the distinguished honours and privileges, that were bestowed on men of learning and genius; all these circumstances bear honourable testimony to the generous zeal of the German princes for the advancement of useful knowledge. These noble establishments were undoubtedly expensive, and required large

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of Belles
Lettres and
languages
promoted.

large funds for their support. These were principally drawn from the revenues and possessions, which the piety or superstition of ancient times had consecrated to the multiplication of convents, the erection or embellishment of churches, and other religious uses.

IX. These generous and zealous efforts in the cause of learning were attended with remarkable success. Almost all the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with emulation, and brought to greater degrees of perfection. All those, whose views were turned to the service of the church, were obliged to apply themselves, with diligence and assiduity, to the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin literature, in order to qualify them for performing, with dignity and success, the duties of the sacred function; and it is well known, that in these branches of erudition several Lutheran doctors excelled in such a manner, as to acquire a deathless name in the republic of letters. MELANTHON, CARIO, CHYTRÆUS, REINECCIUS, and others were eminent for their knowledge of history. More particularly FLACIUS, one of the authors of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses* (that immortal work, which restored to the light of evidence and truth the facts relating to the rise and progress of the Christian church, which had been covered with thick darkness, and corrupted by innumerable fables) may be deservedly considered as the parent of ecclesiastical history. Nor should we omit mentioning the learned MARTIN CHEMNITZ, to whose *Examination of the Decrees of the Council of Trent*, the history of religion is more indebted, than many, at this day, are apt to imagine. While so many branches of learning were cultivated with zeal, some it must be confessed, were too little pursued. Among these we may place the history of literature and philosophy; the important science of criticism; the study of antiquities; and other objects of erudition that stand in connexion with them. It is, however, to be observed, that notwithstanding the neglect, with which these branches of science seemed, too generally, to be treated, the foundations of their culture and improvement in future ages were really laid in this century. On the other hand,

hand, it is remarkable that Latin eloquence and poetry were carried to a very high degree of improvement, and exhibited orators and poets of the first order; from which circumstance alone it may be fairly concluded, that, if all the branches of literature and philosophy were not brought to that pitch of perfection of which they were susceptible, this was not owing to the want of industry or genius, but rather to the restraints laid upon genius by the infelicity of the times. All the votaries of science, whom a noble emulation excited to the pursuit of literary fame, were greatly animated by the example, the influence, and the instructions of MELANCTHON, who was deservedly considered as the great and leading doctor of the Lutheran church, and whose sentiments, relating both to sacred and profane erudition, were so universally respected, that scarcely any had the courage to oppose them. In the next rank to this eminent reformer may be mentioned JOACHIM CAMERARIUS of *Leipsic*, a shining ornament to the republic of letters in this century, who, by his zeal and application, contributed much to promote the cause of universal learning, and more especially the study of the elegant literature.

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X. The revolutions of philosophy among the Lutheran doctors were many and various. LUTHER and MELANCTHON seemed to set out with a resolution to banish every species of philosophy [p] from the church; and though it is impossible to justify entirely this part of their conduct, yet they are less to be blamed than those scholastic doctors, whose barbarous method of teaching philosophy, was inexpressibly disgusting, and who, by a miserable abuse of the subtle precepts of ARISTOTLE, had perverted the dictates of common sense and introduced the greatest obscurity and confusion both into philosophy and religion. But though these abuses led the two great men, now mentioned, too far, and were carrying them

The various
fate of philo-
sophy among
the Luthere-
rans.

[p] See CHRIST. AUG. HEUMANNI *Acta Philosophor.* art. ii. part X. p. 579.—JO. HERM. AB ELSWICH, *Dissertat. de varia Aristotelis fortuna in Scholis Protestantium*, which LAUNOY has prefixed to his book *De fortuna Aristotelis in Academia Parisiensi*, § viii. p. 15. § xiii. p. 36.

into

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into the opposite extreme; yet their own recollection suspended their precipitation, and they both perceived before it was too late, that true philosophy was necessary to restrain the licentious flights of mere genius and fancy, and to guard the sanctuary of religion against the inroads of superstition and enthusiasm [q]. It was in consequence of this persuasion that MELANCTHON composed in a plain and familiar style, abridgments of almost all the various branches of philosophy, which, during many years, were explained publicly to the studious youth in all the Lutheran academies and schools of learning. This celebrated reformer may not improperly be considered as an *eclectic*; for though in many points he followed ARISTOTLE, and retained some degree of propensity to the ancient philosophy of the schools, yet he drew many things from the facundity of his own genius, and had often recourse also to the doctrines of the Platonics and Stoics.

Philosophical sects—
Aristotelians and
Ramæans.

XI. This method of teaching philosophy, however recommendable on account of its simplicity and perspicuity, did not long enjoy, alone and unrivalled, the great credit and authority it had obtained. Certain acute and subtle doctors, having perceived that MELANCTHON, in composing his *Abridgments*, had discovered a peculiar and predominant attachment to the philosophy of ARISTOTLE, thought it was better to go to the source, than to drink at the stream; and therefore read and explained to their disciples the works of the Stagirite. On the other hand, it was observed, that the Jesuits and other votaries of *Rome* artfully made use of the ambiguous terms and the intricate sophistry of the ancient schoolmen, in order to puzzle the protestants, and to reduce

[(q) Some writers, either through malignity or want of better information, have pretended that LUTHER rejected the scholastic philosophy through a total ignorance of its nature and precepts. Such as venture upon such an assertion must be themselves grossly ignorant of the History of Literature in general, as well as of the industry and erudition of LUTHER in particular. For a demonstrative proof of this, see BRUCKER *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part I. p. 94, 95, 96, &c.]

them

them to silence, when they wanted such arguments, as were adapted to produce conviction. And, therefore, many protestant doctors thought it might be advantageous to their cause to have the studious youth instructed in the mysteries of the Aristotelian philosophy, as it was taught in the schools, that thus they might be qualified to defend themselves with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Hence there arose, towards the conclusion of this century, three philosophical sects, the *Melanchthonian*, the *Aristotelian*, and the *Scholastic*. The first declined gradually and soon disappeared; while the other two imperceptibly grew into one, and acquiring new vigour by this coalition, increased daily in reputation and influence, and were adopted in all the schools of learning. It is true, the followers of RAMUS made violent inroads, in several places, upon the territories of these combined sects, and sometimes with a certain appearance of success; but their hopes were transitory; for after various struggles they were obliged to yield, and were, at length, entirely banished from the schools [r].

XII. Such also was the fate of the disciples of PARACEL-
CELSUS, who, from the grand principle of their physical system, were called *Fire-philosophers* [s], and who aimed at nothing less than the total subversion of the peripatetic philosophy, and the introduction of their own reveries into the public schools. Towards the conclusion of this century the Paracelsists really made a figure in

The Paracelsists, or Fire-philosophers.

[r] JO. HERM. AB ELSWICH, *De fatis Aristot. in Scholis Protest.* § XXI. p. 54.—JO. GEORG. WALCHIUS, *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. § iii. v. in *Parergis Academicis*, p. 613. 617.—OTTO FRID. SCHUTZIUS, *De vitæ Chytræi*, lib. iv. § iv. p. 19.

[(s) This fanatical sect of philosophers had several denominations. They were called *Theosophists*, from their declaiming against *human reason* as a dangerous and deceitful guide, and their representing a *divine and supernatural illumination* as the only means of arriving at truth. They were called *Philosophi per ignem*, i. e. *Fire-philosophers*, from their maintaining that the intimate essences of natural things were only to be known by the trying efforts of *fire*, directed in a chemical process. They were, lastly, denominated *Paracelsists*, from the eminent physician and chemist of that name, who was the chief ornament and leader of that extraordinary sect.]

almost

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almost all the countries of *Europe*, as their sect was patronised and supported by the genius and eloquence of several great men, who exerted themselves with the utmost zeal and assiduity in its cause, and endeavoured, both by their writings and their transactions, to augment its credit. In *England* it found an eminent defender in M. ROBERT FLOOD, or FLUDD, a man of a very singular genius [t], who illustrated, or, at least, attempted to illustrate, the philosophy of PARACELSUS, in a great number of treatises, which, even in our times, are not entirely destitute of readers and admirers. The same philosophy got a certain footing in *France*, had several votaries in that kingdom, and was propagated with zeal at *Paris*, by a person whose name was RIVIER, in opposition to the sentiments and efforts of the university of that city [u]. Its cause was industriously promoted in *Denmark* by SEVERINUS [w]; in *Germany* by KUNRATH, an eminent physician at *Dresden*, who died in the year 1605 [x]; and in other countries by a considerable number of warm votaries, who were by no means unsuccessful in augmenting its reputation and multiplying its followers. As all these heralds of the new philosophy accompanied their instructions with a striking air of piety and devotion, and seemed, in propagating their strange system, to propose to themselves no other end than the advancement of the divine glory, and the restoration of peace and concord in a divided church; a motive, in appearance, so generous and noble could not fail to procure them friends and protectors. Accordingly

[(t) The person here mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM is not the famous Dominican monk of that name, who, from his ardent pursuit of mathematical knowledge, was called the *Seeker*, and who, from his passion for chemistry, was suspected of magic, but a famous physician born in the year 1574, at *Milgate in Kent*, and very remarkable for his attachment to the alchemists. See ANT. WOOD, *Athenar. Oxoniens.* vol. i. p. 610. & *Hist. et Antiquit. Acad. Oxoniens.* lib. ii. p. 390.—P. GASSENDI *Examen Philosoph. Fluddanæ*, tom. iii. Opp. p. 259.]

[u] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 327. & passim.

[w] JO. MOLLERI *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 623.

[x] JO. MOLLERI *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 440.

we find, that towards the conclusion of this century, several persons, eminent for their piety and distinguished by their zeal for the advancement of true religion, joined themselves to this sect. Of this number were the Lutheran doctors WEIGELIUS, ARNDIUS, and others, who were led into the snare by their ill-grounded notions of human reason, and who apprehended that controversy and argumentation might lead men to substitute anew the pompous and intricate jargon of the schools in the place of solid and sincere piety.

XIII. Among those that discovered a propensity towards the system of the Paracelsists, or Theosophists, was the celebrated DANIEL HOFMANN, Professor of Divinity in the university of *Helmstadt*, who, from the year 1598, had declared open war against philosophy, and who continued to oppose it with the greatest obstinacy and violence. Laying hold of some particular opinions of LUTHER, and certain passages in the writings of that great man, he extravagantly maintained that philosophy was the mortal enemy of religion; that *truth* was divisible into two branches, the one *philosophical* and the other *theological*; and that what was *true* in philosophy, was *false* in theology. These absurd and pernicious tenets naturally alarmed the judicious doctors of the university, and excited a warm controversy between HOFMANN and his colleagues OWEN GUNTHERUS, CORNELIUS MARTIN, JOHN CASELIUS, and DUNCAN LIDDEL; a controversy also of too much consequence to be confined within such narrow bounds, and which, accordingly, was carried on in other countries with the same fervor. The tumults it excited in *Germany* were appeased by the interposition of HENRY JULIUS, duke of *Brunswick*, who having made a careful inquiry into the nature of this debate, and consulted the professors of the academy of *Rostoc* on that subject, commanded HOFMANN to retract publicly the invectives he had thrown out against philosophy in his writings and in his academical lectures, and to acknowledge, in the most open

The controversy between Hofmann and his colleagues.

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XVI. with true and genuine theology [y].

The science
of theology
corrected
and improv-
ed.

XIV. The theological system, that now prevails in the Lutheran academies, is not of the same tenour or spirit with that which was adopted in the infancy of the reformation. As time and experience are necessary to bring all things to perfection, so the doctrine of the Lutheran church changed, imperceptibly and by degrees, its original form, and was improved and perfected in many respects. This will appear both evident and striking to those, who are acquainted with the history of the doctrines relating to the interpretation of scripture, free-will, predestination, and other points, and who compare the Lutheran systems of divinity of an earlier date with those that have been composed in modern times. The case could not well be otherwise. The glorious defenders of religious liberty, to whom we owe the various blessings of the reformation, as they were conducted only by the suggestions of their natural sagacity, whose advances in the pursuit of knowledge are gradual and progressive, could not, at once, behold the truth in all its lustre, and in all its extent, but, as usually happens to persons that have been long accustomed to the darkness of ignorance, their approaches towards knowledge were but slow, and their views of things but imperfect. The Lutherans were greatly assisted both in correcting and illustrating the articles of their faith, partly by the controversies they were obliged to carry on with the Roman-catholic doctors, and the disciples of ZUINGLE, and CALVIN, and partly by the intestine divisions that reigned among themselves, of which an account shall be given in this chapter. They have been absurdly reproached, on account of this variation in their doctrine, by Bos-

[y] There is an accurate account of this controversy, with an enumeration of the writings published on both sides of the question, in the *Life of Owen Gutherus*, which is inserted by MOLLERUS, in his *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 225.—See also JO. HERM. AB ELSWICH, *De fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestant.* § xxvii. p. 76.—And a German work, entitled, GOTTER ARNOLD. *Kirchen und Ketzer. Historie*, p. 947.

SUET and other papal writers, who did not consider that the founders of the Lutheran church never pretended to divine inspiration; and that it is by discovering first the errors of others, that the wise generally prepare themselves for the investigation of truth.

XV. The first and principal object, that drew the attention and employed the industry of the reformers, was the exposition and illustration of the sacred writings, which, according to the doctrine of the Lutheran church, contain all the treasures of celestial wisdom; all things that relate to faith and practice. Hence it happened, that the number of commentators and expositors among the Lutherans was equal to that of the eminent and learned doctors that adorned that communion. At the head of them all, LUTHER and MELANCTHON are undoubtedly to be placed; the former on account of the sagacity and learning discovered in his explications of several portions of scripture, and particularly of the Books of MOSES; and the latter in consequence of his commentaries on the Epistles of St. PAUL, and other learned labours of that kind, which are abundantly known. A second class of expositors, of the same communion, obtained also great applause in the learned world by their successful application to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in which we may rank MATTHIAS FLACIUS, whose *Glossary and Key to the sacred writings* [2], is extremely useful in unfolding the meaning of the inspired penmen; JOHN BUGENHAGIUS JUSTUS JONAS, ANDREW OSIANDER, and MARTIN CHEMNITZ, whose *Harmonies of the Evangelists* are not void of merit. To these we may add VICTOR STRIGELIUS and JOACHIM CAMERARIUS, of whom the latter, in his *Commentary on the New Testament*, expounds the scriptures in a grammatical and critical manner only; and, leaving aside all debated points of doctrine and religious controversy, unfolds the sense of each term and the spirit of each phrase by the rules of criticism and the genius of the ancient languages, in which he was a very uncommon proficient.

The state of
exegetic
theology.

[2] The Latin titles are *Glossa Scriptura Sacra*, and *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*.

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tive merits
of the sacred
interpreters.

XVI. All these expositors and commentators abandoned the method of the ancient interpreters, who, neglecting the plain and evident purport of the words of scripture, were perpetually torturing their imaginations, in order to find out a mysterious sense in each word or sentence, or were hunting after insipid allusions and chimerical applications of scripture-passages to objects, which never entered into the views of the inspired writers. On the contrary, their principal zeal and industry were employed in investigating the natural force and signification of each expression, in consequence of that golden rule of interpretation inculcated by LUTHER, *That there is no more than one sense annexed to the words of scripture throughout all the Books of the Old and New Testament* [a]. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the examples exhibited by these judicious expositors were far from being universally followed. Many, labouring under the old and inveterate disease of an irregular fancy and a scanty judgment, were still seeking for hidden significations and double meanings in the expressions of Holy writ. They were perpetually busied in twisting all the prophecies of the Old Testament into an intimate connexion with the life, sufferings, and transactions of JESUS CHRIST; and were over-sagacious in finding out, in the history of the patriarchal and Jewish churches, the types and figures of the events that have happened in modern, and that may yet happen in future, times. In all this they discovered more imagination than judgment; more wit than wisdom. Be that as it may, all the expositors of this age may be divided, methinks with propriety enough, into two classes, with LUTHER at the head of the one, and MELANCTHON presiding in the other. Some commentators followed the example of the former, who, after a plain and familiar explication of the sense of scripture, applied its decisions to the fixing of contro-

[(a) This golden rule will be found often defective and false, unless several prophetical, parabolical, and figurative expressions be excepted in its application.]

verted points, and to the illustration of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others discovered a greater propensity to the method of the latter, who first divided the discourses of the sacred writers into several parts, explained them according to the rules of rhetoric, and afterwards proceeded to a more strict and almost a literal exposition of each part, taken separately, applying the result, as rarely as was possible, to points of doctrine or matters of controversy.

XVII. Compleat systems of theology were far from being numerous in this century. MELANCTHON, the most eminent of all the Lutheran doctors, collected and digested the doctrines of the church, which he so eminently adorned, into a body of divinity, under the vague title of *Loci Communes*, i. e. *A Common Place Book of Theology*. This compilation, which was afterwards, at different times, reviewed, corrected, and enlarged by its author, was in such high repute, during this century, and even in succeeding times, that it was considered as an universal model of doctrine for all those, who either instructed the people by their public discourses, or promoted the knowledge of religion by their writings [b]. The title, prefixed to this performance, indicates sufficiently the method, or rather the irregularity, that reigns in the arrangement of its materials; and shews that it was not the design of MELANCTHON to place the various truths of religion in that systematical concatenation and that scientific order and connexion, that are observed by the philosophers in their demonstrations and discourses, but to propose them with freedom and simplicity, as they presented themselves to his view. Accordingly, in the first editions of the book under consideration, the method observed, both in delineating and illustrating these important truths, is extremely plain, and is neither loaded with the terms, the definitions, nor the distinctions that abound in the writings of the philosophers. Thus did the Lutheran doctors, in the first period of the rising

Concerning
the didactic
theology or
doctrine of
the Lutheran
church.

[b] See JO. FRANC. BUCCEUS, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. i. § xiii. tom. i. p. 381.

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church, renounce and avoid, in imitation of the great reformer whose name they bear, all the abstruse reasoning and subtle discussions of the scholastic doctors. But the sophistry of their adversaries, and their perpetual debates with the artful champions of the church of *Rome*, engaged them by degrees, as has been already observed, to change their language and their methods of reasoning; so that in process of time, the simplicity, that had reigned in their theological systems, and in their manner of explaining the truths of religion, almost totally disappeared. Even MELANCTHON, himself, fell imperceptibly into this new method, or rather into the old method revived, and enlarged the subsequent editions of his *Loci Communes*, by the addition of several philosophical illustrations designed to expose the fallacious reasonings of the Roman-catholic doctors. As yet, however, the discussions of philosophy were but sparingly used, and the unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen was kept at a certain distance, and seldom borrowed. But when the founders of the Lutheran church were removed by death, and the Jesuits attacked the principles of the reformation with redoubled animosity, armed with the intricate and perplexing dialectic of the schools; then, indeed, the scene changed, and theology assumed another aspect. The stratagem employed by the Jesuits corrupted our doctors, induced them to revive that intricate and abstruse manner of defending and illustrating religious truth, that LUTHER and his associates had rejected, and to introduce, into the plain and straight paths of theology, all the thorns and thistles, all the dark, and devious labyrinths of the scholastic philosophy. This unhappy change was deeply lamented by several divines of eminent piety and learning about the commencement of the seventeenth century, who regretted the loss of that amiable simplicity that is the attendant on divine truth; but they could not prevail upon the professors, in the different universities, to sacrifice the jargon of the schools to the dictates of common sense, nor to return to the plain, serious, and unaffected method of teaching theology that had been introduced by LUTHER. These obstinate doctors pleaded necessity

necessity in behalf of their scholastic divinity, and looked upon this pretended necessity as superior to all authorities, and all examples, however respectable.

XVIII. Those, who are sensible of the intimate connexion that there is between faith and practice, between the truths and duties of religion, will easily perceive the necessity that there was of reforming the corrupt morality, as well as the superstitious doctrines of the church of *Rome*. It was therefore natural, that the same persons, who had spirit enough to do the one, should think themselves obliged to attempt the other. This they accordingly attempted, and not without a certain degree of success; for it may be affirmed, with truth, that there is more genuine piety and more excellent rules of conduct in the few practical productions of LUTHER, MELANCTHON, WELLER, RIVIVS, to mention no more, than are to be found in the innumerable volumes of all the ancient *Casuits*, and *Moralisers* [c], as they are called in the barbarous language of these remote periods. It is not, however, meant even to insinuate, that the notions of these great men concerning the important science of morality were either sufficiently accurate or extensive. It appears, on the contrary, from the various debates that were carried on during this century, concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, and from the answers, that were given by famous casuits to persons perplexed with religious scruples, that the true *principles* of morality were not as yet fixed with perspicuity and precision, the agreement or difference between the laws of nature and the precepts of Christianity sufficiently examined and determined, nor the proper distinctions made between those parts of the gospel-dispensation, which are agreeable to right reason, and those that are beyond its reach and comprehension. Had not the number of adversaries, with whom the Lutheran doctors were obliged to contend, given them perpetual employment in the field of

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morality
among the
Lutherans.

[(c) The moral writers of this century were called *Moralisantes*, a barbarous term, of which the English word *Moralisers* bears some resemblance.]

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controversy, and robbed them of that precious leisure which they might have consecrated to the advancement of real piety and virtue, they would certainly have been free from the defects, now mentioned, and would, perhaps, have equalled the best moral writers of modern times. This consideration will also diminish our wonder at a circumstance, which otherwise might seem surprizing, that none of the famous Lutheran doctors attempted to give a regular system of morality. MELANCTHON himself, whose exquisite judgment rendered him peculiarly capable of reducing into a compendious system the elements of every science, never seems to have thought of treating morals in this manner; but has inserted, on the contrary, all his practical rules and instructions under the theological articles that relate to the *law, sin, free-will, faith, hope, and charity*.

Polemic or
controversial
theology.

XIX. All the divines of this century were educated in the school of controversy, and so trained up to spiritual war, that an eminent theologian and a bold and vehement disputant were considered as synonymous terms. It could scarcely, indeed, be otherwise in an age when foreign quarrels and intestine divisions of a religious nature threw all the countries of *Europe* into a state of agitation, and obliged the doctors of the contending churches to be perpetually in action, or at least in a posture of defence. These champions of the reformation were not, however, all animated with the same spirit, nor did they attack and defend with the same arms. Such of them as were contemporary with LUTHER, or lived near his time, were remarkable for the simplicity of their reasoning, and attacked their adversaries with no other arguments, than those which they drew from the declarations of the inspired writers, and the decisions of the ancient fathers. Towards the latter end of the century this method was considerably changed, and we see those doctors, who were its chief ornaments, reinforcing their cause with the succours of the Aristotelian philosophy, and thus losing, in point of perspicuity and evidence, what they gained in point of subtilty and imagined science. It is true, as has been already observed

more

more than once, that they were too naturally, though CENT. XVI. inconsiderately, led to adopt this method of disputing by the example of their adversaries the Roman-catholics. The latter, having learnt, by a disagreeable and discouraging experience, that their cause was unable to support that plain and perspicuous method of reasoning, that is the proper test of religious and moral truth, had recourse to stratagem, when evidence failed, and involved both their arguments and their opinions in the dark and intricate mazes of the scholastic philosophy; and it was this that engaged the protestant doctors to change their weapons, and to employ methods of defence unworthy of the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

The spirit of zeal that animated the Lutheran divines was, generally speaking, very far from being tempered by a spirit of charity. If we except MELANCTHON, in whom a predominant mildness and sweetness of natural temper triumphed over the contagious ferocity of the times, all the disputants of this century discovered too much bitterness and animosity in their transactions and in their writings. LUTHER himself appears at the head of this sanguine tribe, whom he far surpassed in invectives and abuse, treating his adversaries with the most brutal asperity, and sparing neither rank nor condition, however elevated or respectable they might be. It must indeed be confessed, that the criminal nature of this asperity and vehemence will be much alleviated, when they are considered in one point of view with the genius of these barbarous times, and the odious cruelty and injustice of the virulent enemies, whom the oppressed reformers were called to encounter. When the impartial inquirer considers the abominable calumnies that were lavished on the authors and instruments of the reformation; when he reflects upon the horrors of fire and sword employed, by blood-thirsty and bigotted tyrants, to extirpate and destroy those good men whom they wanted arguments to persuade and convince; will not his heart burn with a generous indignation? and will he not think it, in some measure just, that such horrid proceedings should be presented

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Three pe-
riods must
be distin-
guished in
the history
of the Lu-
theran
church.

presented in their proper colours, and be stigmatized by such expressions, as are suited to their demerit?

XX. In order to form a just idea of the internal state of the Lutheran church, and of the revolutions and changes that have happened in it, with their true springs and real causes, it is necessary to consider the history of that church under three distinct periods. The *first* of these extends from the commencement of the reformation to the death of LUTHER, which happened in the year 1546. The *second* takes in the space of time elapsed between the death of LUTHER and that of MELANCTHON, and consequently terminates in the year 1560; while the remainder of the century is comprehended in the *third* period.

The FIRST PERIOD.

DURING the *First* period, all things were transacted in the Lutheran church in a manner conformable to the sentiments, counsels, and orders of LUTHER. This eminent reformer, whose undaunted resolution, and amazing credit and authority, rendered him equal to the most arduous attempts, easily suppressed the commotions and dissensions that arose from time to time in the church, and did not suffer the sects, that several had attempted to form in its bosom, to gather strength, or to arrive at any considerable degree of consistence and maturity. The natural consequence of this was, that, during the life of that great man, the internal state of the Lutheran church was a state of tolerable tranquillity and repose; and all such as attempted to foment divisions, or introduce any essential changes, were either speedily reduced to silence, or obliged to retire from the new community.

Debates
between
Luther and
the Fanatics
that trou-
bled the
church dur-
ing this
first period.

XXI. The infancy of this church was troubled by an impetuous rabble of wrong-headed Fanatics, who introduced the utmost confusion wherever they had occasion to spread their pestilential errors, and who pretended, that they had received a divine inspiration, authorising them to erect a new kingdom of CHRIST, in which sin
and

and corruption were to have no place. The leaders of CENT. XVI. this turbulent and riotous sect were MUNZER, STORCHIUS, STUBNER, and others, partly Swiss, and partly Germans, who kindled the flame of discord and rebellion in several parts of *Europe*, and chiefly in *Germany*, and excited among the ignorant multitude tumults and commotions, which, though less violent in some places than in others, were, nevertheless, formidable wherever they appeared [d]. The history of this seditious band is full of obscurity, and confusion. A regular, full, and accurate account of it neither has, nor could well be, committed to writing; since, on the one hand, the opinions and actions of these Fanatics were a motley chaos of inconsistencies and contradictions, and, on the other, the age, in which they lived, produced few writers who had either the leisure or the capacity to observe with diligence, or to relate with accuracy, commotions and tumults of this extraordinary kind. It is however certain, that, from the most profligate and abandoned part of this enthusiastical multitude, those seditious armies were formed, which kindled in *Germany* the *War of the Peasants*, and afterwards, seizing upon the city of *Munster*, involved the whole province of *Westphalia* in the most dreadful calamities. It is also well known, that the better part of this motley tribe, terrified by the unhappy and deserved fate of their unworthy associates, whom they saw extirpated and massacred with the most unrelenting severity, saved themselves from the ruin of their sect, and, at length, embraced the communion of those, who are called *Mennonites* [e]. The zeal, vigilance, and resolution

[d] JO. BAPTISTA OTTIUS, in his *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 8. has collected a considerable number of facts relating to these fanatical commotions, which are also mentioned by all the writers of the History of the Reformation.

[(e) The tumults of the anabaptists in *Germany*, and the junction of the better part of them, with MENNON, have already been mentioned in a cursory manner, Sect. I. chap. ii. § xxi. For an ample account of the origin, doctrine, and progress of the Mennonites, see the third chapter of the second part of the third section. Cent. xvi.]

of

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of LUTHER happily prevented the divisions, which the odious disciples of MUNZER attempted to excite in the church he had founded, and preserved the giddy and credulous multitude from their seductions. And it may be safely affirmed, that, had it not been for the vigour and fortitude of this active and undaunted reformer, the Lutheran church would, in its infancy, have fallen a miserable prey to the enthusiastic fury of these detestable fanatics [f].

Carlostadt.

XXII. Fanatics and enthusiasts of the kind now described, while they met with the warmest opposition from LUTHER, found, on the contrary, in CAROLOSTADT, his colleague, such a credulous attention to their seductions as naturally flattered them with the hopes of his patronage and favour. This divine, who was a native of *Franconia*, was neither destitute of learning nor merit; but imprudence and precipitation were the distinguishing lines of his warm and violent character. Of these he gave the most evident marks, in the year 1522, when, during the absence of LUTHER, he excited no small tumult at *Wittemberg*, by ordering the images to be taken out of the churches, and other enterprizes of a rash and dangerous nature [g]. This tumult was

[(f) The danger, that threatened the Lutheran church in these tumults of the German anabaptists, was so much the greater on account of the inclination, which MUNZER and STORCK discovered, at first, for the sentiments of LUTHER, and the favourable disposition, which CAROLOSTADT seemed, for some time, to entertain with respect to these fanatics.]

[(g) The reader may perhaps imagine from Dr. MOSHEIM's account of this matter, that CAROLOSTADT introduced these changes merely by his own authority; but this was far from being the case; the suppression of private masses, the removal of images out of the churches, the abolition of the law which imposed celibacy upon the clergy, which are the changes hinted at by our historian as *rash* and *perilous*, were effected by CAROLOSTADT in conjunction with BUGENHAGIUS, MELANCTHON, JONAS, AMSDORFF, and others, and were confirmed by the authority of the elector of *Saxony*. So that there is some reason to apprehend that one of the principal causes of LUTHER's displeasure at these changes, was their being introduced in his absence; unless we suppose that he had not so far got rid of the fetters of superstition, as to be sensible of the absurdity

was appeased by the sudden return of LUTHER, whose presence and exhortations calmed the troubled spirits of the people; and here must we look for the origin of the rupture between him and CARLOSTADT. For the latter immediately retired from *Wittemberg* to *Orlamund*, where he not only opposed the sentiments of LUTHER concerning the Eucharist [*b*], but also discovered, in several instances, a fanatical turn of mind [*i*]. He was, therefore,

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dity and of the pernicious consequences of the use of images, &c. As to the abolition of the law that imposed celibacy on the clergy, it is well known, that it was the object of his warmest approbation. This appears from the following expressions in his letter to AMSDORFF: CARLOSTADII nuptiæ mire placent: novi puellam: confortet eum Dominus in bonum exemplum inhibendæ et minuendæ Papisticæ libidinis. He confirmed soon afterwards this approbation by his own example.]

[(*b*) This difference of opinion between CARLOSTADT and LUTHER concerning the eucharist, was the true cause of the violent rupture between these two eminent men, and it was very little to the honour of the latter. For however the explication, which the former gave of the words of the institution of the Lord's supper, may appear forced, yet the sentiments he entertained of that ordinance as a commemoration of CHRIST's death, and not as a celebration of his bodily presence, in consequence of a *consubstantiation* with the bread and wine, are infinitely more rational than the doctrine of LUTHER, which is loaded with some of the most palpable absurdities of *transubstantiation*. And if it is supposed that CARLOSTADT strained the rule of interpretation too far, when he alledged, that CHRIST pronounced the pronoun *this* (in the words, *This is my body*) pointing to his *body*, and not to the *bread*, what shall we think of LUTHER's explaining the nonsensical doctrine of *consubstantiation* by the similitude of a red-hot iron, in which two elements are united, as the body of CHRIST is with the bread in the eucharist? But of this more in its proper place.]

[(*i*) This censure is with too much truth applicable to CARLOSTADT.—Though he did not adopt the impious and abominable doctrines of MUNZER and his band (as Dr. MOSHEIM permits the uninstructed reader to imagine by mentioning, *in general*, his being a friend to these fanatics) yet he certainly was chargeable with some extravagancies, that were observable in the tenets of that wrong-headed tribe. He was for abolishing the *civil law*, with the municipal laws and constitutions of the German empire, and proposed substituting the law of MOSES in their place. He distinguished himself by railing at the academies, declaiming against human learning, and other follies.

Great

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therefore, commanded to leave the electorate of *Saxony*, which he did accordingly, and repaired to *Switzerland*, where he propagated his doctrines, and taught with success, first at *Zurich* and afterwards at *Basil*, retaining still, however, as long as he lived, a favourable disposition to the sect of the anabaptists, and, in general, to all enthusiastic teachers, who pretended to a divine inspiration [k]. Thus then did LUTHER, in a short space of time, lay this new storm that the precipitation of CARLOSTADT had raised in the church.

Schwenckfeldt.

XXIII. The reforming spirit of CARLOSTADT, with respect to the doctrine of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist, was not extinguished, by his exile, in the Lutheran church. It was revived, on the contrary, by a man

Great wits to madness nearly are allied.

See VAL. ERN. LOSCHERI *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat.* part. I. cap. i.—DAN. GERDES, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Groningens. novis*, tom. i.]

[(k) This affirmation of Dr. MOSHEIM wants much to be modified. In the original it stands thus, *Dum vixit vero anabaptistarum, et hominum divina visa jactantium partibus amicum sese ostendit*, i. e. *as long as he lived, he shewed himself a friend to the anabaptists and other enthusiasts, who pretended to divine inspiration.* But how could our historian assert this without restriction, since it is well known that CARLOSTADT, after his banishment from *Saxony*, composed a treatise against enthusiasm, in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the anabaptists in particular? Nay more; this treatise was addressed to LUTHER, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to CARLOSTADT, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission for him to return into *Saxony*. See GERDES, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Groningens.* After his reconciliation with LUTHER, he composed a treatise, on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and, having perused the writings of ZUINGLE, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired, a second time, to *Zurich*, and from thence to *Basil*, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious GRYNÆUS of *Basil* to PITISCUS, chaplain

a man of much the same turn of mind, a Silesian knight, and counsellor to the duke of *Lignitz*, whose name was *GASPAR SCHWENKFELDT*. This nobleman, seconded by *VALENTINE CRAUTWALD*, a man of eminent learning, who lived at the court of the prince now mentioned, took notice of many things which he looked upon as erroneous and defective in the opinions and rites established by *LUTHER*; and, had not the latter been extremely vigilant as well as vigorously supported by his friends and adherents, would have undoubtedly brought about a considerable schism in the church. Every circumstance in *SCHWENKFELDT*'s conduct and appearance was adapted to give him credit and influence. His morals were pure, and his life, in all respects, exemplary. His exhortations in favour of true and solid piety were warm and persuasive, and his principal zeal was employed in promoting it among the people. By these means he gained the esteem and friendship of many learned and pious men both in the Lutheran and Helvetic churches, who favoured his sentiments, and undertook to defend him against all his adversaries [1]. Notwithstanding all this, he was banished by his sovereign both from the court and from his country in the year 1528, only because *ZUINGLE* had approved of his opinions concerning the eucharist, and declared that they did not differ essentially from his own. From that time the persecuted knight wandered from place to place, under various turns of fortune, until death put an end to his trials in the year 1561 [m]. He had founded a small

chaplain to the elector Palatine, and shews how little dependance is due to the assertions of the ignorant *MORERI*, or to the insinuations of the insidious *BOSSUET*.]

[1] See *JO. CONR. FUESLINI Centuria I Epistolar. à Reformato-ribus Helveticis Scriptar.* 169. 175. 225. *Museum Helvetic.* tom. iv. p. 445.

[m] *JO. WIGANDI Schwenckfeldianismus, Lips.* 1586, in 4to.—*CONR. SCHLUSSELBURGI Catalogi Hæreticor.* lib. x. published at *Francfort* in the year 1599. in 8vo.—The most accurate accounts of this nobleman have been given by *CHR. AUG. SALIG.* in his *Histor. Augst. Confessionis*, tom. iii. lib. xi. p. 951, and by *GODF. ARNOLD,*
in

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small congregation in *Silesia*, which were persecuted and ejected in our times by the popish possessors of that country; but have been restored to their former habitations and privileges, civil and religious, since the year 1742, by the present king of *Prussia* [n].

XXIV. The upright intentions of SCHWENCKFELDT, and his zeal for the advancement of true piety, deserve, no doubt, the highest commendation; but the same thing cannot be said of his prudence and judgment. The good man had a natural propensity towards fanaticism, and fondly imagined that he had received a divine commission to propagate his opinions. He differed from LUTHER and the other friends of the reformation in three points, which it is proper to select from others of less consequence: The *first* of these points related to the doctrine concerning the eucharist. SCHWENCKFELDT inverted the following words of CHRIST: *This is my body*, and insisted on their being thus understood: “*My body is THIS, i. e. such as this bread, which is*”
“*broken and consumed: a true and real food which*”
“*nourisheth, satisfieth, and delighteth the soul. My*”
“*blood is THIS, that is, such in its effects as the wine*”
“*which strengthens and refresheth the heart.*” The poor man imagined that this *wonderful* doctrine had been revealed to him from heaven, which circumstance alone is a sufficient demonstration of his folly.

The *second* point, in which he differed from LUTHER, was in his hypothesis, relating to the efficacy of the divine word. He denied, for example, that the *external word*, which is committed to writing in the Holy Scriptures, was endowed with the power of *healing, illuminating, and renewing* the mind; and he ascribed this power to the *internal word*, which, according to his notion, was CHRIST himself. His discourses, however, concerning this *internal word*, were,

in a German work, entitled, *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, p. 720. both which authors have pleaded the cause of SCHWENCKFELDT.

[n] See an account of SCHWENCKFELDT's *Confession of Faith*, in JO. CHR. KOCHER's *Bibliotheca Theologica Symbolica*, p. 457.

as usually happens to persons of his turn, so full of confusion, obscurity, and contradiction, that it was difficult to find out, what his doctrine really was, and whether or no it resembled that of the Mystics and Quakers, or was borrowed from a different source.

His doctrine concerning the *human nature* of CHRIST formed the *third* subject of debate between him and the Lutherans. He would not allow CHRIST's human nature, in its exalted state, to be called a *creature*, or a created substance, as such denominations appeared to him infinitely below its majestic dignity, united as it is, in that glorious state, with the divine essence. This notion of SCHWENCKFELDT bears a remarkable affinity to the doctrine of EUTYCHES, which, however, he professed to reject; and, in his turn, accused those of Nestorianism, who gave the denomination of a *creature* to the human nature of CHRIST.

XXV. An intemperate zeal, by straining too far certain truths, turns them into falsehood, or, at least, often renders them the occasion of the most pernicious abuses. A striking instance of this happened during the ministry of LUTHER. For, while he was insisting upon the necessity of imprinting deeply in the minds of the people that doctrine of the gospel, which represents CHRIST's merits as the source of man's salvation, and while he was eagerly employed in censuring and refuting the popish doctors, who mixed the *law* and the *gospel* together, and represented eternal happiness as the fruit of legal obedience, a fanatic arose, who abused his doctrine by over-straining it, and thus opened a field for the most dangerous errors. This new teacher was JOHN AGRICOLA, a native of *Aisleben*, and an eminent doctor of the Lutheran church, though chargeable with vanity, presumption, and artifice. He first began to make a noise in the year 1538, when, from the doctrine of LUTHER now mentioned, he took occasion to declaim against the *law*, maintaining that it was neither fit to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor to be used in the church as a mean of instruction; and that the *gospel* alone was to be inculcated and ex-

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examined.

plained both in the churches and in the schools of learning. The followers of AGRICOLA were called *Antinomians*, i. e. *enemies of the law*. But the fortitude, vigilance, and credit of LUTHER suppressed this sect in its very infancy; and AGRICOLA, intimidated by the opposition of such a respectable adversary, acknowledged and renounced his pernicious system. But this recantation does not seem to have been sincere; since it is said, that, when his fears were dispelled by the death of LUTHER, he returned to his errors, and gained proselytes to his extravagant doctrine [o].

XXVI. The tenets of the *Antinomians*, if their adversaries are to be believed, were of the most noxious nature and tendency; for they are supposed to have taught the loosest and most dissolute doctrine in point of morals, and to have maintained, that it was allowable to follow the impulse of every passion and to transgress, without reluctance, the divine law, provided the transgressor *laid hold on CHRIST*, and embraced his merits by a lively faith. Such, at least, is the representation that is, generally, given of their doctrine; but it ought not to be received with too much credulity. For whoever looks into this matter, with attention and impartiality, will soon be persuaded, that such an absurd and impious doctrine is unjustly laid to the charge of AGRICOLA, and that the principal fault of this presumptuous man lay in some harsh and inaccurate expressions, that were susceptible of dangerous and pernicious interpretations. By the term *law* he understood the *Ten Commandments*, promulgated under the Mosaic dispensation; and he considered this law as enacted for the Jews, and not for Christians. He explained, at the same time, the term *Gospel* (which he considered as substituted in the place of the law) in its true and extensive sense, as comprehending, not only the doctrine of the merits of CHRIST, rendered salutary by faith, but also the sub-

[o] See CASPAR. SAGITTARIUS *Introduct. ad Histor. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 838.—BAYLE *Dictionaire*, tom. ii. at the article ISLEBIUS.—CONR. SCHLUSSELBURGHII *Catalog. Hæret.* lib. iv.—G. ARNOD. *Kirchen-und Ketzer Historie*, p. 813.

lime precepts of holiness and virtue delivered by the divine Saviour, as rules of obedience. If, therefore, we follow the intention of AGRICOLA, without interpreting, in a rigorous manner, the uncouth phrases and improper expressions he so frequently and so injudiciously employed, his doctrine will plainly amount to this: "That the *Ten Commandments* published, during the "ministry of MOSES, were chiefly designed for the "Jews, and on that account might be lawfully neglected and laid aside by Christians: and that it was "sufficient to explain with perspicuity, and to enforce "with zeal, what CHRIST and his apostles had taught "in the New Testament, both with respect to the "means of grace and salvation, and the obligations of "repentance and virtue." The greatest part of the doctors of this century are chargeable with a want of precision and consistency in expressing their sentiments; hence their real sentiments have been misunderstood, and opinions have been imputed to them which they never entertained.

The SECOND PERIOD.

XXVII. AFTER the death of LUTHER, which happened in the year 1546, PHILIP MELANCTHON was placed at the head of the Lutheran doctors. The merit, genius, and talents of this new chief were, undoubtedly, great and illustrious; though it must, at the same time, be confessed, that he was inferior to LUTHER in many respects [p], and more especially in courage, steadfastness, and personal authority. His natural temper was soft and flexible; his love of peace, almost excessive; and his apprehensions of the displea-

Debates that arose during the second period of the Lutheran church, between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon.

[(p) It would certainly be very difficult to point out the *many respects* in which Dr. MOSHEIM affirms that LUTHER was superior to MELANCTHON. For if the single article of courage and firmness of mind be excepted, I know no other respect in which MELANCTHON is not superior, or, at least, equal to LUTHER. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgment, meekness, and humanity.]

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sure and resentment of men in power were such as betrayed a pusillanimous spirit. He was ambitious of the esteem and friendship of all, with whom he had any intercourse, and was absolutely incapable of employing the force of threatnings, or the restraints of fear, to suppress the efforts of religious faction, to keep within due bounds the irregular love of novelty and change, and to secure to the church the obedience of its members. It is also to be observed, that MELANCTHON's sentiments, on some points of no inconsiderable moment, were entirely different from those of LUTHER; and it may not be improper to point out the principal subject on which they adopted different ways of thinking.

In the *first* place, MELANCTHON was of opinion, that, for the sake of peace and concord, many things might be connived at and tolerated in the church of *Rome*, which LUTHER considered as absolutely unsupportable. The former carried so far the spirit of toleration and indulgence, as to discover no reluctance against retaining the ancient form of ecclesiastical government; and submitting to the dominion of the Roman pontiff, on certain conditions, and in such a manner, as might be without prejudice to the obligation and authority of all those truths, that are clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

A *second* occasion of a diversity of sentiments between these two great men was furnished by the tenets which LUTHER maintained in opposition to the doctrines of the church of *Rome*. Such were his ideas concerning faith, as the *only* cause of salvation, concerning the necessity of good works to our final happiness, and man's natural incapacity of promoting his own conversion. In avoiding the corrupt notions which were embraced by the Roman-catholic doctors on these important points of theology, LUTHER seemed, in the judgment of MELANCTHON, to lean too much towards the opposite extreme [q]. Hence the latter inclined to think, that the

[(q) It is certain, that LUTHER carried the doctrine of *Justification by Faith* to such an excessive length, as seemed, though perhaps contrary

the sentiments and expressions of his colleague required to be somewhat mitigated, lest they should give a handle to dangerous abuses, and be perverted to the propagation of pernicious errors.

It may be observed, *thirdly*, that though MELANCTHON adopted the sentiments of LUTHER in relation to the eucharist [*r*], yet he did not consider their controversy with the divines of *Switzerland* on that subject, as a matter of sufficient moment to occasion a breach of church-communion and fraternal concord between the contending parties. He thought that this happy concord might be easily preserved by expressing the doctrine of the eucharist and CHRIST's presence in that ordinance, in general and ambiguous terms, which the two churches might explain according to their respective systems.

Such were the sentiments of MELANCTHON, which, though he did not entirely conceal, during the life of LUTHER, he delivered, nevertheless, with great circumspection and modesty, yielding always to the au-

contrary to his intention, to derogate not only from the necessity of good works, but even from their obligation and importance. He would not allow them to be considered either as the *conditions* or *means* of salvation, nor even as a preparation for receiving it.]

[(*r*) It is somewhat surprizing to hear Dr. MOSHEIM affirming that MELANCTHON *adopted the sentiments of LUTHER in relation to the eucharist*, when the contrary is well known. It is true, in the writings of MELANCTHON, which were published before the year 1529, or 1530, there are passages, which shew that he had not, as yet, thoroughly examined the controversy relating to the nature of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist. It is also true, that during the disputes carried on between WESTPHAL and CALVIN, after the death of LUTHER, concerning the *real presence*, he did not declare himself in an open manner for either side (which, however, is a presumptive proof of his leaning to that of CALVIN) but expressed his sorrow at these divisions, and the spirit of animosity, by which they were inflamed. But, whoever will be at the pains to read the letters of MELANCTHON to CALVIN upon this subject, or those extracts of them, that are collected by HOSPINIAN, in the second volume of his *Historia Sacramentaria*, p. 428. will be persuaded, that he looked upon the doctrine of *Consubstantiation* not only as erroneous, but even as idolatrous; and that nothing but the fear of inflaming the present divisions, and of not being seconded, prevented him from declaring his sentiments openly. See also *Dictionnaire de BAYLE*, art. MELANCTHON, note L.]

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thority of his colleague, for whom he had a sincere friendship, and of whom also he stood in awe. But no sooner were the eyes of LUTHER closed, than he inculcated with the greatest plainness and freedom, what he had before only hinted at with timorousness and caution. The eminent rank MELANCTHON held among the Lutheran doctors rendered this bold manner of proceeding extremely disagreeable to many. His doctrine accordingly was censured and opposed; and thus the church was deprived of the tranquillity it had enjoyed under LUTHER, and exhibited an unhappy scene of animosity, contention, and discord.

The adiaphoristic controversy, or the dispute concerning matters of an indifferent nature.

XXVIII. The rise of these unhappy divisions, must be dated from the year 1548, when CHARLES V attempted to impose upon the Germans the famous edict, called the *Interim*. MAURICE, the new elector of Saxony, desirous to know how far such an edict ought to be respected in his dominions, assembled the doctors of *Wittenberg* and *Leipsic* in the last mentioned city, and proposed this nice and critical subject to their serious examination. Upon this occasion MELANCTHON, complying with the suggestions of that lenity and moderation, that were the great and leading principles in the whole course of his conduct and actions, declared it as his opinion, that, in matters of an *indifferent* nature, compliance was due to the imperial edicts [s]. But in the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to LUTHER, and could not, of consequence, be considered as indifferent by his true disciples [t]. For

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[s] The piece, in which MELANCTHON and his associates delivered their sentiments relating to things *indifferent*, is commonly called, in the German language, *Das Leipziger Interim*, and was republished at *Leipsick* in 1721, by BIEKIUS, in a work, entitled, *Das dreyfache Interim*.

[(t) If they only are the *true disciples* of LUTHER, who submit to his judgment and adopt his sentiments in theological matters, many doctors of that communion, and our historian among the rest, will certainly be supposed to have forfeited that title, as will abundantly appear hereafter. Be that as it may, MELANCTHON can scarcely,

scarcely,

he regarded as such, the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*; the necessity of good works to eternal salvation; the number of the sacraments; the jurisdiction claimed by the pope and the bishops, extreme unction; the observation of certain religious festivals and several superstitious rites and ceremonies. Hence arose that violent scene of contention and discord, that was commonly called the *Adiaphoristic* [u] controversy, which divided the church during many years, and proved highly detrimental to the progress of the reformation. The defenders of the primitive doctrines of Lutheranism, with ELACIUS at their head, attacked with incredible bitterness and fury the doctors of *Wittemberg* and *Leipsic*, and particularly MELANCTHON, by whose counsel and influence every thing relating to the *Interim* had been conducted, and accused them of apostacy from the true religion. MELANCTHON, on the other hand, seconded by the zeal of his friends and disciples, justified his conduct with the utmost spirit and vigour [w]. In this unlucky debate the two following questions were principally discussed: First, *whether the matters that seemed indifferent to MELANCTHON were so in reality?* This his adversaries obstinately denied [x]. Secondly, *whether, in things of an indifferent nature, and in which the interests of religion are not essentially concerned, it be lawful to yield to the enemies of the truth?*

XXIX. This debate concerning things *indifferent* became, as might well have been expected, a fruitful

A controversy is set on foot by George Major, concerning the necessity of good works.

scarcely, if at all, be justified in placing in the class of things indifferent, the doctrines relating to *faith* and *good works*, which are the fundamental points of the Christian religion, and, if I may use such an expression, the very hinges on which the gospel turns.]

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[w] SCHLUSSENBURGI *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. xiii.—ARNOLD'S Germanwork, entitled, *Kirchen-und Ketzer Historie*, lib. xvi. cap. xxvi. p. 816.—SALIG. *Histor. Aug. Confess.* vol. i. p. 611.—The German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1702, p. 339. 393.—LUC. OSIANDRI *Epitome Histor. Eccles. Centur.* xvi. p. 502.

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[(*x*) See above note [*w*].

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source of other controversies which were equally detrimental to the tranquillity of the church, and to the cause of the reformation. The first to which it gave rise, was the warm dispute concerning the *necessity of good works*, that was carried on with such spirit against the rigid Lutherans by GEORGE MAJOR, an eminent teacher of theology at *Wittenberg*. MELANCTHON had long been of opinion, that the *necessity of good works in order to the attainment of everlasting salvation* might be asserted and taught as conformable to the truths revealed in the gospel; and both he and his colleagues declared this to be their opinion, when they were assembled at *Leipfic*, in the year 1548, to examine the famous edict already mentioned [y]. This declaration was severely censured by the rigid disciples of LUTHER, as contrary to the doctrine and sentiments of their chief, and as conformable both to the tenets and interests of the church of *Rome*; but it found an able defender in MAJOR, who, in the year 1552, maintained the *necessity of good works* against the extravagant assertions of AMSDORF. Hence arose a new controversy between the *rigid* and *moderate* Lutherans, which was carried on with that keenness and animosity, that were peculiar to all debates of a religious nature during this century. In the course of this warm debate, AMSDORF was so far transported and infatuated by his excessive zeal for the doctrine of LUTHER, as to maintain, that *good works were an impediment to salvation*; by which imprudent expression the flame of controversy received new fuel, and broke forth with redoubled fury. On the other hand, MAJOR complained of the malice or ignorance of his adversaries, who explained his doctrine in a manner quite different from that in which he intended it should be understood; and, at length, he renounced it entirely, that he might not appear fond of wrangling, or be looked upon as a disturber of the peace of the church. This step did not, however, put an end

[y] The *Interim*, of CHARLES V.

to the debate, which was still carried on, until it was terminated at last by the *Form of concord* [z].

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XXX. From the same source that produced the dispute concerning the necessity of good works arose the *Synergistical* controversy. The *Synergists* [a], whose doctrine was almost the same with that of the Semi-pelagians, denied that God was the *only* agent in the conversion of sinful man; and affirmed, that man *co-operated* with divine grace in the accomplishment of this salutary purpose. Here also MELANCTHON renounced the doctrine of LUTHER; at least, the terms he employs, in expressing his sentiments concerning this intricate subject, are such as LUTHER would have rejected with horror; for in the conference at *Leipsic*, already mentioned, the former of these great men did not scruple to affirm, that *God drew to himself and converted adult persons in such a manner, that the powerful impression of his grace was accompanied with a certain correspondent action of their will*. The friends and disciples of MELANCTHON adopted this manner of speaking, and used the expressions of their master to describe the nature of the divine agency in man's conversion. But this representation of the matter was far from being agreeable to the rigid Lutherans. They looked upon it as subversive of the true and genuine doctrine of LUTHER, relating to the *absolute servitude* of the human will [b], and the total *inability* of man to do any good action, or to bear any part in his own conversion; and hence they opposed the Sy-

The Syner-
gistical con-
troverly.

[z] SCHLUSSENBURG, lib. vii. *Catal. Hæreticor.*—ARNOLDI *Hist. Ecclesiæ*, lib. xvi. cap. xxvii. p. 822.—JO. MUSÆI *Prælection. in Form. Concord.* p. 181.—ARN. GREVII *Memoria JOH. WESTPHALI*, p. 166.

[(a) As this controversy turned upon the *co-operation* of the human will with the divine grace, the persons, who maintained this joint-agency, were called *Synergists*, from a Greek word (*συνεργεια*), which signifies *co-operation*.]

[(b) The doctrines of *absolute predestination*, *irresistible grace*, and *human impotence*, were never carried to a more excessive length, nor maintained with a more virulent obstinacy by any divine, than they were by LUTHER. But in these times he has very few followers in this respect, even among those that bear his name. But of this more hereafter.]

nergists,

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nergists, or Semi-pelagians with the utmost animosity and bitterness. The principal champions in this theological conflict were STRIGELIUS, who defended the sentiments of MELANCTHON with singular dexterity and perspicuity, and FLACIUS, who maintained the ancient doctrine of LUTHER: of these doctors, as also of the subject of their debate, a farther account will be given presently [c].

Flacius, by his intemperate zeal, excites many divisions in the church.

XXXI. During these dissensions a new academy was founded at *Jena* by the dukes of *Saxe-Weimar*, the sons of the famous JOHN FREDERICK, whose unsuccessful wars with the emperor CHARLES V had involved him in so many calamities, and deprived him of his electoral dominions. The noble founders of this academy, having designed it for the bulwark of the protestant religion, as it was taught and inculcated by LUTHER, were particularly careful in choosing such professors and divines as were remarkable for their attachment to the genuine doctrine of that great reformer, and their aversion to the sentiments of those modern Lutherans, who had attempted, by certain modifications and corrections, to render it less harsh and disgusting. And as none of the Lutheran doctors were so eminent, on account of their brutal and intemperate zeal for this ancient doctrine, as MATTHEW FLACIUS, the virulent enemy of MELANCTHON, and all the *Philippists*, he was appointed, in the year 1557, professor of divinity at *Jena*. The consequences of this nomination were, indeed, deplorable. For this turbulent and impetuous man, whom nature had formed with an uncommon propensity to foment divisions and propagate discord, did not only revive all the ancient controversies that had distracted the church, but also excited new debates; and sowed, with such avidity and success, the seeds of contention between the divines of *Weimar* and those of the electorate of *Saxony*,

[c] See SCHLUSSENBURG *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. v.—G. ARNOLD. *Histor. Eccles.* lib. xvi. cap. xxviii. p. 826.—BAYLE *Dictionnaire*, at the article SYNERGISTES.—SALIG. *Histor. August. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 474. 587. 880.—MUSÆI *Prælect. in Formulam Concordiæ*, p. 88.

that

that a fatal schism in the Lutheran church was apprehended by many of its wisest members [d]. And, indeed, this schism would have been inevitable, if the machinations and intrigues of FLACIUS had produced the desired effect. For in the year 1559, he persuaded the dukes of *Saxe-Weimar* to order a *refutation* of the errors that had crept into the Lutheran church, and particularly of those that were imputed to the followers of MELANCTHON, to be drawn up with care, to be promulgated by authority, and to be placed among the other religious edicts and articles of faith, that were in force in their dominions. But this pernicious design of dividing the church proved abortive; for the other Lutheran princes, who acted from the true and genuine principles of the reformation, disapproved of this seditious book, from a just apprehension of its tendency to increase the present troubles, and to augment, instead of diminishing, the calamities of the church [e].

XXXII. This theological incendiary kindled the flame of discord and persecution even in the church of *Saxe-Weimar*, and in the university of *Jena* to which he belonged, by venting his fury against STRIGELIUS [f], the friend and disciple of MELANCTHON. This moderate divine adopted, in many things, the sentiments of his master, and maintained, particularly, in his public lectures, that the *human will*, when under the influence of the *divine grace* leading it to repentance, was not totally *inactive*, but bore a certain part in the salutary work of its conversion. In consequence of this doctrine he was accused, by FLACIUS, of *Synergism* at the court of *Saxe-Weimar*; and by the order of the prince was cast into prison, where he was treated with severity and rigour. He was, at length, delivered from this confinement in the year 1562, and allowed to resume his former

The contest
between
Flacius and
Strigelius.

[d] See the famous letter of AUGUSTUS, elector of *Saxony*, concerning FLACIUS and his malignant attempts, which is published by ARN. GREVIUS, in his *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 393.

[e] SALIG, *Historia August. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 476.

[f] See the writers cited in the preceding notes; and also BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article STRIGELIUS.

vocation,

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vocation, in consequence of a declaration of his real sentiments, which, as he alledged, had been greatly misrepresented. This declaration, however, did not either decide or determine the controversy; since STRIGELIUS seemed rather to conceal his erroneous sentiments [g] under ambiguous expressions, than to renounce them entirely. And indeed, he was so conscious of this, himself, that, to avoid being involved in new calamities and persecutions, he retired from *Jena* to *Leipfic*, and from *Leipfic* to *Heideiberg*, where he spent the remainder of his days; and appeared so unsettled in his religious opinions, that it is really doubtful whether he is to be placed among the followers of LUTHER or CALVIN.

Some particulars of the dispute carried on by Flacius at Saxe-Weimar.

XXXIII. The issue, however, of this controversy, which FLACIUS had kindled with such an intemperate zeal, proved highly detrimental to his own reputation and influence in particular, as well as to the interests of the Lutheran church in general. For while this vehement disputant was assailing his adversary with an inconsiderate ardor, he exaggerated so excessively the sentiments, which he looked upon as orthodox, as to maintain an opinion of the most monstrous and detestable kind; an opinion which made him appear, even in the judgment of his warmest friends, an odious *heretic*, and a corruptor of the true religion. In the year 1560, a public dispute was held at *Weimar*, between him and STRIGELIUS, concerning the natural powers and faculties of the human mind, and their influence in the conversion and conduct of the true Christian. In this conference the latter seemed to attribute to unassisted nature, too much, and the former, too little. The one looked upon the fall of man, as an event that extinguished, in the human mind, every virtuous tendency, every noble faculty, and left nothing behind it but universal darkness and corruption. The other maintained, that this degradation of the powers of nature was, by no means, uni-

[(g) The sentiments of STRIGELIUS were not, I have reason to believe, very *erroneous* in the judgment of Dr. MOSHEIM, nor are they such in the estimation of the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors at this day.]

verfal

versal or entire; that the will retained still some propensity to worthy pursuits, and a certain degree of activity that rendered it capable of attainments in virtue. STRIGELIUS, who was well acquainted with the wiles of a captious philosophy; proposed to defeat his adversary by puzzling him, and addressed to him, with that view, the following question: *Whether original sin, or the corrupt habit which the human soul contracted by the fall, is to be placed in the class of SUBSTANCES or ACCIDENTS?* FLACIUS answered with unparalleled imprudence and temerity, that it belonged to the former; and maintained, to his dying hour, this most extravagant and dangerous proposition, that *original sin is the very substance of human nature*. Nay, so invincible was the obstinacy with which he persevered in this strange doctrine, that he chose to renounce all worldly honours and advantages rather than depart from it. It was condemned by the greatest and soundest part of the Lutheran church, as a doctrine that bore no small affinity to that of the Manicheans. But, on the other hand, the merit, erudition, and credit of FLACIUS procured him many respectable patrons and able defenders among the most learned doctors of the church, who embraced his sentiments, and maintained his cause with the greatest spirit and zeal, of whom the most eminent were CYRIAC SPANGENBERG, CHRISTOPHER IRENÆUS, and CÆLESTINE [b].

XXXIV. It is scarcely possible to imagine how much the Lutheran church suffered from this new dispute in all those places where its contagion had reached, and how detrimental it was to the progress of Lutheranism among those who still adhered to the religion of Rome. For the flame of discord spread far and wide; it was

The consequences that arose from the imprudence of Flacius.

[b] SCHLUSSENBURG. *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. ii.—*The Life of FLACIUS*, written in German by RITTER, and published in 8vo. at *Frankfort*, in the year 1725.—SALIG. *Histor. Aug. Confession.* vol. iii. p. 593.—ARNOLDI *Histor. Ecclesiast.* lib. xvi. cap. xxix. p. 829.—MUSÆI *Prælect. in Formul. Concordiæ*, p. 29.—JO. GEORGI LEUCKFELDI *Historia Spangenbergensis*.—For a particular account of the dispute, that was held publicly at *Weimar*, see the German work, entitled, *Unschuld. Nachricht.* p. 383.

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communicated even to those churches which were erected in popish countries, and particularly in the Austrian territories, under the gloomy shade of a dubious toleration; and it so animated the Lutheran pastors, though surrounded on all sides by their cruel adversaries, that they could neither be restrained by the dictates of prudence nor by the sense of danger [i]. Many are of opinion, that an ignorance of philosophical distinctions and definitions threw FLACIUS inconsiderately into the extravagant hypothesis he maintained with such obstinacy, and that his greatest heresy was no more than a foolish attachment to an unusual term. But FLACIUS seems to have fully refuted this plea in his behalf, by declaring boldly, in several parts of his writings, that he knew perfectly well the philosophical signification and the whole energy of the word *substance*, and was, by no means, ignorant of the consequences that would be drawn from the doctrine he had embraced [k]. Be that as it may, we cannot but wonder at the senseless and excessive obstinacy of this turbulent man, who chose rather to sacrifice his fortune and disturb the tranquillity of the church, than to abandon a word, which was entirely foreign to the subject in debate, and renounce an hypothesis, that was composed of the most palpable contradictions.

The disputes kindled by Osiander.

XXXV. The last controversy that we shall mention, of those that were occasioned by the excessive lenity of MELANCTHON, was set on foot by OSIANDER, in the year 1549, and produced much discord and animosity in the church. Had its first founder been yet alive, his

[i] See a German work of BERN. RAUPACH, entitled, *Zweifache Zugabe zu dem Evangelisch.Oesterrich.* p. 25. 29. 32. 34. 43. 64. The same author speaks of the friends of FLACIUS in *Austria*; and particularly of IRENÆUS, in his *Presbyterol. Austriacæ*, p. 69.—For an account of CÆLESTINE, see the German work mentioned at the end of the preceding note.

[k] This will appear evident to such as will be at the pains to consult the letters which WESTPHAL wrote to his friend FLACIUS, in order to persuade him to abstain from the use of the word *substance*, with the answers of the latter. These *Letters* and *Answers* are published by ARNOLD GREVIUS, in his *Memoria Jo. Westphali*, p. 186.

influence

influence and authority would have suppressed in their birth these wretched disputes; nor would OSIANDER, who despised the moderation of MELANCTHON, have dared either to publish or defend his crude and chimerical opinions within the reach of LUTHER. Arrogance and singularity were the principal lines in OSIANDER's character; he loved to strike out new notions; but his views seemed always involved in an intricate obscurity. The disputes that arose concerning the *Interim*, induced him to retire from *Nuremberg*, where he had exercised the pastoral charge, to *Konigsberg*, where he was chosen professor of divinity. In this new station he began his academical functions by propagating notions concerning the *Divine Image*, and the nature of *Repentance*, very different from the doctrine that LUTHER had taught on these interesting subjects; and, not contented with this deviation from the common track, he thought proper, in the year 1550, to introduce considerable alterations and corrections into the doctrine that had been generally received in the Lutheran church with respect to the means of our *justification* before God. When we examine his discussion of this important point, we shall find it much more easy to perceive the opinions he rejected, than to understand the system he had invented or adopted; for, as was but too usual in this age, he not only expressed his notions in an obscure manner, but seemed moreover perpetually in contradiction with himself. His doctrine however, when carefully examined, will appear to amount to the following propositions: "CHRIST, considered in his *human nature only*, could not, by his "obedience to the divine law, obtain *justification*, and "pardon for sinners; neither can we be *justified* before "God by embracing and applying to ourselves through "faith the *righteousness* and obedience of the *man* "CHRIST. It is only through that eternal and *essential* "righteousness, which dwells in CHRIST *considered as* "God, and which resides in his divine nature, that is "united to the human, that mankind can obtain complete *justification*. Man becomes a partaker of this "divine righteousness by faith; since it is in consequence of
" this

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“ this uniting principle that CHRIST dwells in the heart
“ of man, with his divine righteousness; now, where-
“ ever this divine righteousness dwells, *there* God can
“ behold no sin, and therefore, when it is present with
“ CHRIST in the hearts of the *regenerate*, they are, on
“ its account, considered by the Deity as *righteous*,
“ although they be sinners. Moreover, this *divine* and
“ *justifying righteousness* of CHRIST excites the faithful
“ to the pursuit of holiness and to the practice of virtue.”
This doctrine was zealously opposed by the most eminent doctors of the Lutheran church; and, in a more especial manner, by MELANCTHON and his colleagues. On the other hand, OSIANDER and his sentiments were supported by persons of considerable weight. But, upon the death of this rigid and fanciful divine, the flame of controversy was cooled, and dwindled by degrees into nothing [1].

The debates
excited by
Stancarus.

XXXVI. The doctrine of OSIANDER concerning the method of being justified before God, appeared so absurd to STANCARUS, professor of Hebrew at *Königsberg*, that he undertook to refute it. But while this turbulent and impetuous doctor was exerting all the vehemence of his zeal against the opinion of his colleague, he was hurried, by his violence, into the opposite extreme, and fell into an hypothesis, that appeared equally groundless, and not less dangerous in its tendency and consequences. OSIANDER had maintained, that the man CHRIST, in his character of moral agent, was obliged to obey, *for himself*, the divine law,

[1] See SCHLUSSELBURGHII *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. vi.—ARNOLDI *Histor. Eccles.* lib. xvi. cap. xxiv. p. 804.—CHRIST. HARTKNOCH *Preussische Kirchen-Historie*, p. 309.—SALIG, *Historia August. Confession.* tom. ii. p. 922. The judgment that was formed of this controversy, by the divines of *Wittenberg*, may be seen in the German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, p. 141. and that of the doctors of *Copenhagen* in *der Dänischen Bibliothec.* part. vii. p. 150. where there is an ample list of the writings published on this subject.—To form a just idea of the insolence and arrogance of OSIANDER, those who understand the German language will do well to consult HISCMIUS, *Nuremberg. Interims-Historie*, p. 44. 59, 60, &c.

and therefore could not by the imputation of this obedience obtain *righteousness* or justification for *others*. From hence he concluded, that the Saviour of the world had been empowered, not by his character as *man*, but by his nature as *God*, to make expiation for our sins, and reconcile us to the favour of an offended Deity. STANCARUS, on the other hand, excluded entirely CHRIST's divine nature from all concern in the *satisfaction* he made, and in the *redemption* he procured for offending mortals; and maintained, that the sacred office of a mediator between God and man belonged to JESUS, considered in his human nature alone. Having perceived, however, that this doctrine exposed him to the enmity of many divines; and even rendered him the object of popular resentment and indignation, he retired from *Königsberg* into *Germany*, and from thence into *Poland*, where he excited no small commotions [m], and where also he concluded his days in the year 1574 [n].

XXXVII. All those, who had the cause of virtue and the advancement of the reformation really at heart, looked with an impatient ardor for an end to these bit-

The methods that were employed to heal these divisions.

[m] See a German work of CHR. HARTKNOCH, entitled, *Preussische Kirken-geschichte*, p. 340.—SCHLUSSELBURGII *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. ix.—*Dictionnaire du BAYLE*, at the article STANCARUS.—Before the arrival of STANCARUS at *Königsberg*, in the year 1548, he had lived for some time in *Switzerland*, where also he had occasioned religious disputes; for he adopted several doctrines of LUTHER, particularly that concerning the virtue and efficacy of the sacraments, which were rejected by the Swiss and Grisons. See the *Musæum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 484. 490, 491. For an account of the disturbances he occasioned in *Poland* in 1556, see BULLINGER, in JO. CONR. FUESLINI *Centuria I Epistolar. à Reformator. Helvetic. scriptar.* p. 371. 459.

[(n) The main argument alledged by STANCARUS, in favour of his hypothesis, was this, that if CHRIST was *Mediator* by his divine nature *only*, then it followed evidently, that even considered as *God*, he was inferior to the father; and thus, according to him, the doctrine of his adversary OSIANDER led directly to the *Unitarian* system. This difficulty, which was presented with great subtilty, engaged many to strike into a middle road, and to maintain that both the divine and human natures of CHRIST were immediately concerned in the work of Redemption.]

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ter and uncharitable contentions; and their desires of peace and concord in the church were still increased by their perceiving the industrious assiduity with which *Rome* turned these unhappy divisions to the advancement of her interests. But during the life of MELANCTHON, who was principally concerned in these warm debates, no effectual method could be found to bring them to a conclusion. The death of this great man, which happened in the year 1560, changed, indeed, the face of things, and enabled those, who were disposed to terminate the present contests, to act with more resolution and a surer prospect of success, than had accompanied their former efforts. Hence it was, that, after several vain attempts, AUGUSTUS, elector of *Saxony*, and JOHN WILLIAM, duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, summoned the most eminent doctors of both the contending parties to meet at *Altenburg* in the year 1568, and there to propose in an amicable manner and with a charitable spirit their respective opinions, that thus it might be seen how far a reconciliation was possible, and what was the most probable method of bringing it about. But the intemperate zeal and warmth of the disputants, with other unlucky circumstances, blasted the fruits that were expected from this conference [o]. Another method of restoring tranquillity and union among the members of the Lutheran church was therefore proposed; and this was, that a certain number of wise and moderate divines should be employed in composing a *Form* of doctrine in which all the controversies, that divided the church, should be terminated and decided; and that this new compilation, as soon as it was approved of by the Lutheran princes and consistories, should be clothed with ecclesiastical authority, and added to the *symbolical* [p] or standard-books of the Lutheran church. JAMES ANDREÆ, professor

[o] CASP. SAGITTARIJ *Introductio ad Hist. Ecclesiasticam*, par. II. p. 1542.

[(p) The Lutherans call *symbolical* (from a Greek word that signifies *collection* or *compilation*) the books, which contain their articles of faith and rules of discipline.]

at *Tubingen*, whose theological abilities had procured him the most eminent and shining reputation, had been employed so early as the year 1569, in this critical and difficult undertaking, by the special command of the dukes of *Wirtemberg* and *Brunswick*. The elector of *Saxony* [q], with several persons of distinction, embarked with these two princes in the project they had formed; so that *ANDREÆ*, under the shade of such a powerful protection and patronage, exerted all his zeal, travelled through different parts of *Germany*, negotiated alternately with courts and synods, and took all the measures, which prudence could suggest, in order to render the *Form*, that he was composing, universally acceptable.

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XXXVIII. The persons, embarked in this new and critical design, were persuaded that no time ought to be lost in bringing it into execution, when they perceived the imprudence and temerity of the disciples of *MELANCTHON*, and the changes they were attempting to introduce into the doctrine of the church. For his son-in-law *PEUCER* [r], who was a physician and professor of natural philosophy at *Wittemberg*, together with the divines of *Wittemberg* and *Leipsick*, encouraged by the approbation and relying on the credit of *CRACOVIVS*, chancellor of *Dresden*, and of several ecclesiastics and persons of distinction at the Saxon court, aimed at no-

The Saxon
Crypto-Cal-
vinists, or,
secret fa-
vourers of
Calvinism.

[q] *AUGUSTUS*.

[(r)] This *PEUCER*, whom *Dr. Mosheim* mentions without any mark of distinction, was one of the wisest, most amiable, and most learned men that adorned the annals of German literature during this century, as the well known history of his life, and the considerable number of his medical, mathematical, moral, and theological writings, abundantly testify. Nor was he more remarkable for his merit, than for his sufferings. After his genius and virtues had rendered him the favourite of the elector of *Saxony*, and placed him at the head of the university of *Wittemberg*, he felt, in a terrible manner, the effects of the bigotry and barbarity of the rigid Lutherans, who, on account of his denying the corporal presence of *CHRIST* in the eucharist, united, with success, their efforts to deprive him of the favour of his sovereign, and procured his imprisonment. His confinement, which lasted ten years, was accompanied with all possible circumstances of severity. See *MELCHIOR ADAM, Vit. Medicor. Germanor.*]

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thing less than abolishing the doctrine of LUTHER concerning the eucharist and the person of CHRIST, with a design to substitute the sentiments of CALVIN in its place. This new reformation was attempted in Saxony in the year 1570, and a great variety of clandestine arts and stratagems were employed in order to bring it to a happy and successful issue. What the sentiments of MELANCTHON concerning the eucharist were, towards the conclusion of his days, appears to be extremely doubtful. It is however, certain, that he had a strong inclination to form a coalition between the Saxons and Calvinists, though he was prevented, by the irresolution and timidity of his natural character, from attempting openly this much desired union. PEUCER, and the other disciples of MELANCTHON already mentioned, made a public profession of the doctrine of CALVIN; and though they had much more spirit and courage than their soft and yielding master, yet they wanted *his* circumspection and prudence, which were not less necessary to the accomplishment of their designs. Accordingly, in the year 1571, they published in the German language a work, entitled *Stereoma* [*s*], and other writings, in which they openly declared their dissent from the doctrine of LUTHER concerning the *Eucharist* and the *Person of CHRIST* [*t*]; and,

[*(s)* A term which signifies *foundation*.]

[*(t)* The learned historian seems to deviate here from his usual accuracy. The authors of the book, entitled, *Stereoma*, did not declare their dissent from the doctrine of LUTHER, but from the extravagant inventions of some of his successors. This great man, in his controversy with ZUINGLE, had, indeed, thrown out some unguarded expressions, that seemed to imply a belief of the *omnipresence* of the body of CHRIST; but he became sensible, afterwards, that this opinion was attended with great difficulties, and particularly that it ought not to be made use of as a *proof* of CHRIST's *corporal presence* in the eucharist*. But this absurd hypothesis was renewed, after the death of LUTHER, by TINMAN and WESTPHAL, and was dressed up, in a still more specious and plausible form, by BRENTIUS, CHEMNITZ, and ANDREÆ, who maintained, *the communication of the properties of CHRIST's divinity to his human nature*, in the manner that it was afterwards adopted by the Lutheran

* See LUTHERI Opp. tom. viii. p. 375. Edit. Jen.

and, that they might execute their purposes with greater facility, introduced into the schools a Catechism, compiled by PEZELIUS, which was favourable to the sentiments of CALVIN. As this bold step excited great commotions and debates in the church, AUGUSTUS held at *Dresden*, in the year 1571, a solemn convocation of the Saxon divines, and of all other persons concerned in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and commanded them to adopt *his* opinion in relation to the eucharist [*u*]. The assembled doctors complied with this order in appearance; but their compliance was feigned [*w*]; for, on their return to the places of their abode, they resumed their original design, pursued it with assiduity and zeal, and by their writings, as also by

church. This strange system gave occasion to the book, entitled, *Stereoma*, in which the doctrine of LUTHER was respected, and the inventions alone of his successors renounced, and in which the authors declared plainly, that they did not adopt the sentiments of ZUINGLE or CALVIN; nay, that they admitted the real and substantial presence of CHRIST's body and blood in the Eucharist.]

[(*u*) In this passage, compared with what follows, Dr. MOSHEIM seems to maintain, that the *opinion* of AUGUSTUS, which he imposed upon the assembled divines, was in favour of the adversaries of MELANCTHON, and in direct opposition to the authors of the *Stereoma*. But here he has committed a palpable oversight. The convocation of *Dresden*, in the year 1571, instead of approving or maintaining the doctrine of the rigid Lutherans, drew up, on the contrary, a *form of agreement* (*formula consensus*) in which the *omnipresence* or *ubiquity* of CHRIST's body was denied, and which was, indeed, an abridgment of the book, entitled, *Stereoma*. So that the transactions at *Dresden* were entirely favourable to the modern Lutherans, who embraced openly and sincerely (and not by a *feigned* consent (*subdole*) as our historian remarks) the sentiments of the elector AUGUSTUS, who, at that time, patronized the disciples of MELANCTHON. This prince, it is true, seduced by the crafty and artful insinuations of the *Ubiquitarians*, or rigid Lutherans, who made him believe that the ancient doctrines of the church were in danger, changed sides soon after, and was pushed on to the most violent and persecuting measures, of which the convocation of *Torgaw* was the first step, and the *Form of Concord* the unhappy issue.]

[(*w*) The *compliance* was sincere, but the order was very different from that mentioned by our author; as appears from the preceding note.]

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their public and private instructions, endeavoured to abolish the ancient doctrine of the Saxons relating to the presence of CHRIST's body in that holy sacrament. The elector, informed of these proceedings, convened anew the Saxon doctors, and held, in the year 1574, the famous convocation of *Torgaw* [*x*], where, after a strict inquiry into the doctrines of those, who from their secret attachment to the sentiments of the Swiss divines were called *Crypto-Calvinists* [*y*], he committed some of them to prison, sent others into banishment, and engaged a certain number by the force of the secular arm to change their sentiments. PEUCER, who had been principally concerned in moderating the rigour of some of LUTHER's doctrines, felt, in a more especial manner, the dreadful effects of the elector's severity. For he was confined to a hard prison, where he lay in the most affecting circumstances of distress until the year 1585, when, having obtained his liberty, through the intercession of the prince of *Anhalt*, who had given his daughter in marriage to AUGUSTUS, he retired to *Zerbst*, where he ended his days in peace [*z*].

The form
of Concord.

XXXIX. The schemes of the *Crypto-Calvinists*, or secret abettors of Calvinism, being thus disconcerted, the elector of *Saxony* and the other princes, who had entered into his views, redoubled their zeal and diligence in pro-

[(*x*) It is to be observed, that there were but *fifteen* of the Saxon doctors convened at *Torgaw* by the summons of the elector; a small number this, to give law to the Lutheran church. For an account of the declaration drawn up by this assembly, on the points relating to the presence of CHRIST's body in the eucharist, the omnipresence of that body, and the oral manducation of the flesh and blood of the divine Saviour; see HOSPINIANI *Concordia Discors*, p. 39.]

[(*y*) i. e. Hidden or disguised Calvinist.]

[*x*] See SCHLUSSELBURGHII *Theologia Calvinistica*, lib. ii. p. 207. lib. iii. *Præf.* & p. 1—22. 52—57. 69. lib. iv. p. 246.—HUTTERI *Concordia Concors*, cap. i—viii.—ARNOLDI *Hister. Ecclesiast.* lib. xvi. cap. xxxii. p. 389—395.—LOSCHERI *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat.* part. II. p. 176. part. III. p. 1.—All these are writers favourable to the rigid Lutherans; see therefore, on the other side, CASP. PEUCERI *Historia Carcerum et Liberationis Divina*, which was published in 8vo. at *Zurich*, in the year 1605, by PEZELIUS.

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moting the *Form of Concord* that has been already mentioned. Accordingly, various conferences were held, preparatory to this important undertaking; and, in the year 1576, while the Saxon divines were convened at *Torgaw* by the order of AUGUSTUS, a treatise was composed by JAMES ANDREÆ, with a design to heal the divisions of the Lutheran church, and as a preservative against the opinions of the *Reformed* doctors [a]. This production, which received the denomination of the *Book of Torgaw*, from the place where it was composed, having been carefully examined, reviewed, and corrected by the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors in *Germany*, the matter was again proposed to the deliberations of a select number of divines who met at *Berg*, a Benedictine monastery in the neighbourhood of *Magdeburg* [b]. Here all things relating to the intended project were accurately weighed, the opinions of the assembled doctors carefully discussed, and the result of all was the famous *Form of Concord*, which has made so much noise in the world. The persons who assisted ANDREÆ in the composition of this celebrated work, or at least in the last perusal of it at *Berg*, were MARTIN CHEMNITZ, NICHOLAS SELNECCER, ANDREW MUSCULUS, CHRISTOPHER CORNERUS, and DAVID CHYTRÆUS [c]. This new confession of the
Lutheran

[(a) 'The term *Reformed* was used to distinguish the other Protestants of various denominations from the Lutherans; and it is equally applied to the friends of episcopacy and presbytery. See the following chapter.]

[(b) The book that was composed by ANDREÆ and his associates at *Torgaw*, was sent, by the elector of *Saxony*, to almost all the Lutheran princes, with a view to its being examined, approved, and received by them. It was, however, rejected by several princes, and censured and refuted by several doctors. These censures engaged the compilers to review and correct it; and it was from this book, thus changed and new modelled, that the *Form of Concord*, published at *Berg*, was entirely drawn.]

[(c) The *Form of Concord*, composed at *Torgaw*, and reviewed at *Berg*, consists of two Parts. In the first is contained a system of doctrine drawn up according to the fancy of the six doctors here mentioned. In the second is exhibited one of the strongest instances of that persecuting and tyrannical spirit, which the protestants complained

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Lutheran faith was adopted first by the Saxons, in consequence of the strict order of AUGUSTUS; and their example was afterwards followed by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches, by some sooner, by others later [*d*]. The authority of this confession, as is sufficiently known, was employed for the two following purposes, *first*, to terminate the controversies, which divided the Lutheran church, more especially after the death of its founder; and *secondly*, to preserve that church against the opinions of the *Reformed* in relation to the eucharist.

The Form
of Concord
produces
much distur-
bance,—

XL. It so fell out however, that this very *Form*, which was designed to restore peace and concord in the church, and had actually produced this effect in several places, became nevertheless a source of new tumults, and fur-

plained of in the church of *Rome*, even a formal CONDEMNATION of all those who differed from these *six doctors*, particularly in their strange opinions concerning the *majesty* and *omnipresence* of CHRIST's body, and the *real manducation* of his flesh and blood in the eucharist. This *condemnation* branded with the denomination of hereticks, and excluded from the communion of the church, all Christians of all nations, who refused to subscribe to these doctrines. More particularly, in *Germany*, the terrors of the sword were solicited against these pretended hereticks, as may be seen in the famous Testament of BRENTIUS. For a full account of the *Confession of Torgaw* and *Berg*, see HOSPINIAN's *Concordia Discors*; where the reader will find large extracts out of this confession, with an ample account of the censures it underwent, the opposition that was made to it, and the arguments that were used by its learned adversaries.]

[*d*] A list of the writers who have treated concerning the *Form of Concord*, may be found in JO. GEORG. WALCHII *Introduc. in Libros Symbolicos*, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 707. & KOECHERII *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 188. There are also several *Documents* in MSS relative to this famous confession, of which there is an account in the German work, entitled, *Unschuld. Nachricht*. A. 1753. p. 322. —The principal writers who have given the history of the *Form of Concord*, and the transactions relating to it, are HOSPINIAN, an eminent divine of *Zurich*, in his *Concordia Discors*; and LEON. HUTTER, in his *Concordia Concors*. These two historians have written on opposite sides; and whoever will be at the pains of comparing their accounts with attention and impartiality, will easily perceive where the truth lies, and receive satisfactory information with respect to the true state of these controversies, and the motives that animated the contending parties.

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nished matter for the most violent dissensions and contests. It immediately met with a warm opposition from the *Reformed*, and also from all those, who were either secretly attached to their doctrine, or who, at least, were desirous of living in concord and communion with them from a laudable zeal for the common interests of the protestant cause. Nor was their opposition at all unaccountable, since they plainly perceived, that this *Form* removed all the flattering hopes, they had entertained, of seeing the divisions that reigned among the friends of religious liberty happily healed, and entirely excluded the *Reformed* from the communion of the Lutheran church. Hence they were filled with indignation against the authors of this new *Confession of faith*, and exposed their uncharitable proceedings in writings full of spirit and vehemence. The Swiss doctors, with HOSPINIAN at their head, the Belgic divines [e], those of the Palatinate [f], together with the principalities of *Anhalt* and *Bade*, declared war against the *Form of Concord*. And accordingly from this period the Lutheran, and more especially the Saxon doctors, were charged with the disagreeable task of defending this new Creed and its compilers in many laborious productions [g].

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the *Reform-*
ed, or *Cal-*
vinists,

XLI. Nor were the followers of ZUINGLE and CALVIN the only opposers of this *Form of Concord*; it found adversaries, even in the very bosom of Lutheranism, and several of the most eminent churches of that communion rejected it with such firmness and resolution, that no arguments nor entreaties could engage them

and even by
the Luthe-
rans them-
selves.

[e] See PETRI VILLERII *Epistola Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum et contra Auctores Libri Bergensis dicti "Concordiæ."* This work was published a second time with the Annotations of LUD. GERHARD à RENESSE, by the learned Dr. GERDES, of *Groningen*, in his *Scrinium Antiquarium, seu Miscellan. Groningens. Nov.* tom. i. p. 121. Add to these the *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A. 1747, p. 957.

[f] JOHN CASIMIR, Prince Palatine, convoked an assembly of the *Reformed Divines* at *Francfort* in the year 1577, in order to annul and reject this *Form of Concord*. See HEN. ALTINGII *Histor. Eccles. Palatin.* § clxxix. p. 143.

[g] See JO. GEORG. WALCHII *Introd. in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranor.* lib. i. cap. vii. p. 734.

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to admit it as a rule of faith, or even as a mean of instruction. It was rejected by the churches of *Hessia*, *Pomerania*, *Nuremberg*, *Holstein*, *Silesia*, *Denmark*, *Brunswick*, and others [b]. But though they all united in opposing it, their opposition was nevertheless founded on different reasons, nor did they all act in this affair from the same motives and the same principles. A warm and affectionate veneration for the memory of MELANCTHON was, with some, the only, or, at least, the predominant motive that induced them to declare against the *Form* in question; they could not behold, without the utmost abhorrence, a production in which the sentiments of this great and excellent man were so rudely treated. In this class we may rank the Lutherans of *Holstein*. Others were not only animated in their opposition by a regard for MELANCTHON, but also by a persuasion, that the opinions, condemned in the new Creed, were more conformable to truth, than those that were substituted in their place. A secret attachment to the sentiments of the Helvetic doctors prevented some from approving of the *Form* under consideration; the hopes of uniting the *Reformed* and *Lutheran* churches engaged many to declare against it; and a considerable

[b] For an account of the ill success the *Form of Concord* met with in the dutchy of *Holstein*, see the German work, entitled, *Die Dänische Bibliothec*. vol. iv. p. 212. vol. v. p. 355. vol. viii. p. 333—468. vol. ix. p. 1.—MÜHLII *Dissert. Histor. Theol. Diss. I. de Reformat. Holsat.* p. 108.—ARN. GREVII *Memoria PAULI ab EITZEN*. The transactions in *Denmark* in relation to this *Form*, and the particular reasons for which it was rejected there, may be seen in the *Danish Library* above quoted, vol. iv. p. 222—282. and also in PONTOPPIDAN'S *Annal. Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 456. This latter author evidently proves (p. 476,) a fact, which HERMAN ab ELSWICH, and other authors, have endeavoured to represent as dubious, viz. that FREDERICK II, king of *Denmark*, as soon as he received a copy of the *Form* in question, threw it into the fire, and saw it consumed before his eyes.—The opposition that was made by the Hessians to the same *Form*, may be seen in TIELEMANNI *Vita Theolog. Marpurgens.* p. 99.—*Dänischen Bibliothec*. vol. vii. p. 273—364. tom. ix. p. 1—87.—The ill fate of this famous Confession, in the principalities of *Lignitz* and *Brieg*, is amply related in the German work, entitled, *Unschuld. Nachricht*. A. 1745, p. 173.

number

number refused their assent to it from an apprehension, whether real or pretended, that adding a new *Creed* to the ancient confessions of faith would be really a source of disturbance and discord in the Lutheran church. It would be endless to enumerate the different reasons alledged by the different individuals or communities, who declared their dissent from the *Form of Concord*.

XLII. This *Form* was patronised in a more especial manner by JULIUS, duke of *Brunswick*, to whom, in a great measure, it owed its existence, who had employed both his authority and munificence in order to encourage those who had undertaken to compose it, and had commanded all the ecclesiastics, within his dominions, to receive and subscribe it as a rule of faith. But scarcely was it published, when the zealous prince changed his mind, suffered the *Form* to be publicly opposed by HESHUSIUS, and other divines of his university of *Helmstadt*, and to be excluded from the number of the Creeds and confessions that were received by his subjects. The reasons alledged by the Lutherans of *Brunswick*, in behalf of this step, were, 1st, That the *Form of Concord*, when printed, differed in several places from the manuscript copy to which they had given their approbation: 2^{dly}, That the doctrine relating to the *freedom* of the *human will* was expressed in it without a sufficient degree of accuracy and precision, and was also inculcated in the harsh and improper terms that LUTHER had employed in treating that subject: 3^{dly}, That the *ubiquity* or universal and *indefinite presence* of CHRIST's human nature was therein positively maintained, notwithstanding that the Lutheran church had never adopted any such doctrine. Besides these reasons for rejecting the *Form of Concord*, which were publicly avowed, others perhaps of a secret nature contributed to the remarkable change, which was visible in the sentiments and proceedings of the duke of *Brunswick*. Various methods and negotiations were employed to remove the dislike which this prince and the divines that lived in his territories had conceived against the Creed of *Berg*. Particularly, in the year 1583, a convocation of divines

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The conduct
of Julius,
duke of
Brunswick,
in this
matter.

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divines from *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Brunswick*, and the Palatinate was held at *Quedlinburg* for this purpose. But JULIUS persisted stedfastly in his opposition, and proposed that the *Form of Concord* should be examined, and its authority discussed by a general assembly or synod of the Lutheran church [i].

The Crypto-Calvinists make new attempts to spread their doctrine.

XLIII. This *Form* was not only opposed from abroad, but had likewise adversaries in the very country which gave it birth. For even in *Saxony* many, who had been obliged to subscribe to it, beheld it with aversion in consequence of their attachment to the doctrine of MELANCTHON. During the administration of AUGUSTUS, they were forced to suppress their sentiments, but as soon as he had paid the last tribute to nature, and was succeeded by CHRISTIAN I, the moderate Lutherans and the secret Calvinists resumed their courage. The new elector had been accustomed, from his tender years, to the moderate sentiments of MELANCTHON, and is also said to have discovered a propensity to the doctrine of the Helvetic church. Under his government, therefore, a fair opportunity was offered to the persons above-mentioned, of declaring their sentiments and executing their designs. Nor was this opportunity neglected. The attempts to abolish the *Form of Concord*, that had in time past proved unsuccessful, seemed again to be renewed, and that with a design to open a door for the entrance of Calvinism into *Saxony*. The persons who had embarked in this design, were greatly encouraged by the protection they had received from several noblemen of the first rank at the Saxon court, and, particularly, from CRELLIUS, the first minister of CHRISTIAN. Under the auspicious influence of such patrons it was

[i] See LEON. HUTTERI *Concordia Concors*, cap. xlv. p. 1051, —PHIL. JUL. RCHTMEYER *Braunschweig. Kirchen Histoire*, part. III. cap. viii. p. 483.—See also the authors mentioned by CHRIST. MATTH. PFAFFIUS, in his *Acta et Scripta Ecclesiæ Wurtemberg*. p. 62. & *Histor. Litterar. Theologiæ*, part. II. p. 423.—For an account of the Convocation of *Quedlinburg* and the *Acts*, that passed in that assembly, see the German work, entitled, *Dänische Bibliothec*. part. VIII. p. 595.

natural to expect success; yet they conducted their affairs with circumspection and prudence. Certain laws were previously enacted in order to prepare the minds of the people for the intended revolution in the doctrine of the church; and some time after [k] the form of *exorcism* was omitted in the administration of baptism [l]. These measures were followed by others still more alarming to the rigid Lutherans, for not only a new German Catechism favourable to the purpose of the secret Calvinists was industriously distributed among the people, but also, a new edition of the Bible in the same language, enriched with the observations of HENRY SALMUTH, which were artfully accommodated to this purpose, was, in the year 1591, published at *Dresden*. The consequences of these vigorous measures were violent tumults and seditions among the people, which the magistrates endeavoured to suppress by punishing with severity such of the clergy as distinguished themselves by their opposition to the views of the court. But the whole plan of this religious revolution was, all of a sudden, overturned by the unexpected death of CHRISTIAN, which happened in the year 1591. Then the face of affairs changed again, and assumed its former aspect. The doctors, who had been principally concerned in the execution of this unsuccessful project, were committed to prison, or sent into banishment, after the death of the elector; and its chief encourager and patron CRELLIUS suffered death in the year 1601, as the fruit of his temerity [m].

XLIV. To-

[k] In the year 1591.

[l] The custom of *exorcising*, or, casting out evil spirits, was used in the fourth century at the admission of *Catechumens*, and was afterwards absurdly applied in the baptism of infants. This application of it was retained by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches. It was indeed abolished by the elector CHRISTIAN I, but was restored after his death; and the opposition that had been made to it by CRELLIUS was the chief reason of his unhappy end. See JUSTI. H. BOEHMERI *Jus Ecclesiast. Protestant.* tom. iii. p. 843. *Ed. Secund. Halæ* 1727.—As also a German work of MELCHIOR KRAFT, entitled, *Geschichte des Exorcismi*, p. 401.]

[m] See the German work of GODF. ARNOLD, entitled, *Kirchen-*

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set on foot
by Huber.

XLIV. Towards the conclusion of this century a new controversy was imprudently set on foot at *Wittemberg*, by SAMUEL HUBER, a native of *Switzerland*, and professor of divinity in that university. The calvinistical doctrine of absolute predestination, and unconditional decrees was extremely offensive to this adventurous doctor, and even excited his warmest indignation. Accordingly, he affirmed and taught publicly that all mankind were elected from eternity by the Supreme Being to everlasting salvation, and accused his colleagues, in particular, and the Lutheran divines in general of a propensity to the doctrine of CALVIN, on account of their asserting, that the divine election was confined to those, whose *faith, foreseen* by an omniscient God, rendered them the proper objects of his redeeming mercy. The opinion of HUBER, as is now acknowledged by many learned men, differed more in *words* than in *reality*, from the doctrine of the Lutheran church; for he did no more than explain in a new method, and with a different turn of phrase, what that church had always taught concerning the unlimited extent of the love of God, as embracing the whole human race, and excluding none by an *absolute* decree from everlasting salvation. However, as a disagreeable experience and repeated examples had abundantly shewn that new methods of explaining or proving even received doctrines were as much adapted to excite divisions and contests, as the introduction of new errors, HUBER was exhorted to adhere to the ancient method of proposing the doctrine of *Election*, and, instead of his own peculiar forms of expression, to make use of those that were received and authorised by the church. This compliance, nevertheless, he refused to submit to, alleging, that it was contrary to the dictates of his conscience; while his patrons and disciples in many places gave several indications of a turbulent and seditious zeal for his cause. These considerations engaged the ma-

und Ketzer Historie, part. II. book XVI. cap. xxxii. p. 863. As also the authors mentioned by HERM. ASCAN. ENGELKEN, in his *Dissertat. de Nic. Crellio, ejusque Supplicio, Rossobii 1724, edit.*

gistrates

gistrates of *Wittemberg* to depose him from his office, and to send him into banishment [n].

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XLV. The controversies, of which a succinct account has now been given, and others of inferior moment, which it is needless to mention, were highly detrimental to the true interests of the Lutheran church, as is abundantly known by all, who are acquainted with the history of this century. It must also be acknowledged, that the manner of conducting and deciding these debates, the spirit of the disputants, and the proceedings of the judges, if we form our estimate of them by the sentiments that prevail among the wiser sort of men in modern times, must be considered as inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. It betrays, nevertheless, a want both of candour and justice to inveigh indiscriminately against the authors of these misfortunes, and to represent them as totally destitute of rational sentiments and virtuous principles. And it is yet more unjust to throw the whole blame upon the triumphant party, while the suffering side are all fondly represented as men of unblemished virtue, and worthy of a better fate. It ought not certainly to be a matter of surprise, that persons long accustomed to a state of darkness, and suddenly transported from thence into the blaze of day, did, not, at first, behold the objects that were presented to their view with that distinctness and precision, that are natural to those, who have long enjoyed the light. And such, really, was the case of the first protestant doctors, who were delivered from the gloom of papal superstition and tyranny. Besides, there was something gross and indelicate in the reigning spirit of this age, which made the people not only tolerate, but even applaud many things relating both to the conduct of life and the management of controversy, which the more polished manners of modern times cannot relish, and which, indeed, are by no means worthy of imitation.

The judgment that ought to be formed concerning all these controversies.

[n] For an account of the writers that appeared in this controversy, see CHRIST. MATTH. PFAFFII *Introductio in Histor. Litter. Theologiae*, part. II. lib. iii. p. 431.

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As to the particular motives or intentions that ruled each individual in this troubled scene of controversy, whether they acted from the suggestions of malice and resentment, or from an upright and sincere attachment to what they looked upon to be the truth, or how far these two springs of action were jointly concerned in their conduct, all this must be left to the decision of him alone, whose privilege it is to search the heart, and to discern its most hidden intentions and its most secret motives.

The principal doctors and writers of this century.

XLVI. The Lutheran church furnished, during this century, a long list of considerable doctors, who illustrated, in their writings, the various branches of theological science. After LUTHER and MELANCTHON, who stand foremost in this list, on account of their superior genius and erudition, we may select the following writers, as the most eminent, and as persons whose names are worthy to be preserved in the annals of literature: viz. WELLER, CHEMNITZ, BRENTIUS, FLACIUS, REGIUS, MAJOR, AMSDORF, SARCERIUS, MATHESIUS, WIGANDUS, LAMBERTUS, ANDREÆ, CHYTRÆUS, SELNECCER, BUCER, FAGIUS, CRUCIGER, STRIGELIUS, SPANGENBERG, JUDEX, HESHUSIUS, WESTPHAL, ÆPINUS, OSIANDER, and others [o].

[o] For an ample account of these Lutheran doctors, see MELCHIOR ADAMI *Vitæ Theologorum*, and LOUIS ELIS DUPIN *Bibliothèque des Auteurs séparés de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine, du XVII Siècle*. The lives of several of these divines have been also separately composed by different authors of the present times; as for example, that of WELLER by LÆMELIUS, that of FLACIUS by RITTER, those of HESHUSIUS and SPANGENBERG by LEUCKFELDT, that of FAGIUS by FEVERLIN, that of CHYTRÆUS by SCHUTZ, that of BUCER by VERPORTENIUS, those of WESTPHAL and ÆPINUS by ARN. GREVIUS, &c.

C H A P.

CHAP. II.

The History of the REFORMED [p] CHURCH.

I. **T**HE nature and constitution of the *Reformed Church*, which was formerly denominated by its adversaries after its founders ZUINGLE and CALVIN, is entirely different from that of all other ecclesiastical communities. Every other Christian church hath some common center of union, and its members are connected together by some common bond of doctrine and discipline. But this is far from being the case of the *Reformed church [q]*, whose several branches are neither united

The constitution of the Reformed church.

[(p)] It has already been observed that the denomination of REFORMED, was given to those protestant churches, which did not embrace the doctrine and discipline of LUTHER. The title was first assumed by the French protestants, and afterwards became the common denomination of all the calvinistical churches on the continent. I say, on the continent; since in *England* the term *Reformed* is generally used as standing in opposition to popery alone. Be that as it may; this part of Dr. MOSHEIM's work would have been perhaps, with more propriety, entitled, *The History of the Reformed CHURCHES*, than *The History of the Reformed CHURCH*. This will appear still more evident from the following Note.]

[(q)] This and the following observations are designed to give the *Lutheran church* an air of *unity*, which is not to be found in the *Reformed*. But there is a real fallacy in this specious representation of things. The *Reformed church*, when considered in the true extent of the term *Reformed*, comprehends all those religious communities that separated themselves from the church of *Rome*, and, in this sense, includes the *Lutheran church*, as well as the others. And even when this epithet is used in opposition to the community founded by LUTHER, it represents, not a single church, as the *Episcopal*, *Presbyterian*, or *Independent*, but rather a collection of churches; which, though they be *invisibly* united by a belief and profession of the *fundamental* doctrines of Christianity, yet frequent *separate* places of worship, and have, each, a *visible* center of *external* union peculiar to themselves, which is formed by certain *peculiarities* in their respective rules of public worship and ecclesiastical government. An attentive examination of the discipline, polity, and worship of the churches of *England*, *Scotland*, *Holland*, and *Switzerland*, will set this matter in the clearest light. The first of these churches being governed by *bishops*, and not admitting of

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united by the same system of doctrine, nor by the same mode of worship, nor yet by the same form of government. It is farther to be observed, that this church does not require from its ministers, either uniformity in their private sentiments, or in their public doctrine, but permits them to explain, in different ways, several doctrines of no small moment, provided that the great and fundamental principles of Christianity and the practical precepts of that divine religion be maintained in their original purity. This great community, therefore, may be properly considered as an ecclesiastical body composed of several churches, that vary, more or less, from each other in their form and constitution; but which are preserved, however, from anarchy and schisms by a general spirit of equity and toleration that runs through the whole system, and renders variety of opinion consistent with fraternal union.

The causes
that produc-
ed this state
of things.

II. This, indeed, was not the original state and constitution of the Reformed church, but was the result of a certain combination of events and circumstances, that threw it, by a sort of necessity, into this ambiguous form. The doctors of *Switzerland*, from whom it derived its origin, and CALVIN, who was one of its principal founders, employed all their credit, and exerted their most vigorous efforts in order to reduce all the churches, which embraced their sentiments under one rule of faith, and the same form of ecclesiastical government. And although they considered the Lu-

the validity of *presbyterian ordination*, differs from the other three, more than any of these differ from each other. There are however peculiarities of government and worship, that distinguish the church of *Holland* from that of *Scotland*. The institution of deacons, the use of forms for the celebration of the sacraments, an ordinary form of prayer, the observation of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsuntide, are established in the Dutch church; and it is well known, that the church of *Scotland* differs from it extremely in these respects.—But after all, to what does the pretended uniformity among the Lutherans amount? are not some of the Lutheran churches governed by bishops, while others are ruled by elders? It shall moreover be shewn in its proper place, that, even in point of doctrine, the Lutheran churches are not so very remarkable for their uniformity.]

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therans as their brethren, yet they shewed no marks of indulgence to those who openly favoured the opinions of LUTHER concerning the *Eucharist*, the *Person of CHRIST*, *Predestination*, and other matters that were connected with these doctrines; nor would they permit the other protestant churches, that embraced their communion, to deviate from their example in this respect. A new scene, however, which was exhibited in *Britain*, contributed much to enlarge this narrow and contracted system of church-communion. For when the violent contest concerning the form of ecclesiastical government, and the nature and number of those rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted into the public worship, arose between the abettors of *Episcopacy*, and the *Puritans* [r], it was judged necessary to extend the borders of the Reformed church, and rank in the class of its true members, even those who departed, in some respects, from the ecclesiastical polity and doctrines established at *Geneva*. This spirit of toleration and indulgence grew still more forbearing and comprehensive after the famous synod of *Dort*. For though the sentiments and doctrines of the *Arminians* were rejected and condemned in that numerous assembly, yet they gained ground privately, and insinuated themselves into the minds of many. The church of *England*, under the reign of CHARLES I, publicly renounced the opinions of CALVIN relating to the *Divine Decrees*, and made several attempts to model its doctrine and institutions after the laws, tenets, and customs, that were observed by the primitive Christians. On the other hand, several Lutheran congregations in *Germany* entertained a strong propensity to the doctrines and discipline of the church of *Geneva*; though they were restrained from declaring themselves, fully and openly, on this head, by their apprehensions of forfeiting the privileges they derived

[(r) The *Puritans*, who inclined to the presbyterian form of church-government, of which KNOX was one of the earliest abettors in *Britain*, derived this denomination, from their pretending to a purer method of worship than that which had been established by EDWARD VI and QUEEN ELIZABETH.]

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from their adherence to the confession of *Augsburg*. The French refugees also, who had long been accustomed to a moderate way of thinking in religious matters, and whose national turn led them to a certain freedom of inquiry, being dispersed abroad in all parts of the protestant world, rendered themselves so agreeable, by their wit and eloquence, that their example excited a kind of emulation in favour of religious liberty. All these circumstances accompanied with others, whose influence was less palpable, though equally real, instilled, by degrees, such a spirit of lenity and forbearance into the minds of protestants, that, at this day, all Christians, if we except *Roman-catholics*, *Socinians*, *Quakers*, and *Anabaptists*, may claim a place among the members of the Reformed church. It is true, great reluctance was discovered by many against this comprehensive scheme of church-communion; and, even in the times in which we live, the ancient and less charitable manner of proceeding hath several patrons, who would be glad to see the doctrines and institutions of CALVIN universally adopted and rigorously observed. The number, however, of these rigid doctors is not very great, nor is their influence considerable. And it may be affirmed with truth, that, both in point of number and authority, they are much inferior to the friends of moderation, who reduce within a narrow compass the fundamental doctrines of Christianity on the belief of which salvation depends, exercise forbearance and fraternal charity towards those who explain certain doctrines in a manner peculiar to themselves, and desire to see the enclosure (if I may use that expression) of the Reformed church rendered as large and comprehensive as is possible [s].

III. The

[s] The annals of theology have not as yet been enriched with a full and accurate *History of the Reformed Church*. This task was indeed undertaken by SCULTET, and even carried down so far as his own time, in his *Annales Evangelii Renovati*; but the greatest part of this work is lost. THEOD. HASÆUS, who proposed to give the *Annals of the Reformed Church*, was prevented by death from fulfilling his purpose. The famous work of JAMES BASNAGE, published in two volumes 4to at *Rotterdam*, in the year 1725, under

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III. The founder of the Reformed church was UL-
RICK ZUINGLE, a native of *Switzerland*, and a man
of uncommon penetration and acuteness, accompanied
with an ardent zeal for truth. This great man was for
removing out of the churches, and abolishing, in the
ceremonies and appendages of public worship, many
things which LUTHER was disposed to treat with tole-
ration and indulgence, such as images, altars, wax-
tapers, the form of *exorcism*, and private confession.
He aimed at nothing so much as establishing, in his
country, a method and form of divine worship remark-
able for [its simplicity, and as far remote as could be,
from every thing that might have the smallest tendency
to nourish a spirit of superstition [t]. Nor were these
the only circumstances in which he differed from the
Saxon reformer; for his sentiments concerning several
points of theology, and more especially his opinions
relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, varied
widely from those of LUTHER. The greatest part of

The found-
ation of the
Reformed
church laid
by Zuingle.

the title of *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées*, instead of
giving a regular History of the Reformed Church, is only designed
to shew, that its peculiar and distinguishing doctrines are not new
inventions, but were taught and embraced in the earliest ages of
the church.—MAIMBOURG's *Histoire du Calvinisme*, is remarkable
for nothing, but the partiality of its author, and the wilful errors
with which it abounds.

[(t) The design of ZUINGLE was certainly excellent; but in the
execution of it he perhaps went too far, and consulted rather the
dictates of reason than the real exigencies of human nature in its
present state. The present union between soul and body, which
operate *together* in the actions of moral agents, even in those that
appear the most abstracted and refined, renders it necessary to con-
sult the *external senses*, as well as the *intellectual powers*, in the
institution of public worship. Besides, between a worship purely
and philosophically rational, and a service grossly and palpably su-
perstitious, there are many intermediate steps and circumstances by
which a rational service may be rendered more affecting and awaken-
ing without becoming superstitious. A noble edifice, a solemn
music, a well ordered set of external gestures, though they do not,
in themselves, render our prayers one whit more acceptable to the
Deity, than if they were offered up without any of these circum-
stances, produce, nevertheless, a good effect. They elevate the
mind, they give it a composed and solemn frame, and thus contri-
bute to the fervor of its devotion.]

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these sentiments and opinions were adopted, in *Switzerland*, by those who had joined themselves to ZUINGLE, in promoting the cause of the reformation, and were by them transmitted to all the Helvetic churches, that threw off the yoke of *Rome*. From *Switzerland* these opinions were propagated among the neighbouring nations, by the ministerial labours and the theological writings of the friends and disciples of ZUINGLE; and thus the primitive Reformed church, that was founded by this eminent ecclesiastic, and whose extent at first was not very considerable, gathered strength by degrees, and made daily new acquisitions.

The controversy between the Lutherans and Reformed concerning the eucharist.

IV. The separation between the Lutheran and Swiss churches was chiefly occasioned by the doctrine of ZUINGLE, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper. LUTHER maintained, that the *body and blood* of CHRIST were *really*, though in a manner far beyond human comprehension, *present* in the eucharist, and were exhibited together with the *bread and wine*. On the contrary, the Swiss reformer looked upon the *bread and wine* in no other light, than as the *signs and symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of CHRIST; and, from the year 1524, propagated this doctrine in a public manner by his writings, after having entertained and taught it privately before that period [u]. In a little time after this [w], his example was followed by OECOLAMPADIUS, a divine of *Basil*, and one of the most learned men of this century [x]. But they were both opposed with obstinacy and spirit by LUTHER and his associates, particularly those of the circle of *Suabia*. In the mean time, PHILIP, landgrave of *Hesse*, apprehending the pernicious

[u] ZUINGLE certainly taught this doctrine in private before the year 1524, as appears from GERDES, *Historia Renovat. Evangelii*, tom. i. *Append.* p. 228.

[w] In the year 1525.

[x] JO. CONR. FUESLINI *Centuria I, Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* p. 31. 35. 44. 49.—[OECOLAMPADIUS was not less remarkable for his extraordinary modesty, his charitable, forbearing, and pacific spirit, and his zeal for the progress of vital and *practical* religion, than for his profound erudition, which he seemed rather studious to conceal than to display.]

ous effects, that these debates might have upon the affairs of the *protestants*, which were, as yet, in that fluctuating and unsettled state that marks the infancy of all great revolutions, was desirous of putting an end to these differences, and appointed, for that purpose, a conference at *Marpurg* between *ZUINGLE*, *LUTHER*, and other doctors of both parties [y]. This meeting, however, only covered the flame, instead of extinguishing it; and the pacific prince, seeing it impossible to bring about a definitive treaty of peace and concord between these jarring divines, was obliged to rest satisfied with having engaged them to consent to a truce. *LUTHER* and *ZUINGLE* came to an agreement about several points; but the principal matter in debate, even that which regarded *CHRIST*'s presence in the eucharist, was left undecided; each party appealing to the fountain of wisdom, to terminate this controversy, and expressing their hopes that time and impartial reflexion might discover and confirm the truth [z].

V. The Reformed church had scarcely been founded in *Switzerland* by *ZUINGLE*, when this Christian hero fell in a battle that was fought, in the year 1530, between the protestants of *Zurich* and their Roman-catholic compatriots, who drew the sword in defence of popery. It was not indeed to perform the sanguinary office of a soldier that *ZUINGLE* was present at this engagement, but with a view to encourage and animate, by his counsels and exhortations, the valiant defenders of the protestant cause [a]. After his death, several

The progress of these disputes so far down as the death of *Luther*.

Lutheran

[y] *ZUINGLE* was accompanied by *OECOLAMPADIUS*, *BUCER*, and *HEDION*. *LUTHER* had with him *MELANCTHON* and *JUSTUS JONAS* from *Saxony*, together with *OSIANDER*, *BRENTIUS*, and *AGRICOLA*.]

[z] *RUCHAT*, *Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse*, vol. i. passim. vol. ii. livr. vi. p. 463.—*HOTTINGER*, *Helvetische Kirchen-Geschichte*, part. III. p. 27. 51. 483.—*VAL. ERN. LOSCHERI Historia Motuum*, part. i. cap. ii. iii. p. 55. cap. vi. p. 143.—*FUESLIN*, *Beyträge zur Schweizer-Reformation*, tom. iv. p. 120.

[a] The Lutherans, who consider this unhappy fate of *ZUINGLE* as a reproach upon that great man in particular, and upon the Re-

CENT. XVI. Lutheran doctors of the more moderate sort, and particularly MARTIN BUCER, used their utmost endeavours to bring about some kind of reconciliation between the contending parties. For this purpose they exhorted the jarring theologians to concord, interpreted the points in dispute with a prudent regard to the prejudices of both sides, admonished them of the pernicious consequences that must attend the prolongation of these unhappy contests, and even went so far as to express the respective sentiments of the contending doctors in terms of considerable ambiguity and latitude, that thus the desired union might be the more easily effected. There is no doubt, but that the intentions and designs of these zealous intercessors were pious and upright [b]; but it will be difficult to decide, whether or no the means they employed were adapted to promote the end they had in view. Be that as it may, these pacific counsels of BUCER excited divisions in *Switzerland*; for some persevered obstinately in the doctrine of ZUINGLE, while others adopted the explications and modifications of his doctrine that were offered by BUCER [c]. But these divisions and commotions had not the least effect on that reconciliation with LUTHER, that was earnestly desired by the pious and moderate doctors on both sides. The efforts of BUCER were more successful out of *Switzerland*, and particularly among those divines in the upper

formed church in general, discover a gross ignorance of the genius and manners of the Swiss nation in this century. For as all the inhabitants of that country are at present trained to arms, and obliged to take the field, when the defence of their country requires it, so in the time of ZUINGLE this obligation was so universal, that neither the ministers of the gospel, nor the professors of theology, were exempted from this military service. Accordingly in the same battle, in which ZUINGLE fell, JEROME POTANUS, one of the theological doctors of *Basil*, also lost his life. See FUESLINI *Centuria I, Epistolar. Theol. Reformatar.* p. 84.

[b] See ALB. MENON. VERPOORTEN, *Comment. de Mart. Bucero et ejus Sententia de Coena Domini*, § ix. p. 23. published in 8vo. at *Coburg*, in the year 1709 — LOSCHER, *Histor. Motuum*, part. I. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 181. & part. ii. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 15.

[c] FUESLINI *Centur. I, Epistolar. Theolog.* p. 162. 170. 181, 182. 190, &c.

parts of *Germany*, who inclined to the sentiments of the Helvetic church; for they retired from the communion of that church, and joined themselves to LUTHER by a public act, which was sent to *Wittemberg*, in the year 1536, by a solemn deputation appointed for that purpose [d]. The Swiss divines could not be brought to so great a length. There was, however, still some prospect of effecting a reconciliation between them and the Lutherans. But this fair prospect entirely disappeared in the year 1544, when LUTHER published his *Confession* of faith in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was directly opposite to the doctrine of ZUINGLE and his followers, on that head. The doctors of *Zurich* pleaded their cause publicly against the Saxon reformer, the year following; and, thus, the purposes of the peacemakers were totally defeated [e].

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VI. The death of LUTHER, which happened in the year 1546, was an event that seemed adapted to calm the commotions, and to revive, in the breasts of the moderate and pacific, the hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties. For this union, between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, was so ardently desired by MELANCTHON and his followers, that this great man left no means unemployed to bring it about, and seemed resolved rather to submit to a dubious and forced peace, than to see those flaming discords perpetuated, which reflected such dishonour on the protestant cause. On the other hand, this salutary work seemed to be facilitated by the theological system that was adopted by JOHN CALVIN, a native of *Noyon* in *France*, who was pastor and professor of divinity at *Geneva*, and whose genius, learning, eloquence, and talents rendered him respectable even in the eyes of his enemies. This great man, whose particular friendship for MELANCTHON was an incidental circumstance highly favourable to the intended reconciliation, proposed an explication of the point in debate,

The transactions that succeeded the death of Luther.

[d] LOSCHERUS, *loc. cit.* cap. ii. p. 205.—RUCHAT, *Histoire de la Reformat. de la Suisse*, tom. v. p. 535.—HOTTINGERI *Histor. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. iii. lib. vi. p. 702.

[e] LOSCHERUS, *loc. cit.* part i. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 241.

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that modified the crude hypothesis of ZUINGLE, and made use of all his credit and authority among the Swiss, and more particularly at *Zurich*, where he was held in the highest veneration, in order to obtain their assent to it [f]. The explication he proposed was not, indeed, favourable to the doctrine of CHRIST's bodily presence in the eucharist, which he persisted in denying; he supposed, however, that a certain *divine virtue* or *efficacy* was communicated by CHRIST with the *bread* and *wine*, to those who approached this holy sacrament with a lively faith, and with upright hearts; and to render this notion still more satisfactory, he expressed it in almost the same terms which the Lutherans employed in inculcating their doctrine of CHRIST's real presence in the eucharist [g]. For the great and common error of all those, who, from a desire of peace, assumed the character of arbitrators in this controversy, lay in this, that they aimed rather at a uniformity of *terms*, than of *sentiments*; and seemed satisfied when they had engaged the contending parties to use the same *words* and *phrases*, though their real difference in opinion remained the same, and each explained these ambiguous or figurative terms in a manner agreeable to their respective systems.

The concord, so much desired, did not, however, seem to advance much. MELANCTHON, who stood foremost in the rank of those, who longed impatiently for it, had not courage enough to embark openly in the execution of such a perilous project. Besides, after the death of LUTHER, his enemies attacked him with redoubled fury, and gave him so much disagreeable occupation, that he had neither that leisure, nor that tranquillity of mind that were necessary to prepare his measures properly for such an arduous undertaking. A new obstacle

[f] CHRIST. AUG. SALIG. *Historia Aug. Confession.* tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. p. 1075.

[(g) CALVIN went certainly too far in this matter; and, in his explication of the benefits that arise from a worthy commemoration of CHRIST's death in the eucharist, he dwelt too grossly upon the *allegorical* expressions of scripture, which the papists had so egregiously abused, and talked of *really* eating *by faith* the *body* and drinking the blood of CHRIST.]

to the execution of this pacific project was also presented by the intemperate zeal of JOACHIM WESTPHAL, pastor at *Hamburg*, who, in the year 1552, renewed, with greater vehemence than ever, this deplorable controversy, which had been for some time suspended, and who, after FLACIUS, was the most obstinate defender of the opinions of LUTHER. This violent theologian attacked with that spirit of acrimony and vehemence, that was too remarkable in the polemic writings of LUTHER, the *act of uniformity* by which the churches of *Geneva* and *Zurich* declared their *agreement concerning the doctrine of the eucharist*. In the book which he published with this view [b], he censured with the utmost severity, the variety of sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper that was observable in the Reformed church, and maintained, with his usual warmth and obstinacy, the opinion of LUTHER on that subject. This engaged CALVIN to enter the lists with WESTPHAL, whom he treated with as little lenity and forbearance, as the rigid Lutheran had shewed towards the Helvetic churches. The consequences of this debate were, that CALVIN and WESTPHAL had each their zealous defenders and patrons: hence the breach widened, the spirits were heated, and the flame of controversy was kindled anew with such violence and fury, that, to extinguish it entirely, seemed to be a task beyond the reach of human wisdom or human power [i].

VII. These disputes were unhappily augmented in process of time, by that famous controversy concerning the *decrees of God*, with respect to the eternal condition of men, which was set on foot by CALVIN, and became an inexhaustible source of intricate researches and ab-

The controversy concerning predestination.

[[b] This book, which abounds with senseless and extravagant tenets that LUTHER never so much as thought of, and breathes the most virulent spirit of persecution, is entitled, *Farrago confusaneorum et inter se dissidentium de S. Coena opinionum ex Sacramentariorum Libris congesta.*]

[i] LOSCHERI *Historia Motuum*, part. II. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 83. —MÖLLERI *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 642. —ARN. GREVII *Memoria JOAC. WESTPHALI*, p. 62. 106.

struse,

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struse, subtle, and inexplicable questions. The most ancient Helvetic doctors were far from adopting the doctrine of those, who represent the Deity, as allotting from all eternity by an *absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional* decree, to some, everlasting happiness, and to others, endless misery, without any *previous* regard to the moral characters and circumstances of either. Their sentiments seemed to differ but very little from those of the Pelagians; nor did they hesitate in declaring after the example of ZUINGLE, that the kingdom of heaven was open to all who lived according to the dictates of right reason [k]. CALVIN had adopted a quite different system with respect to the divine decrees. He maintained, that the everlasting condition of mankind in a future world was determined from all eternity by the *unchangeable order* of the Deity, and that this *absolute* determination of his *will* and *good pleasure* was the *only* source of happiness or misery to every individual. This opinion was, in a very short time, propagated through all the Reformed churches by the writings of CALVIN, and by the ministry of his disciples, and, in some places, was inserted in the national creeds and confessions; and thus made a public article of faith. The unhappy controversy, which took its rise from this doctrine, was opened at *Strasburg*, in the year 1560, by JEROME ZANCHIUS, an Italian ecclesiastic, who was particularly attached to the sentiments of CALVIN; and was afterwards carried on by

[k] For the proof of this assertion, see DALLEI *Apologia pro duabus Ecclesiarum Gallicar. Synodis adversus Frid. Spanheim.* part. IV. p. 946.—JO. ALPHONS. TURRETINI *Epistol. ad Antistitem Cantuariensem*, which is inserted in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. xiii. p. 92.—SIMON, *Bibliothèque Critique*, published under the fictitious name of SAINIOR, tom. iii. ch. xxviii. p. 292. 298. and also the author of a book, entitled, *Observationes Gallicæ in Formul. Consensus Helveticæ*, p. 52. The very learned Dr. GERDES, instead of being persuaded by these testimonies, maintains, on the contrary, in his *Miscellan. Groningens.* tom. ii. p. 476, 477. that the sentiments of CALVIN were the same with those of the ancient Swiss doctors. But this excellent author may be refuted, even from his own account of the tumults, that were occasioned in *Switzerland* by the opinion that CALVIN had propagated in relation to the Divine Decrees.

others

others with such zeal and assiduity, that it drew, in an extraordinary manner, the attention of the public, and tended as much to exasperate the passions and foment the discord of the contending parties, as the dispute about the eucharist had already done [1].

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VIII. The Helvetic doctors had no prospect left of calming the troubled spirits, and tempering, at least, the vehemence of these deplorable feuds, but the moderation of the Saxon divines, who were the disciples of MELANCTHON, and who, breathing the pacific spirit of their master, seemed, after his death, to have nothing so much at heart as the restoration of concord and union in the protestant church. Their designs, however, were not carried on with that caution and circumspection, with that prudent foresight, or that wise attention to the nature of the times, which distinguished always the transactions of MELANCTHON, and which the critical nature of the cause they were engaged in, indispensably required. And hence they had already taken a step, which was adapted to render ineffectual all the remedies they could apply to the healing of the present disorders. For, by dispersing every where artful and insidious writings with a design to seduce the ministers of the church and the studious youth into the sentiments of the Swiss divines, or, at least, to engage them to treat these sentiments with toleration and forbearance, they drew upon themselves the indignation of their adversaries, and ruined the pacific cause in which they had embarked. It was this conduct of theirs that gave occasion to the composition of that famous *Form of Concord*, which condemned the sentiments of the Reformed churches in relation to the *Person* of CHRIST and the *sacrament* of the Lord's supper. And as this *Form* is received by the greatest part of the Lutherans, as one of the articles of their religion, hence arises an insuperable obstacle to all schemes of reconciliation and concord.

The discord
is carried to
the greatest
height.

[1] LOSCHERI *Historia Motuum*, part. III. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 27. S. c. x. p. 227.—SALIG. *Historia August. Confession.* tom. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 441.

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What those
things are,
that are most
worthy of
observation
in the rise
and progress
of the Re-
formed
church.

IX. So much did it seem necessary to premise concerning the causes, rise, and progress of the controversy, which formed that separation that still subsists between the Lutheran and Reformed churches. From thence it will be proper to proceed to an account of the internal state of the latter, and to the history of its progress and revolutions. The history of the Reformed church, during this century, comprehends two distinct periods. The first commences with the year 1519, when ZUINGLE withdrew from the communion of *Rome*, and began to form a Christian church beyond the bounds of the papal jurisdiction, and it extends to the time of CALVIN's settlement at *Geneva*, where he acquired the greatest reputation and authority. The second period takes in the rest of this century.

During the first of these periods the Helvetic church, which assumed the title of *Reformed*, after the example of the French Protestants in their neighbourhood, who had chosen this denomination in order to distinguish themselves from the Roman-catholics, was very inconsiderable in its extent, and was confined to the cantons of *Switzerland*. It was, indeed, augmented by the accession of some small states in *Suabia* and *Alsace*, such as the city of *Straßbourg*, and some little republics. But, in the year 1536, these petty states changed sides through the suggestions and influence of BUCER, returned to the communion of the Saxon church, and thus made their peace with LUTHER. The other religious communities, which abandoned the church of *Rome*, either openly embraced the doctrine of LUTHER, or consisted of persons, who were not agreed in their theological opinions, and who really seemed to stand in a kind of neutrality between the contending parties. All things being duly considered, it appears probable enough that the church founded by ZUINGLE would have remained still confined to the narrow limits, which bounded it at first, had not CALVIN arisen to augment its extent, authority, and lustre. For the natural and political character of the *Swiss*, which is neither bent towards the lust of conquest, nor the grasping views of ambition, discovered itself in them

their religious transactions. And, as a spirit of contentment with what they had, prevented their aiming at an augmentation of their territory, so did a similar spirit hinder them from being extremely solicitous about enlarging the borders of their church.

X. In this infant state of the *Reformed* church, the only point, that prevented its union with the followers of LUTHER, was the doctrine they taught with respect to the *sacrament of the Lord's supper*. This first controversy, indeed, soon produced a second, relating to the *Person of JESUS CHRIST*, which nevertheless, concerned only a part of the Lutheran church [m]. The Lutheran divines of *Suabia*, in the course of their debates with those of *Switzerland*, drew an argument in favour of the *real* presence of CHRIST's body and blood in the eucharist from the following propositions; that *all the PROPERTIES of the divine nature, and consequently its OMNIPRESENCE, were communicated to the human nature of CHRIST by the hypostatic union*. The Swiss doctors, in order to destroy the force of this argument, denied this *communication of the divine attributes to CHRIST's human nature*, and denied more especially, the *ubiquity or omnipresence* of the man JESUS. And hence arose that most intricate and abstruse controversy concerning *ubiquity* and the *communication of the properties*, that produced so many learned and unintelligible treatises, so many subtle disputes, and occasioned that multitude of invectives and accusations, that the contending parties threw out against each other with such liberality and profusion.

The religious points that first excited divisions between the Swiss and the Lutherans.

It is proper to observe, that, at this time, the Helvetic church universally embraced the doctrine of ZUINGLE concerning the eucharist. This doctrine, which differed considerably from that of CALVIN, amounted to the

[(m) It was only a certain number of those Lutherans, that were much more rigid in their doctrine than LUTHER himself, that believed the *Ubiquity or Omnipresence* of CHRIST's person, considered as a *Man*. By this we may see, that the *Lutherans* have their divisions, as well as the *Reformed*, of which several instances may be given in the course of this history.]

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following propositions: "That the *bread* and *wine* were
"no more than a representation of the *body* and *blood* of
"CHRIST, or, in other words, the *signs* appointed to
"denote the benefits that were conferred upon mankind
"in consequence of the death of CHRIST; that there-
"fore, Christians derived no other fruit from the parti-
"cipation of the Lord's supper, than a mere commemo-
"ration and remembrance of the merits of CHRIST,
"which, according to an expression common in the
"mouths of the abettors of this doctrine, was the *only*
"thing that was properly meant by the Lord's supper [n]."

BUCER, whose leading principle was the desire of peace and concord, endeavoured to correct and modify this doctrine in such a manner, as to give it a certain degree of conformity to the hypothesis of LUTHER; but the memory of ZUINGLE was too fresh in the minds of the Swiss to permit their accepting of these corrections and modifications, or to suffer them to depart, in any respect, from the doctrine of that eminent man, who had founded their church, and been the instrument of their deliverance from the tyranny and superstition of Rome.

John Calvin
the principal
founder of
the Reform-
ed church.

XI. In the year 1541, JOHN CALVIN, who surpassed almost all the doctors of this age in laborious application, constancy of mind, force of eloquence, and extent of genius, returned to Geneva, from whence the opposition of his enemies had obliged him to retire. On his settlement in that city the affairs of the new church were committed to his direction [o], and he acquired also a high degree

[n] *Nil esse in Coena, quam memoriam Christi.* That this was the real opinion of ZUINGLE appears evidently from various testimonies, which may be seen in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. i. p. 489. 490. tom. iii. p. 631.—This is also confirmed by the following sentence in ZUINGLE's book concerning *Baptism*: (tom. ii. Opp. p. 85.) *Coena Dominica non aliud, quam Commemorationis nomen meretur.* Compare with all this FUESLINI *Centur. I, Epistolar. Theologor. Reformatior.* p. 255. 262, &c.

[o] CALVIN, in reality, enjoyed the power and authority of a bishop at Geneva; for, as long as he lived, he presided in the assembly of the clergy, and in the *Consistory* or ecclesiastical judicatory. But when he was at the point of death, he advised the clergy not to give him

degree of influence in the political administration of that republic. This event changed entirely the face of affairs, and gave a new aspect to the Reformed church. The views and projects of this great man were grand and extensive. For he not only undertook to give strength and vigour to the rising church, by framing the wisest laws and the most salutary institutions for the maintenance of order and the advancement of true piety, but even proposed to render *Geneva*, the mother, the seminary of all the *Reformed* churches, as *Wittemberg* was of all the *Lutheran* communities. He laid a scheme for sending forth from this little republic the succours and ministers that were to promote and propagate the protestant cause through the most distant nations, and aimed at nothing less, than rendering the government, discipline, and doctrine of *Geneva* the model and rule of imitation to the Reformed churches throughout the world. The undertaking was certainly great, and worthy of the extensive genius and capacity of this eminent man; and, great and arduous as it was, it was executed in part, nay, carried on to a very considerable length by his indefatigable assiduity and inextinguishable zeal. It was with this view, that by the fame of his learning, as well as by his epistolary solicitations and encouragements of various kinds, he engaged many persons of rank and fortune in *France*, *Italy*, and other countries, to leave the places of their nativity, and to settle at *Geneva*; while others repaired thither merely out of a curiosity to see a man, whose talents and exploits had rendered him so famous, and to hear the discourses which he delivered in public. Another circumstance, that contributed much to the success of his designs, was the establishment of an academy at *Geneva*, which the senate of that city founded at his request; and in which he himself, with his colleague THEODORE BEZA, and other divines of eminent learn-

him a successor, and proved to them evidently the dangerous consequences of entrusting with any one man, during life, a place of such high authority. After him, therefore, the place of president ceased to be perpetual. See SPON, *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 111.

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ing and abilities, taught the sciences with the greatest reputation. In effect, the lustre, which these great men reflected upon this infant seminary of learning, spread its fame through the distant nations with such amazing rapidity, that all, who were ambitious of a distinguished progress in either sacred or profane erudition, repaired to *Geneva*, and that *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, seemed to vie with each other in the numbers of their studious youth, that were incessantly repairing to the new academy. By these means, and by the ministry of these, his disciples, CALVIN enlarged considerably the borders of the *Reformed* church, propagated his doctrine, and gained profelytes and patrons to his theological system, in several countries of *Europe*. In the midst of this glorious career he ended his days in the year 1564; but the salutary institutions and wise regulations, of which he had been the author, were both respected and maintained after his death. In a more especial manner the academy of *Geneva* flourished as much under BEZA, as it had done during the life of its founder [p].

The form of doctrine and ecclesiastical government drawn up by this Reformer.

XII. The plan of doctrine and discipline, that had been formed by ZUINGLE, was altered and corrected by CALVIN; and that, more especially, in three points, of which it will not be improper to give a particular account.

1st. ZUINGLE, in his form of ecclesiastical government, had given an absolute and unbounded power, in religious matters, to the civil magistrate, to whom he had placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many. But, at the same time, he allowed of a certain subordination and difference of rank among the ministers of the church, and even thought it expedient to

[p] The various projects and plans that were formed, conducted, and executed with equal prudence and resolution by CALVIN in behalf, both of the republic and church of *Geneva*, are related by the learned person, who, in the year 1730, gave a new edition (enriched with interesting historical notes, and authentic documents) of SPON's *Histoire de Geneve*. The particular accounts of CALVIN's transactions, given by this anonymous editor, in his notes, are drawn from several curious manuscripts, of undoubted credit. See SPON, *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 87. 100, &c.

place

place at their head a perpetual president or superintendent with a certain degree of inspection and authority over the whole body. CALVIN, on the contrary, reduced the power of the magistrate, in religious matters, within narrow bounds. He declared the church a separate and independent body, endowed with the power of legislation for itself. He maintained, that it was to be governed, like the primitive church, only by *presbyteries* and *synods*, that is, by assemblies of *elders*, composed both of the clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little else than the privilege of protecting and defending the church, and providing for what related to its external exigencies and concerns. Thus this eminent Reformer introduced into the republic of *Geneva*, and endeavoured to introduce into all the Reformed churches throughout *Europe*, that Form of ecclesiastical government, which is called *Presbyterian*, from its neither admitting of the institution of bishops, nor of any subordination among the clergy; and which is founded on this principle, that all ministers of the gospel are, by the law of God, declared to be equal in rank and authority. In consequence of this principle, he established, at *Geneva*, a *consistory*, composed of *ruling elders*, partly *pastors*, and partly *laymen*, and invested this ecclesiastical body with a high degree of power and authority. He also convened synods, composed of the ruling elders of different churches, and in these consistories and synods had laws enacted for the regulation of all matters of a religious nature; and, among other things, restored to its former vigour the ancient practice of *excommunication*. All these things were done with the consent of the greatest part of the senate of *Geneva*.

2dly. The system that ZUINGLE had adopted with respect to the eucharist was by no means agreeable to CALVIN, who, in order to facilitate the desired union with the Lutheran church, substituted in its place another, which appeared more conformable to the doctrine of that church, and, in reality, differed but little from it. For while the doctrine of ZUINGLE supposed only a

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symbolical, or figurative, *presence* of the body and blood of CHRIST in the eucharist, and represented a pious remembrance of CHRIST's death, and of the benefits it procured to mankind, as the only fruits that arose from the celebration of the Lord's supper, CALVIN explained this critical point in a quite different manner. He acknowledged a *real*, though *spiritual presence* of CHRIST in this sacrament; or, in other words, he maintained, that true Christians, who approached this holy ordinance with a lively faith, were, in a certain manner, united to the man CHRIST; and that from this union the spiritual life derived new vigour in the soul, and was still carried on, in a progressive motion, to greater degrees of purity and perfection. This kind of language had been used in the forms of doctrine, drawn up by LUTHER; and as CALVIN observed, among other things, that the *divine grace* was *conferred* upon sinners, and *sealed* to them by the celebration of the Lord's supper, this induced many to suppose that he adopted the sentiment implied in the barbarous term *impanation* [q], and differed

[(q) The term *Impanation* (which signifies here the *presence* of CHRIST's body in the eucharist, *in* or *with* the *bread*, that is there exhibited) amounts to what is called *Consubstantiation*. It was a modification of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, first, invented by some of the disciples of BERENGER, who had not a mind to break all measures with the church of Rome, and was afterwards adopted by LUTHER and his followers, who, in reality, made sad work of it. For in order to give it some faint air of possibility, and to maintain it as well as they could, they fell into a wretched scholastic jargon about the nature of *substances*, *subsistences*, *attributes*, *properties*, and *accidents*, that did infinite mischief to the true and sublime science of gospel theology, whose beautiful simplicity it was adapted to destroy. The very same perplexity and darkness, the same quibbling, sophistical, and unintelligible logic that reigned in the attempts of the Roman-catholics to defend the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, were visible in the controversial writings of the Lutherans in behalf of *Consubstantiation*, or *Impanation*. The latter had, indeed, one absurdity less to maintain; but being obliged to assert in opposition to intuitive evidence, and unchangeable truth, that the *same* body can be in *many* places at the same time, they were consequently obliged to have recourse to the darkest and most intricate

ferred but little from the doctrine of the Lutheran church on this important subject [r]. Be that as it may, his sentiments differed considerably from those of ZUINGLE; for while the latter asserted, that all Christians, without distinction, whether *regenerate or unregenerate*, might be partakers of the body and blood of CHRIST; CALVIN confined this privilege to the pious and *regenerate* believer alone.

3dly. The *absolute decree* of God, with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race, which made no part of the theology of ZUINGLE, was an essential tenet in the creed of CALVIN, who inculcated with zeal the following doctrine: *That God, in predestinating, from all eternity, one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and another to endless misery, was led to make this distinction by no other motive than his own GOOD PLEASURE and FREE WILL.*

intricate jargon of the schools to hide the nonsense of this unaccountable doctrine. The modern Lutherans are grown somewhat wiser in this respect; at least they seem less zealous than their ancestors about the tenet in question.]

[r] See FUESLINI *Centur. I. Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* tom. i. p. 255. 260. 262, 263.—*Lettres de Calvin à Mons. Jac. de Falaise*, p. 84, 85.—We learn in FUESLIN, p. 263. that CALVIN wrote to BUCER a letter intimating that he approved of his sentiments. It is possible, that he may have derived from BUCER the opinion he entertained with respect to the eucharist.—See BOSSUET, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. ii. p. 8. 14. 19.—COURAYER, *Examen des Defauts des Theologiens*, tom. ii. p. 72. These two writers pretend, that the sentiments of CALVIN, with respect to the eucharist, were almost the same with those of the Roman-catholics*. The truth of the matter is, that the obscurity and inconsistency, with which this great man expressed himself upon that subject, render it extremely difficult to give a clear and accurate account of his doctrine.

* How it could come into the heads of such men as BOSSUET and doctor COURAYER to say, that the *sentiments of CALVIN concerning the eucharist were almost the same with those of the Roman-catholics*, is, indeed, strange enough. The doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was to CALVIN an inviolable obstacle to any sort of conformity between him and Rome on that subject. For however obscure and figurative his expressions with respect to CHRIST'S *spiritual* presence in the eucharist may have been, he never dreamed of any thing like a *corporal* presence in the Holy Sacrament.

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These changes made by Calvin are not approved of, nor received by all the Reformed churches.

XIII. The first of the three points now mentioned, was of such a nature, that great as the credit and influence of CALVIN were, he could not procure a universal reception for it in the Reformed churches. The English and Germans rejected it, and even the Swiss refused to adopt it. It was, however, received by the Reformed churches in *France, Holland, and Scotland*. The Swiss remained firm in their opposition: they would not suffer the form of ecclesiastical government, that had once been established, under the inspection of ZUINGLE, to be changed in any respect, nor the power of the civil magistrate, in religious matters, to receive the smallest prejudice. The other two points were long debated, even in *Switzerland*, with the greatest warmth. Several churches, more especially those of *Zurich* and *Bern*, maintained obstinately the doctrine of ZUINGLE in relation to the eucharist [s]; neither could they be easily persuaded to admit, as an article of faith, the doctrine of *predestination*, as it had been taught by CALVIN [t]. The prudence, however, of this great man, seconded by his resolute perseverance and his extraordinary credit, triumphed at length so far, as to bring about an union between the Swiss churches and that of *Geneva*, first in relation to the doctrine of the eucharist [u], and afterwards also on the subject of *predestination* [w]. The followers of CALVIN extended still farther the triumphs of their chief, and improved, with such success, the footing he had gained, that, in process of time, almost all the Reformed churches adopted his theological system,

[s] See FUESLINI *Centur. Epistolar.* p. 264.—*Museum Helvet.* tom. i. p. 490. tom. v. p. 479. 483. 490. tom. ii. p. 79.

[t] Besides RUCHAT and HOTTINGER, see *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 105. 107. 117.—GERDES, *Miscellan. Groningens. Nova*, tom. ii. p. 476, 477.

[u] The agreement between the churches of *Switzerland* and that of *Geneva* was concluded in 1549 and 1554.

[w] See the *Consensus Genev. et Tigurinor.* in CALVINI *Opusculis*, p. 754.

to which, no doubt, his learned writings contributed a good deal [x].

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XIV. It will not be improper to pass in review the different countries, in which the doctrine and discipline of the Reformed church, as modelled by CALVIN, were established in a fixed and permanent manner. Among its chief patrons in *Germany* we may reckon FREDERICK III, elector *Palatine*, who, in the year 1560, removed from their pastoral functions the Lutheran doctors, and filled their places with Calvinists; and, at the same time, obliged his subjects to embrace the tenets, rites, and institutions of the church of *Geneva* [y]. This order was indeed abrogated, in the year 1576, by his son and successor LEWIS, who restored Lutheranism to its former credit and authority. The effects of this revolution were, however, but transitory; for in the year 1583, under the government of the elector JOHN CASIMIR, who had followed the example of his brother FREDERICK in embracing the discipline of the Reformed church, the face of things was again changed in favour of Calvinism, which resumed what it had lost, and became triumphant [z]. From this period the church of the Palatinate obtained the second place among the Reformed churches; and its influence and reputation were so considerable, that the *Form of instruction*, which was

The progress of Calvin's system, in *Germany*.

[x] The learned DAN. ERN. JABLONSKY, in his *Letters to Leibnitz*, published by KAPPIUS, maintains, (p. 24, 25, 41.) that the opinion of ZUINGLE has no longer any patrons among the Reformed. But this is a palpable mistake. For its patrons and defenders are, on the contrary, extremely numerous; and at this very time the doctrine of ZUINGLE is revived in *England*, *Switzerland*, and other countries, and seems to acquire new degrees of credit from day to day.

[y] HEN. ALTINGII *Hist. Eccl. Palat.* in LUD. CHR. MIEGII *Monum. Palat.* tom. i. p. 223.—LOSCHERI *Historia Motuum*, part. II. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 125.—SALIG. *Hist. Confession. Aug.* tom. iii. lib. ix. cap. v. p. 433.

[z] ALTING. *loc. cit.*—LOSCHERUS, *ibid.* part III. lib. vi. p. 234.—See also a German work, entitled, GOTTH. STRUVIUS, *Pfaelzische Kirchen Historie*, p. 110.

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composed for its use by URSINUS, and which is known under the title of the *Catechism of Heidelberg*, was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists [a]. The republic of *Bremen* embraced, also, the doctrine and institutions of the Reformed. ALBERT HARDENBERG, the intimate friend of MELANCTHON, was the first who attempted to introduce there the doctrine of CALVIN concerning the eucharist. This attempt he made so early as the year 1556; and, though a powerful opposition rendered it unsuccessful, and procured the expulsion of its author out of the city of *Bremen*, yet the latent seeds of Calvinism took root, and, towards the conclusion of this century, acquired such strength, that no measures either of prudence or force were sufficient to prevent the church of *Bremen* from modelling its faith, worship, and government after that of *Geneva* [b]. The various motives, that engaged other German states to adopt, by degrees, the same sentiments, and the incidents and circumstances that favoured the progress of Calvinism in the empire, must be sought in those writers, who have undertaken to give a full, compleat, and ample history of the Christian church.

and in
France.

XV. Those among the French, who first renounced the jurisdiction and doctrine of the church of *Rome*, are commonly called Lutherans by the writers of these early times. This denomination, joined to other circumstances, has engaged some to imagine, that these French converts to the protestant cause were attached to the tenets of the Lutheran church, and averse to those of the Swiss doctors [c]. But this is by no means a just representation of the matter. It appears much more probable, that the

[a] For an account of the *Catechism of Heidelberg*, see KOCHER *Bibliotheca Theologiae Symbolicae*, p. 593 and 308.

[b] SALIG. *loc. cit.* part. III. lib. x. cap. v. p. 715. & cap. vi. p. 776. — LOSCHERUS, *loc. cit.* part. II. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 134. & part. III. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 276. — GERDES, *Historia Renovati Evangelii*, tom. iii. p. 157.

[c] LOSCHER *Historia Motuum*, part. II. cap. vi. p. 46. — SALIG. *Hist. Aug. Confession.* tom. ii. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 190.

first French protestants were uniform in nothing but their antipathy to the church of *Rome*, and that, this point being excepted, there was a great variety in their religious sentiments. It is, however, to be observed, that the vicinity of *Geneva*, *Lausanne*, and other cities, which had adopted the doctrine of CALVIN, together with the incredible zeal of this eminent man, and his two colleagues FAREL and BEZA, in nourishing the opposition to the church of *Rome*, and augmenting both the indignation and number of its enemies, produced a very remarkable effect upon the French churches; for, about the middle of this century, they all, without exception, entered into the bonds of fraternal communion with the church of *Geneva*. The French protestants were called, by their enemies, *Hugonots*, by way of derision and contempt; the origin, of this denomination is extremely uncertain [*d*]. Their fate was severe; the storms of persecution assailed them with unparalleled fury; and, though many princes of the royal blood and a great number of the flower of the nobility adopted their sentiments and stood forth in their cause [*e*], yet it may nevertheless be affirmed,

[(*d*) Some etymologists suppose this term derived from HUGUON, a word used in *Touraine*, to signify *persons that walk at night in the streets*. And as the first protestants, like the first Christians, may have chosen that season for their religious assemblies through the fear of persecution, the nick-name of *Huguenot* may, naturally enough, have been applied to them by their enemies. Others are of opinion, that it was derived from a French and faulty pronunciation of the German word *Eidgnossen*, which signifies *confederates*, and had been originally the name of that valiant part of the city of *Geneva*, which entered into an alliance with the Swiss Cantons, in order to maintain their liberties against the tyrannical attempts of CHARLES III, duke of *Savoy*. These confederates were called *Eignots*, and from thence, very probably was derived the word *Hugonots* now under consideration. The Count VILLARS in a letter, written to the king of *France*, from the province of *Languedoc*, where he was lieutenant-general, and dated the 11th of November, 1560, calls the riotous Calvinists of the *Cevennes*, *Huguenots*, and this is the first time, that this term is found in the registers of that province, applied to the protestants.]

[*e*] See the *Histoire Eccles. des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*, published at *Antwerp* in three volumes 8vo in the year 1580, and

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affirmed, that no other part of the Reformed church suffered so grievously as they did, for the sake of religion. Even the peace, which they obtained from HENRY III in the year 1576, was the source of that civil war in which the powerful and ambitious house of *Guise*, instigated by the sanguinary suggestions of the Roman pontiffs, aimed at nothing less than the extirpation of the royal family, and the utter ruin of the protestant religion; while the Hugonots, on the other hand, headed by leaders of the most heroic valour, and the most illustrious rank, combated for their religion and for their sovereigns with various success. These dreadful commotions, in which both the contending parties committed such deeds, as are yet, and always will be remembered with horror, were, at length, calmed by the fortitude and prudence of HENRY IV. This monarch, indeed, sacrificed the dictates of conscience to the suggestions of policy, and imagining, that his government could have no stable, nor solid foundation, as long as he persisted in disowning the authority and jurisdiction of *Rome*, he renounced the Reformed religion, and made a solemn and public profession of popery. Perceiving however, on the other hand, that it was not possible either to extirpate or suppress entirely the protestant religion, he granted to its professors by the famous edict, drawn up at *Nantes* in the year 1598, the liberty of serving God according to their consciences [*f*], and a full security

and supposed by many to have been written by BEZA. The writers that have given the best accounts of the French Reformed churches, their confession of faith, and their forms of worship and discipline, are enumerated by KOCHERUS, in his *Bibliotheca Theolog. Symbolica*, p. 299.

[(*f*) This edict restored and confirmed, in the fullest terms, all the favours that had ever been granted to the protestants by other princes, and particularly by Henry III. To these privileges others were also added, which had never been granted, nor even demanded, before: such as a free admission to all employments of trust, honour, and profit; the establishing courts and chambers in which the professors of the two religions were equal in number; and the permitting the children of protestants to be educated, without any molestation or constraint, in the public Universities.]

for the enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges without persecution or molestation from any quarter [g].

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XVI. The church of *Scotland* acknowledges as its founder, JOHN KNOX, the disciple of CALVIN; and, accordingly, from its first reformation, it adopted the doctrine, rites, and form of ecclesiastical government established at *Geneva*. These it has always adhered to with the utmost uniformity, and maintained with the greatest jealousy and zeal; so that even in the last century the designs of those, who attempted to introduce certain changes into its discipline and worship, were publicly opposed by the force of arms [b].

In *England*
and *Scotland*.

A quite different constitution of things is observable in the church of *England*, which could never be brought to an entire compliance with the ecclesiastical laws of *Geneva*, and which retained, but for a short time, even those which it adopted. It is well known, that the greatest part of those English, who first threw off the yoke of *Rome*, seemed much more inclined to the sentiments of LUTHER concerning the eucharist, the form of public worship, and ecclesiastical government, than to those of the Swiss churches. But the scene changed after the death of HENRY VIII, when, by the industrious zeal of CALVIN, and his disciples, more especially PETER MARTYR, the cause of Lutheranism lost ground considerably; and the universities, schools, and churches became the oracles of Calvinism, which also acquired new votaries among the people from day to day [i]. Hence it happened, that when it was proposed, under the reign of EDWARD VI, to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the

[g] BENOIT, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. i. lib. v. p. 200.—DANIEL, *Hist. de France*, tom. ix. p. 409.—BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris*, tom. vi.

[b] SALIG. *Hist. Aug. Confession*, part. II. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 403.—[Dr, MOSHEIM alludes, in this passage, to the attempts made, under the reign of CHARLES II, to introduce episcopacy into *Scotland*.]

[i] LOSCHERI *Hist. Motuum*, part. II. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 67.—SALIG. *Hist. Aug. Confession*, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 317.

church,

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church, *Geneva* was acknowledged as a sister-church; and the theological system, there established by CALVIN, was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in *England*. This, however, was done without any change of the form of episcopal government, which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of *Geneva*; nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious rites and ceremonies, which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the Reformed. This difference however, between the two churches, though it appeared at first of little consequence, and, in the judgment even of CALVIN, was esteemed an object of toleration and indulgences was, nevertheless, in after-ages, a source of many calamities and dissensions, that were highly detrimental both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of *Great-Britain*.

The rise of
the Puritans.

XVII. The origin of these unhappy dissensions, which it has not as yet been possible entirely to heal, must be sought for in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes from the bloody rage, and inhuman tyranny of queen MARY, left the places of their nativity in the year 1554, and took refuge in *Germany* [k]. Of these fugitive congregations *some* performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorized by EDWARD VI; while *others* preferred the Swiss method of worship

[(k) I cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles, because they were *Sacramentarians* (for so the Lutherans called those who denied CHRIST's bodily presence in the eucharist) and expelled from their cities such of the English protestants, as repaired to them, as a refuge from popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought for shelter in *France*, *Geneva*, and those parts of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, where the Reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed places of public worship. But it was at *Frankfort* that the exiles were most numerous; and there began the contest and division which gave rise to that separation from the church of *England*, which continues to this day.]

as more recommendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called *Conformists*, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the prince, now mentioned; and the denominations of *Non-conformists* and *Puritans* were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship, more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the liturgy of EDWARD seemed to them to be. These denominations became permanent marks of distinction, which still continue to denote those different religious communities which divide the British nation. The controversy, concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship, that had divided the exiles abroad, changed scenes, and was removed with them to England; when the auspicious accession of Queen ELIZABETH to the throne permitted them to return to their native country. The hopes of enjoying liberty and of promoting each their respective systems, increased their contests instead of diminishing them; and the breach widened to such a degree, that the most sagacious and provident observers of things, seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen, in her design to accomplish the reformation of the church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model, exhibited by the protestants of *Geneva*, and their adherents, the *Puritans*; and, therefore, she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors, that were employed in this weighty and important matter, the practice and institutions of the primitive ages [1]. When her plan was put in execution,

[(1) Dr. MOSHEIM seems disposed, by this ambiguous expression of the *primitive ages*, to insinuate that Queen ELIZABETH had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is however certain, that, instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies, which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual *, and had a great propensity to several usages in the church

* HEYLIN, p. 124.

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execution, and the face of the church was changed and reformed by new rules of discipline, and purer forms of public worship, the famous *Act of Uniformity* was issued forth, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe these rules, and to submit to the reformation of the church on the footing on which it was now placed by the queen, as its supreme, visible head upon earth. The *Puritans* refused their assent to these proceedings; pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of this refusal, and complained heavily, that the gross superstitions of popery, which they had looked upon as abrogated and abolished were now revived, and even imposed by authority. They were not, indeed, all equally exasperated against the new constitution of the church; nor did they, in effect, carry their opposition to equal degrees of excess. The more violent demanded the total abrogation of all that had been done towards the establishment of a national religion, and required nothing less than that the church of *England* should be exactly modelled after that of *Geneva*. The milder and more moderate Puritans were much more equitable in their demands, and only desired liberty of conscience, with the privilege of celebrating divine worship in their own way. The queen did not judge it proper to grant to either the object of their requests, but rather intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect (as she was used to call it) permitted its enemies to employ for that purpose all the resources of artifice, and all the severity of the laws. Thus was that form of religion established

of *Rome*, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains who had preached in defence of the *real presence*; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel†; and would undoubtedly have forbid the marriage of the clergy, if CECIL, her secretary, had not interposed‡. Having appointed a committee of divines to review King EDWARD's Liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporal presence of CHRIST in the sacrament§.

† Id. *ibid.*‡ STRYPE's *Life of Parker*, p. 107, 108, 109.§ NEAL's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 138.

in *Britain*, which separated the English equally from the church of *Rome* on the one hand, and from the other churches which had renounced popery, on the other, but which, at the same time, laid a perpetual foundation for dissension and feuds, in that, otherwise, happy and prosperous nation [m].

XVIII. The incident, that gave rise to these unhappy divisions, which were productive of so many and such dreadful calamities, was a matter of very small moment, and which did not seem to affect, in any way, the interests of true religion and virtue. The chief leaders among the *Puritans* entertained a strong aversion to the vestments, worn by the English clergy in the celebration of divine worship. As these habits had been made use of in the times of popery, and seemed to renew the impressions that had been made upon the people by the Romish priests, they appeared to the *Puritans* in no other light, than as the *ensigns of Antichrist*. The spirit of opposition, being once set on foot, proceeded, in its remonstrances, to matters of superior moment. The form of ecclesiastical government, established in *England*, was one of the first and main grievances of which the *Puritans* complained. They looked upon this form as quite different from that which had been instituted by CHRIST, the great lawgiver of the church; and, in conformity with the sentiments of CALVIN, maintained, that, by the divine law, all the ministers of the gospel

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The senti-
ments and
doctrine of
the Puritans.

[m] No writer has treated this part of the Ecclesiastical History of *Britain* in a more ample and elegant manner than DANIEL NEAL, in his *History of the Puritans or Protestant Non-conformists*, in four volumes in 8vo. The first part of this laborious work was published at *London*, in the year 1732, and the latter part in 1738. The author, who was himself a *Non-Conformist*, has not indeed been able to impose silence so far on the warm and impetuous spirit of party, as not to discover a certain degree of partiality in favour of his brethren. For while he relates, in the most circumstantial manner, all the injuries, the *Puritans* received from the bishops, and those of the established religion, he, in many places, diminishes, excuses, or suppresses the faults and failings of these separatists. See also for an account of the religious history of these times, STRYPE'S *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury under Queen ELIZABETH*, viz. PARKER, GRINDAL, and WHITGIFT.

were

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were absolutely equal in point of rank and authority. They did not indeed, think it unlawful, that a person, distinguished by the title of a *bishop*, or *superintendent*, should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding; but they thought it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked, as the bishops had hitherto been among the nobility of the kingdom, employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on, however, with excessive animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source, than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right, purely human, to the rank they held in church and state. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in the year 1588, when BANCROFT, afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, ventured to assert that the order of bishops was superior to the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by the express appointment of God himself [n]. This doctrine was readily adopted by many, and the consequences, that seemed naturally to flow from it in favour of episcopal ordination, happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy. For they, who embraced the sentiments of BANCROFT, considered all ministers of the Gospel who had not received ordination from a bishop, as irregularly invested with the sacred character; and also maintained, that the clergy, in those countries where there were no bishops, were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be looked upon as inferior to the Roman-catholic priests.

[n] See STRYPE'S *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, p. 121. [The first English Reformers admitted but two orders of church-officers to be of *divine appointment*, viz. *bishops* and *deacons*, a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being but two names for the same office; but Dr. BANCROFT, in a sermon, preached at *Paul's Cross* January 12, 1588, maintained, that the bishops of *England* were a distinct order from *priests*, and had superiority over them *jure divino*.]

XIX. All

XIX. All these things exasperated the *Puritans*, whose complaints, however, were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against *cathedral* churches, and demanded the abolition of the *archdeacons*, *deans*, *canons*, and other *officials* that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved of the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music, as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great, for they were of opinion, that, not open profligates, but even persons, whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from the communion of the church [o]; and they endeavoured to justify the rigour of this decision by observing that the church, being the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers, than to watch against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found, moreover, much subject of affliction and complaint in the rites and ceremonies that were imposed by the order of the Queen, and the authority of her council [p]; among these were the *festivals* or *holidays*

[(o) The Puritans justified themselves in relation to this point in a letter addressed, from their prison, to Queen ELIZABETH in the year 1592, by observing, that their sentiments concerning *the persons subject to excommunication*, and also concerning *the effects and extent of that act of church-discipline*, were conformable to those of all the Reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the church of England in particular. They declared, more especially, that, according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, *without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or public, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life*; and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical anabaptists, who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.]

[(p) By this council our author means the *High Commission Court*, of which it is proper to give here some account, as its proceedings essentially belong to the Ecclesiastical History of England. This court took its rise from a remarkable clause in the *act of supremacy*, by which

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holidays that were celebrated in honour of the saints, the use of the *sign of the cross* more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nominating godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children whose parents were still living [q], and the doctrine relating to

the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons “to exercise under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, enormities whatsoever. Provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the assent of the clergy in convocation.”—Upon the authority of this clause the queen appointed a certain number of *commissioners* for ecclesiastical causes, who, in many instances, abused their power. The court, they composed, was called the *Court of High Commission*, because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction and higher powers, than the ordinary *Courts of the Bishops*. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of Lord CROMWELL, vicar general to HENRY VIII. These *commissioners* were empowered to make enquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were vested with a Right to examine such persons as they suspected by administering to them an oath (not allowed of in their commission, and therefore called *ex officio*) by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and thereby be obliged to accuse themselves, or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed, when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of a real *Inquisition*. See RAPIN’S and HUMES Histories of *England*, under the reign of ELIZABETH, and NEAL’S *History of the Puritans*, passim.]

[(?) Other rites and customs displeasing to the Puritans, and omitted by our author, were, *kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord’s supper*, *bowing at the name of Jesus*, *giving the ring in marriage*, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the *confirmation of children* by *episcopal imposition of hands*.

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the validity of lay-baptism [r]. They disliked the reading of the *apocryphal* books in the church; and, with respect to set forms of prayer, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right to every minister, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner, as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those that were dictated by others. In a word, they were of opinion, that the government and discipline of the church of *England* ought to have been modelled after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of *Geneva*, and that no indulgence was to be shewn to those ceremonies or practices, which bore the smallest resemblance of the discipline or worship of the church of *Rome*.

XX. These sentiments, considered in themselves, seemed neither susceptible of a satisfactory defence, nor of a compleat refutation. Their solidity or falsehood depended upon the principles from whence they were derived; and no regular controversy could be carried on upon these matters, until the contending parties adopted some common and evident principles, by which they might corroborate their respective systems. It is only by an examination of these, that it can be known on what side truth lies, and what degree of utility or importance can be attributed to a contest of this nature.

The principles on which the Puritans maintained their sentiments concerning ecclesiastical government and divine worship.

[(r) The words of the original are, *nec sacris Christianis pueros recens natos ab aliis, quam sacerdotibus, initiari patiebantur*. The Roman-catholics, who look upon the external rite of baptism as *absolutely necessary* to salvation, allow, consequently, of its being performed by a layman, or a midwife, where a clergyman is not at hand, nay (if such a ridiculous thing may be mentioned) by a surgeon, where a still birth is apprehended. The church of *England*, though it teacheth in general, that none ought to baptize, but men dedicated to the service of God, yet doth not esteem null, baptism performed by laicks or women, because it makes a difference between what is *essential* to a sacrament, and what is requisite in the *regular* way of using it. The Puritans, that they might neither prescribe nor even connive at a practice that seemed to be founded on the absolute necessity of infant baptism, would allow that sacred rite to be performed by the clergy alone.]

C E N T. The principles laid down by the *Queen's commissioners* on
 XVI. the one hand, and the *Puritans* on the other, were indeed very different.

For in the *first place*, The former maintained, that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions and of correcting the errors, that may have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church, is lodged in the sovereign, or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied, that the power of the magistrate extended so far, and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of CALVIN, as has been already observed.

Secondly, The Queen's commissioners maintained, that the rule of proceeding, in reforming the doctrine or discipline of the church, was not to be derived from the sacred writings *alone*, but also from the writings and decisions of the fathers in the primitive ages. The *Puritans*, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired word of God being the pure and *only* fountain of wisdom and truth, it was from thence *alone* that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those, who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship of the church, and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all sort of authority.

Thirdly, The Queen's commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of *Rome* was a *true church*, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the Roman pontif, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was, nevertheless, to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that the ministers, ordained by him, were qualified for performing the pastoral duties. This was a point, which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could

could not otherwise claim the honour of deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the *Puritans* entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy, as a system of political and spiritual tyranny that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontif as *Antichrist*, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the gospel; and in consequence of this, they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship, as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion.

Fourthly, The court commissioners considered as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that, which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that, which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alledged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the Form, mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also to the ends of civil policy. The *Puritans* asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline [s]; and that the apostles, in establishing the first Christian church on the Aristocratical plan that was then observed in the constitution of the Jewish Sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model to be followed in all times and in all places.

[(s) By this they meant at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was expressly contained in the Holy Scriptures, or deduced from them by necessary consequence. They maintained, still farther, that supposing it proved, that all things necessary to the good government of the church could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, yet, that the discretionary power of supplying this defect was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.]

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Lastly, The court reformers were of opinion, that things *indifferent*, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal, than an act of rebellion against the laws of the state. The *Puritans* alledged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose as *necessary* and *indispensable*, those things which CHRIST had left in the class of matters *indifferent*; since this was a manifest incroachment upon that *liberty*, with which the Divine Saviour *had made us free*. To this they added, that such rites and ceremonies, as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could, by no means, be considered as *indifferent*, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation, as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the Queen and her council [1].

The Brownists, a sect of the Puritans.

XXI. This contest between the commissioners of the court, and their opponents, who desired a more complete reformation than had yet taken place, would have

[(1) Dr. MOSHEIM, in these five articles, has followed the account of this controversy given by Mr. NEAL, in his *History of the Puritans*. This latter adds a sixth article, not of debate, but of union, "Both parties (says he) agreed *too well* in asserting the necessity of " an uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of " the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could " grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the *queen's supremacy*, and *the laws of the land*; according to the Puritans, the *decrees of provincial and national synods* allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: But " neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and " freedom of profession, which is every man's right as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives."]

been

been much more dangerous in its consequences, had that party, that was distinguished by the general denomination of *Puritans*, been united in their sentiments, views, and measures. But the case was quite otherwise. For this large body, composed of persons of different ranks, characters, opinions, and intentions, and unanimous in nothing but their antipathy against the forms of doctrine and discipline, that were established by law, was, all of a sudden, divided into a variety of sects; of which some spread abroad the delusions of enthusiasm, which had turned their own brains; while others displayed their folly in inventing new and whimsical plans of church-government. The most famous of all these sects was that which was formed, about the year 1581, by ROBERT BROWN, an insinuating man, but very unsettled and inconsistent in his views and notions of things. This innovator did not differ, in point of doctrine, either from the church of *England* or from the rest of the *Puritans*; but he had formed new and singular notions concerning the nature of the church, and the rules of ecclesiastical government. He was for dividing the whole body of the faithful into separate societies or congregations, not larger than those which were formed by the apostles in the infancy of christianity; and maintained, that such a number of persons, as could be contained in an ordinary place of worship, ought to be considered as a *church*, and enjoy all the rights and privileges that are competent to an ecclesiastical community. These small societies he pronounced *independent jure divino*, and entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, in whose hands the court placed the reins of spiritual government; and also from that of *synods*, which the *Puritans* regarded as the supreme visible sources of ecclesiastical authority. He also maintained, that the power of governing each congregation, and providing for its welfare, resided in the people; and that each member had an equal share in this direction, and an equal right to order matters for the good of the

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whole society [u]. Hence all points both of doctrine and discipline were submitted to the discussion of the whole congregation, and whatever was supported by a majority of votes passed into a law. It was the congregation also that elected certain of the brethren to the office of pastors to perform the duty of public instruction, and the several branches of divine worship, reserving, however, to themselves the power of dismissing these ministers, and reducing them to the condition of private members, whenever they should think such a change conducive to the spiritual advantage of the community. For these pastors were not esteemed superior, either in sanctity or rank, to the rest of their brethren, nor distinguished from them by any other circumstance, than the liberty of preaching and praying, which they derived from the free will and consent of the congregation. It is, besides, to be observed, that their right of preaching was, by no means, of an exclusive nature, or peculiar to them alone; since any member, that thought proper to exhort or instruct the Brethren, was abundantly indulged in the liberty of *prophesying* to the whole assembly. Accordingly, when the ordinary teacher or pastor had finished his discourse, all the other Brethren were permitted to communicate in public their sentiments and illustrations upon any useful or edifying subject, on which they supposed they could throw new light. In a word, BROWN aimed at nothing less than modelling the form of the church after that infant community, that was founded by the apostles, without once considering the important changes both in the religious and civil state of the world since that time, the influ-

[(u) It is farther to be observed, that one church was not entitled to exercise jurisdiction over another; but each might give the other counsel or admonition, if they walked in a disorderly manner, or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a church of CHRIST. On the other hand, the powers of their church-officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastor of a church might not administer the sacrament of baptism or the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion.]

ence

ence that these changes must necessarily have upon all C E N T. XVI. ecclesiastical establishments, and the particular circumstances of the Christian church in consequence of its former corruptions and its late reformation. And, if his notions were crude and chimerical, the zeal with which he, and his associates maintained and propagated them was intemperate and extravagant in the highest degree. For he affirmed, that all communion was to be broken off with those religious societies, that were founded upon a different plan from his, and treated, more especially, the church of *England* as a spurious church, whose ministers were unlawfully ordained, whose discipline was popish and antichristian, and whose sacraments and institutions were destitute of all efficacy and virtue. The sect of this hot-headed innovator, not being able to endure the severe treatment which their opposition to the established forms of religious government and worship had drawn upon them from an administration (that was not distinguished by its mildness and indulgence [*w*]) retired into the Netherlands, and founded churches at *Middleburg* in *Zealand*, and at *Amsterdam* and *Leyden* in the Province of *Holland*; but their establishments were neither solid nor durable [*x*]. Their founder returned into *England*, and, having renounced his principles of separation, took orders in the established church and obtained a benefice [*y*]. The Puritan exiles, whom he thus abandoned, disagreed among themselves, were split into parties, and their affairs declined from day to day

[[*w*] This parenthesis is added by the translator, and is but too much verified by the history of the religious troubles in *England*.]

[[*x*] The British churches at *Amsterdam* and *Middleburg* are incorporated into the national Dutch church, and their pastors are members of the Dutch synod, which is sufficient to shew that there are at this time no traces of *Brownism* or *independency* in these churches. The church at *Leyden*, where *ROBINSON* had fixed the standard of *independency* about the year 1595, was dispersed; and it is very remarkable, that a part of this church, transplanting themselves into *America*, laid the foundation of the colony of *New-England*.]

[[*y*] *BROWN*, in his new preferment, forgot not only the rigour of his principles, but also the gravity of his former morals; for he led a very idle and dissolute life. See *NEAL'S History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 376.]

[*z*]. This

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[z]. This engaged the wiser part of them to mitigate the severity of their founder's plan, and to soften the rigour of his uncharitable decisions; and hence arose the community of the *Independants*, or *Congregational Brethren*, which still subsists, and of which an account shall be given in the history of the following century.

The state of
the Reform-
ed church in
the Nether-
lands.

XXII. In the Belgic provinces, the friends of the reformation seemed for a long time uncertain, whether they should embrace the communion of the Swiss, or of the Lutheran church. Each of these had zealous friends and powerful patrons [a]. The matter was, nevertheless, decided in the year 1571, and the religious system of CALVIN was publicly adopted. For the Belgic confession of faith, which then appeared [b], was drawn up in the spirit and almost in the terms of that which was received in the Reformed churches in *France*, and differed considerably, in several respects, from the confession of *Augsburg*, but more especially in the article relating to CHRIST's presence in the eucharist [c.] This will not appear surprising to those who consider the vicinity of the French to the Low-Countries; the number of French protestants that were constantly passing or sojourning there; the extraordinary reputation of CALVIN, and of the academy of *Geneva*; as also the indefatigable zeal of his disciples in extending the limits of their church, and propagating, throughout all *Europe*, their system of doctrine, discipline, and government. Be that as it may, from this period the Dutch, who had before been denominated *Lutherans*, assumed universally the title of *Reformed*, in which also they imitated the French, by whom this title had been first invented and adopted. It is true indeed, that as long as they were subjected to the Spanish yoke, the fear

[z] NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. vi.—HOORN-BECKII *Summa Controvers.* lib. x. p. 738.—FULLER'S *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, book X. p. 168.

[a] LOSCHERI *Histor. Motuum*, part. III. lib. v. cap. iv. p. 74.

[b] KOCHERI *Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ*, p. 216.

[c] See BRANDT'S *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands*, (written in Dutch) vol. i. book V. p. 253.

of exposing themselves to the displeasure of their sovereign induced them to avoid the title of *Reformed*, and to call themselves *Associates of the Brethern of the confession of Augsburg*. For the Lutherans were esteemed, by the Spanish court, much better subjects than the disciples of CALVIN, who, on account of the tumults that had lately prevailed in *France*, were supposed to have a greater propensity to mutiny and sedition [d].

XXIII. The light of the reformation was first brought from *Saxony* into *Poland* by the disciples of LUTHER. Some time after this happy period the *Bohemian Brethren*, whom the Romish clergy had expelled from their country, as also several Helvetic doctors propagated their sentiments among the Polanders. Some congregations were also founded in that republic by the *Anabaptists*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, and other sectaries [e]. Hence it was, that three distinct communities, each of which adopted the main principles of the reformation, were to be found in *Poland*, viz. the *Bohemian Brethren*, the *Lutherans*, and *Swiss*. These communities, in order to defend themselves with the greater vigour against their common enemies, formed, among themselves, a kind of confederacy, in a synod held at *Sendomir* in the year 1570, upon certain conditions, which were comprehended in the *Confession of Faith*, that derives its title from the city now mentioned [f]. But as this association

[(d) DR. MOSHEIM advances this on the authority of a passage in BRANDT'S *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands* (p. 254, 255.) which is written in Dutch, and is, indeed, a most curious and valuable work, notwithstanding the author's propensity to favour the cause of Arminianism, of which he was one of the most respectable patrons.]

[e] LOSCHERI *Hist. Motuum*, part. III. lib. v. cap. iii. p. 36.—SALIG. *Hist. Aug. Confession*. tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii, iv, v. p. 516.—REGENVOLSCII. *Hist. Eccles. Slavonicar.* lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 71.—SALIGNAC, *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. v. p. 40—KAUTZ, *Præcipua Relig. Evangel. in Polonia Fata*, published in 4to at Hamburg in the year 1738.

[f] See DAN. ERNEST. JABLONSKY, *Historia Consensus Sendomirensis*, published at Berlin in 4to in the year 1731; as also the *Epistola Apologetica*, of the same author, in defence of the work, now mentioned, against the objections of an anonymous author.

seemed

CENT. XVI. seemed rather adapted to accelerate the conclusion of a peace, than to promote the cause of truth, the points in debate between the *Lutherans* and the *Reformed* being expressed in this reconciling confession in vague and ambiguous terms, it was soon after this warmly opposed by many of the former, and was entirely annulled in the following century. Many attempts have, indeed, been made to revive it, but they have not answered the expectations of those who have employed their dexterity and zeal in this matter. In *Prussia* the *Reformed* gained ground after the death of LUTHER and MELANCTHON, and founded the flourishing churches that still subsist in that country [g].

The Bohemian Brethren.

XXIV. The *Bohemian*, or, as they are otherwise called, the *Moravian Brethren*, who descended from the better sort of Hussites, and were distinguished by several religious institutions of a singular nature, and well adapted to guard their community against the reigning vices and corruptions of the times, had no sooner heard of LUTHER's design of reforming the church, than they sent deputies in the year 1522, to recommend themselves to his friendship and good offices. In succeeding times, they continued to discover the same zealous attachment to the Lutheran churches in *Saxony*, and also to those, that were founded in other countries. These offers could not be well accepted without a previous examination of their religious sentiments and principles. And, indeed, this examination turned to their advantage; for neither LUTHER nor his disciples found any thing, either in their doctrine or discipline, that was, in any great measure, liable to censure; and, tho' he could not approve, in every particular of their *Confession of Faith*, which they submitted to his judgment, yet he looked upon it as an object of toleration and indulgence [b]. Nevertheless the death of LUTHER, and

[g] LOSCHERI *Historia Motuum*, part III. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 216.

[b] See a German work of CARPZOVIVS, entitled, *Nachricht von den Bohmischen Brudern*, p. 46. as also JO. CHR. KOCHER *Bibliotheca Theologica Symbolica*, p. 76.

the expulsion of these *Brethren* from their country in the year 1547, gave a new turn to their religious connexions; and great numbers of them, more especially of those who retired into *Poland*, embraced the religious sentiments and discipline of the *Reformed*. The attachment of the *Bohemians* to the *Lutherans* seemed, indeed, to be revived by the *Convention of Sendomir* already mentioned; but as the articles of union, that were drawn up in that assembly, lost all their force and authority in a little time, the *Bohemians*, by degrees, entered one and all into the communion of the *Swiss church* [i]. This union was, at first, formed on the express condition, that the two churches should continue to be governed by their respective laws and institutions, and should have separate places of public worship; but, in the following century, all remains of dissension were removed in the synods held at *Astrog* in the years 1620 and 1627, and the two congregations were formed into one under the title of *The Church of the United Brethren*. In this coalition the reconciled parties shewed to each other reciprocal marks of toleration and indulgence; for the external form of the church was modelled after the discipline of the *Bohemian Brethren*, and the articles of faith were taken from the creed of the *Calvinists* [k].

XXV. The descendants of the *Waldenses*, who lived shut up in the vallies of *Piedmont*, were naturally led, by their situation in the neighbourhood of the French, and of the Republic of *Geneva*, to embrace the doctrines and rites of the *Reformed church*. So far down, however, as the year 1630, they retained a considerable part of their ancient discipline and tenets; but the plague, that broke out that year, having destroyed the greatest part of this unhappy people, and among the rest a considerable number of their pastors and clergy,

The *Waldenses*, *Hungarians*, and *Transylvanians*.

[i] Besides *COMENIUS*, *CAMERARIUS*, and *LASITIUS*, who have written professedly the History of the *Bohemian Brethren*, see *LOSCHERI Historia Motuum*, part. III. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 99.—*SALIG. Hist. Confession. Aug.* tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 520.—*AD. REGENVOLSCII Hist. Eccles. Slavonicæ*, lib. i. cap. xiii, xiv, xv.

[k] *REGENVOLSCIUS*, *loc. citat.* lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 120.

they

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they addressed themselves to the French churches for spiritual succour; and the new doctors, sent from thence, made several changes in the discipline and doctrine of the Waldenses, and rendered them conformable, in every respect, with those of the protestant churches in France [l].

The Hungarians and Transylvanians were engaged to renounce the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome by the writings of LUTHER, and the ministry of his disciples. But some time after, MATTHIAS DEVAY and other doctors began to introduce, in a secret manner, among these nations, the doctrines of the Swiss churches in relation to the eucharist, as also their principles of ecclesiastical government. This doctrine and these principles were propagated in a more open and public manner, towards the year 1550, by SZEGEDIN and other Calvinist teachers, whose ministry was attended with remarkable success. This change was followed by the same dissensions, that had broke out in other countries on like occasions; and these dissensions grew into an open schism among the friends of the reformation in these provinces, which the lapse of time has rather confirmed than diminished [m].

Of the
Lutheran
churches
that em-
braced Cal-
vinism.

XXVI. After the solemn publication of the famous *Form of Concord*, of which an account has been already given, many German churches, of the Lutheran communion, dissolved their original bonds, and embraced the doctrine and discipline of CALVIN. Among these we may place the churches of *Nassau*, *Hanau*, and *Isenburg*, with several others of less note. In the year 1595, the princes of *Anhalt*, influenced by the counsels of WOLFGANG AMLINGIUS, renounced also the profession of Lutheranism, and introduced into their do-

[l] LEGER, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. chap. xxxiii. p. 205, 206.—ABR. SCULTETI *Annales Renovati Evangelii*, p. 294.—DAN. GERDES *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 401.

[m] PAULI DEBREZENI *Historia Eccles. Reform. in Hungar. et Transylvan.* lib. ii. p. 64. 72. 98.—*Unschuld Nachricht.* A. 1738, p. 1076.—GEORG. HANERI *Historia Eccles. Transylv.* published at Francfort in 12mo in the year 1694.

minions the religious tenets and rights of *Geneva*; this revolution, however, produced a long and warm controversy between the Lutherans and the inhabitants of this principality [n]. The doctrines of the Calvinist or Reformed church, more especially those that relate to the eucharist, were also introduced into *Denmark*, towards the conclusion of this century; for in this kingdom the disciples and votaries of MELANCTHON, who had always discovered a strong propensity to a union between the protestant churches, were extremely numerous, and they had at their head NICHOLAS HEMMINGIUS, a man eminent for his piety and learning. But the views of this divine, and the schemes of his party, being discovered much sooner than they expected by the vigilant defenders of the Lutheran cause, their plans were disconcerted [o], and the progress of Calvinism was successfully opposed by the Lutheran ministers, seconded by the countenance and authority of the sovereign [p].

XXVII. It must not however be imagined, that the different nations, that embraced the communion of the Calvinist church, adopted, at the same time, without exception, all its tenets, rites, and institutions. This

The diversity that reigned among the various branches of the Reformed church.

[n] See for an account of this matter the German work of BECHMAN, which is thus entitled, *Histoire des Hauses Anhalt*, vol. ii. p. 133. and that of KRAFT, which bears the title of *Ausführliche Historie von dem Exorcismo*, p. 428. 497. [Though the princes professed Calvinism, and introduced Calvinist ministers into all the churches, where they had the right of patronage, yet the people were left free in their choice; and the noblemen and their vassals that were attached to Lutheranism had secured to them the unrestrained exercise of their religion. By virtue of a convention made in 1679, the Lutherans were permitted to erect new churches. The Zerbst line, with the greatest part of its subjects, profess Lutheranism; but the three other lines, with their respective territories, are Calvinists.]

[o] ERICI PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 57.

[(p) That is (for our author consistently with truth can mean no more) the designs, that were formed to render Calvinism, the national and established religion, proved abortive. It is certain however that Calvinism made a very considerable progress in *Denmark*, and has still a great number of votaries in that kingdom.]

universal

C E N T. universal conformity was, indeed, ardently desired by
 XVI. the Helvetic doctors; but their desires, in this respect,
 were far from being accomplished. The English, as is sufficiently known, rejected the forms of ecclesiastical government and religious worship that were adopted by the other Reformed churches, and could not be persuaded to receive, as publick and national articles of faith, the doctrines that were propagated in *Switzerland* in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper and the Divine decrees [q]. The protestants in *Holland, Bremen, Poland, Hungary*, and the Palatinate, followed, indeed, the French and Helvetic churches in their sentiments concerning the eucharist, in the simplicity of their worship and in their principles of ecclesiastical polity; but not in their notions of *predestination*, which intricate doctrine they left undefined and submitted to the free examination and private judgment of

[(q) It is true indeed, that the doctrine of ZUINGLE, who represented the bread and wine as nothing more than external signs of the death of CHRIST, was not adopted by the church of *England*; but the doctrine of CALVIN was embraced by that church, and is plainly taught in the xxviiith article of its faith. As to what relates to the doctrine of the Divine Decrees, Dr. MOSHEIM is equally mistaken. The xviiith article of the church of *England* is, as Bishop BURNET candidly acknowledges, framed according to St. AUGUSTIN's doctrine, which scarcely differs at all from that of CALVIN, and though it be expressed with a certain latitude that renders it susceptible of a mitigated interpretation, yet it is very probable, that those who penned it were patrons of the doctrine of Absolute Decrees. The very cautions, that are subjoined to this article, intimate that *Calvinism* was what it was meant to establish. It is certain, that the calvinistical doctrine of predestination prevailed among the first English reformers, the greatest part of whom were, at least, *Sublapsarians*; in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH it was predominant; but after that period it lost ground imperceptibly, and was renounced by the church of *England* in the reign of King CHARLES I. Some members of that church still adhered, nevertheless, to the tenets of CALVIN, and maintained, not only that the thirty-nine articles were calvinistical, but also affirmed, that they were not susceptible of being interpreted in that latitude for which the *Arminians* contended. These episcopal votaries of Calvinism were called *Doctrinal Puritans*. See BURNET's *Exposition of the Seventeenth Article*, &c. and NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 579.]

every

every individual [*r*]. It may farther be affirmed, that before the synod of *Dort* [*s*], no Reformed church had obliged its members by any special law, or article of faith, to adhere to the doctrine of the church of *Geneva* relating to primary causes of the salvation of the elect or the ruin of the reprobate. It is true, indeed, that in the places now mentioned the greatest part of the *Reformed* doctors fell, by degrees, of their own accord into the Calvinistical opinion concerning these intricate points; and this was principally owing, no doubt, to the great reputation of the academy of *Geneva*, which was generally frequented, in this century, by those among the Reformed who were candidates for the ministry.

XXVIII. The books of the Old and New Testament are regarded by the *Reformed* churches as the only sources of Divine Truth; it must however be observed, that, to their authority, the church of *England* adds that of the writings of the Fathers during the first five centuries [*t*]. The *Reformed* and the *Lutherans* agree in maintaining, that the Holy Scriptures are infallible in all things; that, in matters, of which the knowledge is necessary to salvation, they are clear, full, and compleat; and also that they are to be explained by themselves, and not either by the dictates of human

The doctrine
adopted by
the Reform-
ed churches.

[*r*] See GROTIJ *Apologet. eorum, qui Hollandiæ ante mutationem, A. 1618, præfuerunt*, cap. iii. p. 54. *Ed. Paris. 1640*, in 12^{mo}.

[*s*] It was in this famous synod, that was assembled in the year 1618, and of which we shall have occasion to give a more ample account in the history of the following century, that the doctrine of CALVIN was fixed as the national and established religion of the Seven united Provinces.]

[*t*] There is nothing in the thirty-nine articles of the church of *England*, which implies its considering the writings of the Fathers of the first five centuries, as an authoritative criterion of religious truth. There is, indeed, a clause in the *Act of Uniformity*, passed in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, declaring, that her delegates, in ecclesiastical matters, should not determine any thing to be heresy, but what was adjudged so *by the authority of Scripture, or by the first four general councils*; and this has perhaps misled Dr. MOSHEIM in the passage to which this note refers. Much respect indeed, and perhaps too much has been paid to the Fathers; but that has been always a matter of *choice*, and not of *obligation*.]

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reason, or the decisions of the ancient Fathers. Several of the doctors among the former have indeed employed too freely the sagacity of their natural understanding in explaining those divine mysteries that are contained in the Gospel; and this circumstance has induced many to imagine, that the *Reformed* adopted two sources of religion, two criterions of divine truth, viz. the *Holy Scripture*, and *Human Reason*. But perhaps it will be found, that, in this respect, doctors of *both* communions have sometimes gone too far, being led on by the spirit of controversy, and animated with the desire of victory. For, if we except the singular tenets of some individuals, it may be affirmed with truth, that the *Lutherans* and the *Reformed* are unanimous in the matter now under consideration. They both maintain, that *contradictory propositions cannot be the objects of faith*; and consequently, that all *doctrines* that contain *ideas* and *notions*, that are *repugnant to*, and *mutually destroy each other*, must be *false* and *incredible*. It is true indeed, that the *Reformed* sometimes use this principle in a contentious manner, to overturn certain points of the Lutheran system which they have thought proper to reject [*u*].

The points
in which the
Reformed
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XXIX. The *Reformed*, if by this denomination we understand those who embrace the sentiments of CALVIN, differ entirely from the *Lutherans* in the following points:

1st, In their notions of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The *Lutherans* affirm, that the body and blood of CHRIST are *materially present* in this sacrament, tho' in an incomprehensible manner; and that they are *really* exhibited both to the righteous and the wicked, to the worthy and to the unworthy, receiver. The *Reformed* hold, on the contrary, that the man CHRIST is only present in this ordinance by the external signs of bread and wine; though it must, at the same time, be observed, that

[(*u*) Our author has here undoubtedly in view the Lutheran doctrine of *Consubstantiation*, which supposes the same *extended body* to be *totally* present in different places, at one and the same time. To call this a gross and glaring contradiction, seems rather the dictate of common sense, than the suggestion of a contentious spirit.]

this

this matter is differently explained and represented in ^{C E N T.} the writings of their doctors. ^{XVI.}

2dly, In their doctrine of the *eternal decrees of God respecting man's salvation*. The *Lutherans* maintain, that the *divine decrees* respecting the salvation or misery of men are founded upon a *previous knowledge* of their sentiments and characters; or, in other words, that God, foreseeing from all eternity the faith, or incredulity of different persons, had reserved eternal happiness for the faithful, and eternal misery for the unbelieving and disobedient. The *Reformed* entertain different sentiments concerning this intricate point. They consider the divine decrees as *free* and *unconditional*, and as founded on the *will of God*, which is limited by no superior order, and which is above all laws.

3dly, Concerning *some religious rites and institutions*, which the *Reformed* consider as bordering upon superstition, or tending, at least, to promote it; while the *Lutherans* view them in another light, and represent all of them as *tolerable*, and some of them as *useful*. Such are the use of images in the churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's supper, the form of *exorcism* in the celebration of baptism, and other ceremonies of like moment. The *Reformed* doctors insist on the abolition of all these rites and institutions; and that upon this general principle, that the discipline and worship of the Christian church ought to be restored to their primitive simplicity, and freed from the human inventions and additions that were employed by superstition, in the times of ignorance, to render them more striking to the deluded multitude.

XXX. The few heads of difference, between the two communions, which have been now briefly pointed out, have furnished an inexhaustible fund of controversy to the contending parties, and been drawn out into a multitude of intricate questions, and subjects of debate, that, by consequences fairly or injudiciously deduced, have widened the scene of contention, and extended to almost all the important truths of religion.

The moment and importance of these differences.

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Thus the debate, concerning the *manner in which the body and blood of CHRIST are present in the Eucharist*, opened to the disputants a large field of inquiry, in which the nature and fruits of the institutions called *Sacraments*, the majesty and glory of *CHRIST's humanity*, together with the *communication* of the divine perfections to it, and that inward frame of spirit that is required in the worship that is addressed to the divine Saviour were carefully examined. In like manner, the controversy, which had for its object *the divine decrees*, led the doctors, by whom it was carried on, into the most subtle and profound researches concerning the nature of the divine attributes, particularly those of *justice* and *goodness*, the doctrines of *fate* or *necessity*, the connection between *human liberty* and *divine prescience*, the extent of God's love to mankind, and of the benefits that arise from the merits of *CHRIST* as mediator, the operations of that divine spirit or power that rectifies the wills and sanctifies the affections of men, the perseverance of the *elect* in their covenant with God and in a state of salvation, and other points of great moment and importance. The subject of debate that was drawn from the *use of certain external rites and ceremonies* in religious worship, was also productive of several questions and inquiries. For besides the researches into the origin and antiquity of certain institutions, to which it gave occasion, it naturally led to a discussion of the following important questions: *viz.* *What are the special marks that characterize things INDIFFERENT?—How far is it lawful to comply with the demands of an adversary, whose opposition is only directed against things esteemed indifferent in their own nature?—What is the extent of Christian liberty?—Whether or no it be lawful to retain, in condescension to the prejudices of the people, or with a view to their benefit, certain ancient rites and institutions, which, although they carry a superstitious aspect, may nevertheless be susceptible of a favourable and rational interpretation?*

XXXI. It

XXXI. It has always been a question, much debated among protestants, and more especially in *England* and *Holland*, where it has excited great commotions and tumults, *to whom the right of governing the church and the power of deciding in religious matters properly belong?* This controversy has been determined in favour of those, who maintain, that the power of deciding, in matters of religious doctrine, discipline, and government, is, by the appointment of CHRIST himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought, by no means, to be entrusted with, or exercised by, the civil magistrate; while, at the same time, they grant, that it is the business of the latter to assist the church with his protection and advice, to convoke and preside in its synods and councils, to take care that the clergy do not attempt to carry on any thing that may be prejudicial to the interests of the state, and, by his authority, to confirm the validity and secure the execution of the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the church under his inspection. It is true, that from the time of HENRY VIII, the kings of *England* consider themselves as *supreme heads of the church*, and that, in relation to *its spiritual as well as its temporal, concerns*; and it is plain enough, that, on the strength of this important title, both HENRY VIII and his son EDWARD assumed an extensive authority and jurisdiction in the church, and looked upon their spiritual power, as equal to that which had been unworthily enjoyed by the Roman pontiff [w]. But Queen ELIZABETH receded considerably from these high pretensions, and diminished the spiritual power of her successors, by declaring that the jurisdiction of the kings of *England* extended only to the ministers of religion, and not to religion itself; to the rulers of the church, and not to the church itself; or, in other words, that the persons of the clergy were alone sub-

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XVI.To whom
the right of
governing
the church
belongs.[w] See NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 11.

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To whom
the right of
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the church
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[w] See NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 11.

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ject to their civil authority [x]. Accordingly, we see that the constitution of the church of *England* resembles perfectly that of the state, and that there is a striking analogy between the civil and ecclesiastical government established in that country. The clergy, consisting of the upper and lower houses of convocation, are immediately assembled by the archbishop of *Canterbury* in consequence of an order from the sovereign, and propose in these meetings, by common consent, such measures as seem necessary to the well-being of the church; these measures are laid before the king and parliament, and derive from their approbation and authority the force of laws [y]. But it must be acknowledged, that this matter has given occasion to much altercation and debate, nor has it been found easy to fix the extent of the jurisdiction and prerogative of these great bodies in a manner conformable to their respective pretensions, since the king and his council explain them in one way, and the clergy, more especially those who are zealous for the spiritual supremacy and independency of the church, understand them in another. The truth of the matter is plainly this, that the ecclesiastical polity in *England* has never acquired a stable and consistent form, nor been reduced to clear and certain principles. It has rather been carried on and administered by antient custom and precedent, than defined and fixed by any regular system of laws and institutions.

The Form
of ecclesi-
astical go-

XXXII. If it was not an easy matter to determine in what hands the power of deciding affairs of a religious

[x] See COURAYER, *Supplement aux deux Ouvrages pour la Defense de la validité des Ordinations, Anglicanes*, chap. xv. p. 416. [This must be understood, with many restrictions, if it can be at all admitted. The whole tenor of Queen ELIZABETH's reign shewed plainly that she did not pretend to less power in religious matters than any of her predecessors.]

[y] JO. COSINUS, *De Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione et Disciplina*, in the learned THOMAS SMITH's *Vitæ Eruditiss. Virorum*, published at London in 4to in the year 1707—See also DAV. WILKINS *De Veteri et Moderna Synodi Anglic. Constitutione*, tom. i. *Concil Magn. Britann.* p. vii.—NEAL's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 2, 3, 15. 132.

nature

nature was to be lodged, it was no less difficult to fix CENT.
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the Form of ecclesiastical government in which this
power was to be administred. Many vehement dis-
putes were kindled on this subject, which neither the
lapse of time, nor the efforts of human wisdom, have
been able to bring to an amicable issue. The republic
of *Geneva*, in consequence of the counsels of CALVIN,
judged it proper that the particular affairs of each
church should be directed by a body of elders or
presbyters, all invested with an equal degree of power
and authority; that matters of a more public and im-
portant nature were to be submitted to the judgment
of an assembly, or synod, composed of elders chosen
as deputies by the churches of a whole province or
district; and that all affairs of such extensive influence
and high moment, as concerned the welfare of the sa-
cred community in general, should be examined and
decided, as in times of old, by a general assembly of
the whole church. This form of ecclesiastical govern-
ment the church of *Geneva* adopted for itself [z], and

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[(z) The account Dr. MOSHEIM gives here and above (§ XII. of this chapter) of the Form of Ecclesiastical Government established by CALVIN at *Geneva*, is far from being accurate. There are but two ecclesiastical bodies in that republic, viz. the *Venerable Company* of the pastors and professors, and the *Consistory*; for a just description of which, see the judicious Mr. KEATE'S *Short Account of the Ancient History, present Government and Laws of the Republic of Geneva*, printed by *Dodsley* in the year 1761, p. 110. 112. 121. 124.—I would only remark, that, what this sensible author observes, with respect to the *Consistory*, p. 124. of his interesting performance, belongs principally, if not wholly, to the *Venerable Company*.—Dr. MOSHEIM seems to have been led into this mistake by imagining that the Ecclesiastical Form of Government established in *Scotland*, where indeed all church affairs are managed by *consistorial*, *provincial*, and *national* assemblies, or, in other words, by *presbyteries*, *synods*, and *general synods*, was a direct transcript of the hierarchy of *Geneva*. It is also probable, that he may have been deceived by reading in NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, that the Scottish reformers approved of the discipline of the reformed churches of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, and followed their plan of Ecclesiastical Government. But he ought to have observed, that this approbation and imitation related only to the *democratical* form of the church of *Geneva*, and the parity of its ministers.

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left no intreaties or methods of persuasion unemployed, that might recommend it to the other Reformed churches with which they lived in fraternal communion. But it was obstinately rejected by the English clergy, who regarded as sacred and immutable that antient form of spiritual government, according to which a certain district or *diocese* is committed to the care and inspection of one ruler or bishop, to whom the *presbyters* of each church are subject, as also the *deacons* are to the *presbyters*; while those affairs that concern the general interests of the church are treated in an assembly of bishops, and of such ecclesiastics as are next to them in rank and dignity. This form of episcopal polity was, with some small exceptions, adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren [a], who were become one of the Reformed churches; but it was highly displeasing to those among the protestants, who had embraced the sentiments and discipline of CALVIN. The dissensions, occasioned by these different schemes of ecclesiastical polity, were every way adapted to produce a violent schism in the church; and that so much the more, as each of the contending parties pretended to derive their respective plan from the injunctions of CHRIST and the practice of his disciples. And, in effect, it divided the English nation into two parties, who, during a long time, treated each other with great animosity and bitterness, and whose feuds, on many occasions, proved detrimental to the civil interests and prosperity of the nation. This schism, however, which did such mischief in *England*, was, by the prudence and piety of a few great and excellent divines, confined to that country, and prevented from either becoming universal or

nisters. Be that as it may, the plan of government, which our historian here supposes to have place at *Geneva*, is in reality that, which is observed in *Scotland*, and of which no more than the first and fundamental principles were taken from the discipline of CALVIN. The small territory of *Geneva* would not admit of such a form of ecclesiastical polity as Dr. MOSHEIM here describes.]

[a] See *Epist. de Ordinatio. et Successione Episcopali. in unitate Fratrum Bohem. conservata*, in CHRIST. MATTH. PFAFFI *Institution. Juris Eccles.* p. 410.

interrupting

interrupting the fraternal union that prevailed between the church of *England* and the Reformed churches abroad. The worthy men, that thus set bounds to the influence of these unhappy divisions, found great opposition made, by the suggestions of bigotry, to their charitable purpose. To maintain, however, the bonds of union between the episcopal church of *England* and the presbyterian churches in foreign countries, they laid down the following maxim, which, though it be not universally adopted, tends nevertheless to the preservation of external concord among the *Reformed*, viz. "That JESUS CHRIST has left upon record no express injunctions with respect to the external form of government, that is to be observed in his church; and, consequently, that every nation hath a right to establish such a Form, as seemeth conducive to the interests, and suitable to the peculiar state, circumstances, and exigencies of the community, provided, that such an establishment be in no respect prejudicial to truth, or favourable to the revival of superstition [b]."

XXXIII. It was the opinion of CALVIN, not only that flagitious and profligate members were to be cut off from the sacred society, and excluded from the communion of the church, but also that men of dissolute and licentious lives were punishable by the laws of the state and the arm of the civil magistrate. In this he differed entirely from ZUINGLE, who, supposing that all authority, of every kind, was lodged in the hands of the magistrate alone, would not allow to the ministers of the church the power of excluding flagitious offenders from its communion, or withholding from them the participation of its sacraments [c]. But the credit and influence

The state of
church discipline.

[b] See SPANHEMII *Opera*, tom. ii. lib. viii, ix. p. 1055. This was the general opinion of the British divines that lived in the earliest period of the Reformation, and was first abandoned by Archbishop WHITGIFT. See NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, tom. iii. p. 140.

[c] See a remarkable letter of RUD. GUALTIERI, in FUESLIN'S *Centuria I, Epistolarum a Reformatorebus Helveticis scriptarum*, p. 478, where he expresses himself thus: *Excommunicationem neque Zuinglius*
... neque

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influence of CALVIN were so great at *Geneva*, that he accomplished his purpose, even in the face of a formidable opposition from various quarters. He established the severest rules of discipline, to correct the licentious manners of the times, by which he exposed himself to innumerable perils from the malignity and resentment of the dissolute, and to perpetual contests with the patrons of voluptuousness and immorality. He executed, moreover, these rules of discipline with the utmost rigour, had them strengthened and supported by the authority of the state, excluded obstinate offenders from the communion of the church, by the judicial sentence of the *consistory*, and even went so far as to procure their banishment from the city; not to mention other kinds of punishment of no mild nature, which at his desire, were inflicted upon men of loose principles and irregular lives [d]. The clergy, in *Switzerland*, were highly pleased with the form of church-government that had been established at *Geneva*, and ardently desirous of a greater degree of power to restrain the insolence of obstinate sinners, and a larger share of authority in the church, than

... *neque Bullingerus unquam probârunt et . . . obstiterunt iis qui eam aliquando voluerunt introducere . . . Basileæ quidem Oecolampadius multum dissuadente Zuinglio instituerat . . . sed adeo non durabilis fuit illa constitutio, ut Oecolampadius illam abrogârit, &c.* See also p. 90.

[d] Of all the undertakings of CALVIN, there was none that involved him in so much trouble, or exposed him to such imminent danger, as the plan he had formed, with such resolution and fortitude, of purging the church by the exclusion of obstinate and scandalous offenders, and inflicting severe punishments on all such as violated the laws, enacted by the church, or by the *Consistory*, which was its representative. See *The Life of Calvin*, composed by BEZA, and prefixed to his letters.—SPON'S *Histoire de Geneve*, and particularly the *Notes*, tom. ii. p. 45. 65.—CALVIN'S *Letters*, and more especially those addressed to *Jaques de Bourgogne*, published at *Amsterdam* in 8vo. in the year 1744, p. 126. 127. 132. 153. 157—The party at *Geneva*, which CALVIN called the Sect of *Libertines*, because they defended the licentious customs of ancient times, the erection of stews, and such like matters, not only by their discourse and their actions, but even by force of arms) was both numerous and powerful. But the courage and resolution of this great reformer gained the ascendant, and triumphed over the opposition of his enemies.

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they were intrusted with by the ecclesiastical constitution of ZUINGLE. They *devoutly* wished that the discipline of CALVIN might be followed in their *Cantons*, and even made some attempts for that purpose. But their desires and their endeavours were equally vain; for the cantons of *Bern*, *Zurich*, and *Basil*, distinguished themselves among the others in opposing this change, and would by no means permit the bounds, that ZUINGLE had set to the jurisdiction of the church, to be removed, nor its power and authority to be augmented, in any respect [e].

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XXXIV. All the various branches of learning, whether sacred or profane, flourished among the Reformed during this century, as appears evidently by the great number of excellent productions, which have been transmitted to our times. ZUINGLE, indeed, seemed disposed to exclude philosophy from the pale of the church [f]; but in this inconsiderate purpose he had few followers, and the succeeding doctors of the Helvetic church were soon persuaded of the necessity of philosophical knowledge, more especially in controversies, and researches of a theological kind. Hence it was, that, in the year 1558, an academy was founded at *Geneva* by CALVIN, whose first care was to place in this new seminary a professor of philosophy, for the instruction of youth in the principles of reasoning. It is true, indeed, that this professor had a very limited province assigned him, being obliged to confine his instructions to a mere interpretation of the precepts of ARISTOTLE, who at

The state of
learning
among the
Reformed.

[e] See the account of the tumults and commotions of LAUSANNE, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 119—The disputes that were carried on, upon this occasion, in the Palatinate, which adopted the ecclesiastical discipline of *Geneva*, are recorded by ALTINGIUS, in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* and by STRUVIUS, in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat. German.* p. 212.

[f] ZUINGLE, in the Dedication of his book, *De vera et falsa Religione*, to FRANCIS I, king of *France*, expresses himself in the following terms: *Philosophiæ interdictum est a Christi Scholis: at isti (Sorbonistæ) fecerunt eam Coelestis verbi Magistrum.*

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this time was the oracle of all the public schools [g], and whose philosophical principles and method were exclusively adopted by all the other Reformed academies; though it is certain, that the philosophy of RAMUS was, for some time, preferred by many of the doctors at *Basil* to that of the Stagirite [h].

The inter-
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ture.

XXXV. The *Reformed* church, from its very infancy, produced a great number of expositors of scripture, whose learned and excellent commentaries deserve a memorable place [i] in the history of theological science. The exposition that ZUINGLE has given of the greatest part of the books of the New Testament is far from being destitute of merit [k]. He was succeeded by BULLINGER, OECOLAMPADIUS, and MUSCULUS, and also by others, who, though inferior to these great men in erudition and genius, deserve nevertheless a certain degree of approbation and esteem. But the two divines, who shone with a superior and unrivalled lustre in this learned list of sacred expositors, were JOHN CALVIN and THEODORE BEZA. The former composed an excellent commentary on almost all the books of Holy Writ; and the latter published a Latin Version of the *New Testament*, enriched with theological and critical observations, which has passed

[g] BEZA, in his *Epistolæ Theologicæ* (ep. xxxvi. p. 156) speaks thus: *Certum nobis ac constitutum est, et in ipsis tradendis logicis, et in ceteris explicandis disciplinis ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere.*

[h] See CASP. BRANDTII *Vita Jacobi Arminii*, p. 12. 13. 22.

[(i)] Dr. MOSHEIM pays a tribute to these great men of the Reformed church, that seems to be extorted by justice, with a kind of effort, from the spirit of party. He says, that ZUINGLE'S labours *are not contemptible*; that CALVIN *attempted an illustration of the sacred writings*; that the *New Testament* of BEZA has not, even at this day, *entirely lost the reputation it formerly enjoyed*. This is faint praise; and therefore the translator has, without departing from the tenor of the author's phraseology, animated a little the coldness of this panegyric.]

[(k)] It was not only on the Books of the *New Testament* that ZUINGLE employed his very learned and excellent labours. He expounded the Book of *Genesis*, together with the twenty four first chapters of *Exodus*, and gave New Versions of the *Book of Psalms*, of the Prophecies of *Isaiab* and *Jeremiah*.]

through

through many editions, and enjoys at this day, a considerable part of the reputation and applause, with which it was crowned at its first appearance. It must be acknowledged to the honour of the greatest part of these commentators, that, wisely neglecting those allegorical significations and mystical meanings that the irregular fancies of former expositors had attributed to the terms of Holy Writ, they employed their whole diligence and industry in investigating the literal sense, the full energy of the words of scripture, in order to find out the true intention of the sacred writer. It must, however, be observed on the other hand, that some of these interpreters, and more especially CALVIN, have been sharply censured for applying to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews, several prophecies, that point to the Messiah and to the Christian dispensation in the most evident and palpable manner, and thus removing some of the most striking arguments in favour of the divinity of the Gospel [1].

XXXVI. The state of theology and the revolutions it underwent, among the Helvetic and the other Reformed churches, were pretty much the same with what it met with among the Lutherans. ZUINGLE was one of the first Reformed doctors who reduced that sacred science into a certain sort of order, in his book *Concerning true and false Religion*, which contained a brief exposition of the principal doctrines of Christianity. This production was followed by one much more comprehensive in its contents and perfect in its kind, composed by CALVIN, and entitled, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which held in the Reformed churches the same rank, authority, and credit, that the *Loci Communes* of MELANCTHON obtained

The theological doctrine of the Reformed church.

[1] See ÆGIDII HUNNII *Calvinus Judaisans*, published at Wittenberg in 8vo. in the year 1595, which was refuted by DAVID PAREUS, in a book published the same year under the Title of *Calvinus Orthodoxus*.

among

CENT. among us [m]. The example of CALVIN animated
 XVI. the doctors of his communion, and produced a great
 number of writers of *Common Place Divinity*, some
 more, others less voluminous, among which MUSCULUS,
 PETER MARTYR, and PISCATOR particularly excelled.
 The most ancient of these writers are, generally
 speaking, the best, on account of their simplicity and
 clearness, being untainted with that affectation of sub-
 tility, and that scholastic spirit that have eclipsed the
 merit of many a good genius. CALVIN was a mo-
 del in this respect, more especially in his *Institutes*;
 a work, remarkable for the finest elegance of stile
 and the greatest ease and perspicuity of expression,
 together with the most perfect simplicity of method
 and clearness of argument. But this simplicity was soon
 effaced by the intricate science of the schools. The
 philosophy of ARISTOTLE, which was taught in, almost,
 all the seminaries of learning, and suffered much from
 falling into bad hands, insinuated itself into the regions of
 theology, and rendered them barren, thorny, intricate,
 and gloomy, by the enormous multitude of barbarous
 terms, captious questions, minute distinctions, and use-
 less subtilties that followed in its train [n].

The state of
 practical di-
 vinity or
 morality.

XXXVII. The Reformed doctors of this century
 generally concluded their treatises of didactic theo-
 logy with a delineation of the moral duties that are
 incumbent upon Christians, and the rules of practice
 that are prescribed in the Gospel. This method was
 observed by CALVIN, and was followed, out of re-
 spect for his example, by almost all the divines of
 his

[(m)] The reader must not forget that the learned author of this
 History is a Lutheran. This advertisement will undoubtedly appear
 superfluous to the attentive reader.]

[n] It must however be acknowledged, that the *scholastic* method
 of teaching theology, seems to have first infected our [the Lutheran]
 church, though the contagion spread itself, soon after, among the Re-
 formed doctors. It was certainly very recent in *Holland* at the
 time of the famous synod of *Dort*. In this assembly MACCOVIUS,
 professor at *Franeker*, a man deeply versed in all the mysteries of the
 scholastic philosophy, was accused of heresy by his colleague, SIBRAND
 LUBBERT.

his communion, who looked upon him as their model and their guide. This eminent man, towards the conclusion of his *Institutes*, speaks of the power of the magistrate, and the ends of civil government; and in the last chapter gives the portraiture of the *life and manners of a true Christian*, but in a much more concise manner than the copiousness, dignity

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LUBBERT. When the matter was examined, the synod gave it as their opinion, that MACCOVIUS was unjustly accused of heresy, but that, in his divinity lectures, he had not followed that simplicity of method, and clearness of expression, that are commendable in a public teacher of Christianity; and that he rather followed the subtle manner of the scholastic doctors, than the plain and unaffected phraseology of the inspired writers. The decision of the synod is expressed by WALTER BALCANQUAL (in the acts of that ecclesiastical assembly that are subjoined to his letters to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON) in the following words: *Maccovium . . . nullius hæreseos reum teneri . . . peccasse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis et obscuris scholasticis phrasibus usus sit: QUOD SCHOLASTICUM DOCENDI MODUM CONETUR IN BELGICIS ACADEMIIS INTRODUCERE . . . Monendum esse eum, ut cum spiritu sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio **. These admonitions produced but little effect on MACCOVIUS, as appears by his theological writings, which are richly seasoned with scholastic wit, and intricate speculations. He therefore appears to have been the first, who introduced the subtleties of philosophy into the theological system of the Reformed churches in *Holland*. He was not, however, alone in this attempt, but was seconded by the acute Mr. WILLIAM AMES, minister of the English church at the *Hague*, and several others of the same scholastic turn. This method of teaching theology must have been in use among, almost, all the Reformed doctors before the synod of *Dort*, if we give credit to EPISCOPIUS, who, in the last discourse he addressed to his disciples at *Leyden*, tells them that he had carefully avoided this scholastic divinity; and that this was the principal cause that had drawn on him the vehement hatred and opposition of all the other professors and teachers of theology. His words are as follow: *Videbam veritatem multarum et maximarum rerum in ipsa scriptura sacra, elaboratis humana industria phrasibus, ingeniosis vocularum fictionibus, locorum communium artificiosis texturis, exquisitis terminorum ac formularum inventionibus adeo involutam, perplexam et intricatam redditam esse, ut Oedipo sæpe opus esset ad sphingem illam theologicam enodandam. Ita est, ut hinc primæ lacrymæ—Reducendam itaque terminorum apostolicorum et cuiusvis obviæ simpliciter semper sequendam putavi, et sequestrandam, quas academice et scholæ tanquam proprias sibi vendicant, logicas, philosophicasque speculationes et dictiones.* See PHILIPPI LIMBORCHII *Vita Episcopi*, p. 123, 124.

* See the *Acta Synodi Dord.* in HALE's *Golden Remains*, p. 161—and PHILIPPI LIMBORCHII *Epistolar. Ecclesiasticar. Collect.* p. 574.

and

CENT. and importance of the subject seemed to require.
 XVI. The progress of morality among the Reformed, was obstructed by the very same means that retarded its improvement among us [*Lutherans*]. It was neglected amidst the tumult of controversy; and while every pen was drawn to maintain certain *systems of doctrine*, few were employed in cultivating or promoting that noblest of all sciences, which has *virtue, life, and manners* for its objects.

This sublime science, which CALVIN and his associates had left in a rude and imperfect state, was first reduced into some kind of form, and explained with a certain degree of accuracy and precision, by WILLIAM PERKINS [*o*], an English divine, as the Reformed doctors universally allow. He was seconded in this laudable undertaking by TELINGIUS, a native of *Holland*, whose writings were composed in the Dutch language. It was by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, excited by the example of these two doctors, that WILLIAM AMES, a native of *Scotland*, and professor of divinity at *Franeker* [*p*],

[*o*] Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS was born at *Marston* in *Warwickshire*, in the first year of Queen ELIZABETH, and educated in *Christ's College Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow. He was one of the most famous practical writers and preachers of his age. His puritanical and non-conforming principles exposed him to the cognizance of the *High Commission Court*; but his peaceable behaviour and eminent reputation in the learned world, procured him an exemption from the persecutions that fell upon his brethren. His works, which were printed in three volumes, folio, afford abundant proofs of his piety and industry, especially when it is considered that he died in the 44th. year of his age.]

[*p*] Dr. WILLIAM AMES, educated at *Cambridge*, under Mr. PERKINS, fled from the persecution of Archbishop BANCROFT, and became minister of the English church at the *Hague*, from whence he was invited by the states of *Friesland* to the divinity chair in the University of *Franeker*, which he filled with great reputation during the space of twelve years. He was at the synod of *Dort*, and informed King JAMES's ambassador at the *Hague*, from time to time, of the debates of that assembly. Besides his controversial writings against the Arminians, he published the following: *Medulla Theologiae* (the work here referred to by Dr. MOSHEIM); *Manuductio Logica*;—*Cases of Conscience*;—*Analysis on the Book of Psalms*;—*Notes on the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter*, &c. These productions are not void of merit, considering the times in which they were written.]

was

was engaged to compose a compleat body of Christian Morality [q]. These writers were succeeded by others, who still threw farther light on this important science.

XXXVIII. The Reformed church was less disturbed, during this century, by sects, divisions, and theological disputes, than the Lutheran, which was often a prey to the most unhappy dissensions. This circumstance is looked upon by the former as a matter of triumph, though it may be very easily accounted for by all such as are acquainted with the History of the Reformed Church [r]. We have, however, in the writings of CALVIN, an account and also a refutation of a most pernicious sect, that sprung up in that church, and produced troubles of a more deplorable kind than any that happened in our community [s]. This odious sect, which assumed the denominations of *Libertines* and *Spiritual Brethren and Sisters*, arose in *Flanders*, was headed by POCKESIUS, RUFUS and QUINTIN, got a certain footing in *France*, through the favour and protection of MARGARET, queen of *Navarre*, and sister to FRANCIS I.

The contests
of Calvin
with the
Spiritual Li-
bertines.

[(q) In the Dedication and Preface of his famous book *De Conscientia et ejus jure*, Dr. AMES observes (*Præfat.* p. 3.) that an excessive zeal for doctrine had produced an unhappy neglect of morality, *Quod hæc pars prophetiæ (i. e. morality) hæctenus minus fuerit exculta, hoc inde fuit, quod primipilares nostri perpetuo in acie adversus hostes pugnare, fidem propugnare, et aream ecclesiæ purgare, necessitate quadam cogebantur, ita ut agros et vineas plantare et rigare non potuerint ex voto, sicut bello fervente usu venire solet.* The address to the students of *Franker*, which is subjoined to this book under the title of *Parænesis ad studiosos*, &c. deserves to be perused, as it confirms farther what has been already observed with respect to the neglect of the science of morality. *Theologi*, says he, *præclare se instructos putant ad omnes officii sui partes, si dogmata tantum intelligant.—Neque tamen omnia dogmata scrutantur, sed illa sola, quæ præcipue solent agitari et in controversiam vocari.*”]

[(r) Dr. MOSHEIM ought to have given us a hint of his manner of accounting for this, to avoid the suspicion of having been somewhat at a loss for a favourable solution.]

[(s) Why all these comparisons? Our author seems, on some occasions, to tinge his historical relation with the spirit of party.]

C E N T. and found patrons in several of the Reformed churches
 XVI. [t.] Their doctrine, as far as it can be known by
 the writings of CALVIN and its other antagonists
 (for these fanatics published no account of their tenets that is come to my knowledge) amounted to the following propositions: "That the Deity was
 " the sole *operating cause* in the mind of man, and
 " the immediate *author* of all human actions; that,
 " consequently, the distinctions of *good* and *evil*, that
 " had been established with respect to these actions,
 " were false and groundless, and that men could not,
 " properly speaking, commit sin; that religion consisted in the union of the spirit or rational soul
 " with the supreme Being; that all those who had
 " attained this happy union by sublime contemplation
 " and elevation of mind, were then allowed to indulge without exception or restraint, their appetites and passions; that all their actions and pursuits were then perfectly innocent; and that, after
 " the death of the body, they were to be united to
 " the Deity." These extravagant tenets resemble, in such a striking manner, the opinions of the *Beghards*, or *Brethren of the Free Spirit*, that it appears to me, beyond all doubt, that the *Libertines*, or *Spirituals*, now under consideration, were no more than a remnant of that ancient sect. The place of their origin confirms this hypothesis; since it is well known, that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Flanders* almost swarmed with licentious fanatics of this kind.

And with
 the Libertines of
Geneva.

XXXIX. We must not confound, as is frequently done, with these fanatics, another kind of *Libertines*, whom CALVIN had to combat, and who gave him much trouble and perplexity during the whole course of his life and ministry, I mean the *Libertines of Geneva*. These were rather a cabal of rakes than a sect of fanatics. For they made no pretences to any

[t] See CALVINI *Instructio adversus fanaticam et furiosam sectam Libertinorum, qui se spirituales vocant, in Tractatibus ejus Theologicis.*
 religious

religious system, but pleaded only for the liberty of C E N T. XVI. leading voluptuous and immoral lives. This cabal was composed of a certain number of licentious citizens, who could not bear the severe discipline of CALVIN, who punished with rigour not only dissolute manners, but also whatever carried the aspect of irreligion and impiety. This irregular troop stood forth in defence of the licentiousness and dissipation that had reigned, in their city, before the Reformation, pleaded for the continuance of those brothels, banquettings, and other entertainments of a sensual kind, which the regulations of CALVIN were designed to abolish, and employed all the bitterness of reproach and invective, all the resources of fraud and violence, all the powers of faction to accomplish their purpose [u]. In this turbulent cabal there were several persons, who were not only notorious for their dissolute and scandalous manner of living, but also for their atheistical impiety and contempt of all religion. Of this odious class was GRUET, who attacked CALVIN with the utmost animosity and fury, calling him bishop *Asculanensis*, the new pope, and branding him with other contumelious denominations of a like nature. This GRUET denied the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the difference between moral good and evil, and rejected, with disdain, the doctrines that are held the most sacred among Christians; for which impieties he was at last brought before the civil tribunals, in the year 1550, and was condemned to death [w].

XL. The opposition that was made to CALVIN did not end here. He had contests of another kind to sustain against those who could not relish his theological system, and more especially, his melancholy and discouraging doctrine in relation to *eternal* and *absolute Decrees*. These adversaries felt, by a disagreeable

Calvin's disputes with Castilio.

[u] SPON'S *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 44. in the Notes of the editor, in the edition in 12mo published at *Geneva* in 1730.

[w] Id. tom. ii. p. 47. in the Notes.

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experience, the warmth and violence of his haughty temper, and that impatience of contradiction that arose from an over-jealous concern for his honour, or rather for his unrivalled supremacy. He would not suffer them to remain at *Geneva*; nay, in the heat of the controversy, being carried away by the impetuosity of his passions, he accused them of crimes, from which they have been fully absolved by the impartial judgment of unprejudiced posterity [x]. Among these victims of CALVIN's unlimited power and excessive zeal, we may reckon SEBASTIAN CASTALIO, master of the public school at *Geneva*, who, though not exempt from failings [y], was nevertheless a man of probity, and was also remarkable for the extent of his learning, and the elegance of his taste. As this learned man could not approve of all the measures that were followed, nor indeed of all the opinions that were entertained, by CALVIN and his colleagues, and particularly that of absolute and unconditional predestination, he was deposed from his office in the year 1544, and banished the city. The magistrates of *Basil* received, nevertheless, this ingenious exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university [z].

with Bolsec.

XLI. A like fate happened to JEROM BOLSEC, a French monk of the Carmelite order, who, though much inferior to CASTALIO in genius and learning, was

[x] At this day, we may venture to speak thus freely of the rash decisions of CALVIN, since even the Doctors of *Geneva*, as well as those of the other Reformed churches, ingenuously acknowledge, that the eminent talents and excellent qualities of that great man were accompanied with great defects, for which, however, they plead indulgence in consideration of his services and virtues. See the Notes to SPON's *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 110. as also the *Preface* to CALVIN's *Letters to Jaques de Bourgogne*, p. 19.

[(y)] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article CASTALIO, in which the merit and demerit of that learned man seem to be impartially and accurately examined.]

[z] See UYTENBOGARD's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, part II. p. 70—73. where that author endeavours to defend the innocence of CASTALIO. See also COLOMESII *Italia Orientalis*, p. 99.—BAYLE's *Dict.* tom. i. p. 792.

nevertheless

nevertheless judged worthy of esteem on account of the ^{C E N T :} motive that brought him to *Geneva*; for it was a ^{XVI.} conviction of the excellence of the protestant religion that engaged him to abandon the monastic retreats of superstition, and to repair to this city where he followed the profession of physic. His imprudence, however, was great, and was the principal cause of the misfortunes that befel him. It led him, in the year 1551, to lift up his voice in the full congregation after the conclusion of divine worship, and to declaim, in the most indecent manner, against the doctrine of *absolute Decrees*; for which he was cast into prison, and, soon after, sent into banishment. He then returned to the place of his nativity, and to the communion of *Rome*, and published the most bitter and slanderous libels, in which the reputation, conduct, and morals of CALVIN and BEZA were cruelly attacked [a]. From this treatment of BOLSEC arose the misunderstanding between CALVIN and JAQUES DE BOURGOGNE, a man illustrious by his descent from the dukes of *Burgundy*, who was CALVIN's great patron and intimate friend, and who had settled at *Geneva* with no other view than to enjoy the pleasure of conversing with him. JAQUES DE BOURGOGNE had employed BOLSEC as his physician, and was so well satisfied with his services, that he endeavoured to support him and to prevent his being ruined by the enmity and authority of CALVIN. This incensed the latter to such a degree, that he turned the force of his resentment against this illustrious nobleman, who, to avoid his vengeance, removed from *Geneva*, and passed the remainder of his days in a rural retreat [b].

XLII. BERNARDIN OCHINUS, a native of *Siena*,^{and with} and, before his conversion, general of the order of ^{Ochinus.} Capuchins, was, in the year 1543, banished from *Switzerland* in consequence of a sentence passed upon

[a] See BAYLE'S *Diction.* at the article BOLSEC.—SPON'S *Hist. de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 55. in the *Notes.*—*Biblioth. Raisonnée*, tom. xxxii. p. 446. tom. xxxiv. p. 409.

[b] See *Lettres de CALVIN a Jaques de Bourgogne*, Preface, p. 8.—*La Bibliothéque Raisonnée*, tom. xxxii. p. 444. tom. xxxiv. p. 406.

C E N T. him by the Helvetic church. This profelyte who was a
 XVI. man of a fertile imagination, and a lively and sub-
 tile turn of mind, had been invited to *Zurich* as pas-
 tor of the Italian church established in that city. But
 the freedom, or rather the licentiousness, of his sen-
 timents exposed him justly to the displeasure of those
 who had been his patrons and protectors. For among
 many other opinions, very different from those that
 were commonly received, he maintained that the
 law, which confined a husband to one wife, was sus-
 ceptible of exceptions in certain cases. In his writ-
 ings also, he propagated several notions, that were
 repugnant to the theological system of the Helvetic
 doctors, and pushed his enquiries into many subjects
 of importance, with a boldness and freedom, that
 were by no means suitable to the genius and spirit
 of the age in which he lived. Some have, however,
 undertaken his defence, and have alledged in his be-
 half, that the errors he maintained at the time of
 his banishment (when, worn out with age, and op-
 pressed with poverty, he was rather an object of
 compassion, than of resentment) were not of such a
 heinous nature as to justify so severe a punishment.
 Be that as it may, this unfortunate exile retired into
Poland, where he embraced the communion of the
 Anti-trinitarians and Anabaptists [c], and ended his
 days in the year 1564.

The contro-
 versy be-
 tween the
 church of
 England and
 the Puritans.

XLIII. It is remarkable enough that those very
 doctors, who animadverted with such severity upon
 all those who dared to dissent from any part of their
 theological system, thought proper, nevertheless, to
 behave with the greatest circumspection, and the
 most pacific spirit of mildness, in the long controversy

[c] BOVERII *Annales Capucinarum*.—Together with a book,
 entitled, *La guerre Seraphique, ou Histoire des perils qu'a couru la*
barbe des Capucins, livr. ii. p. 147. livr. iii. p. 190. 230.—*Obser-*
vationes Halenses Latinae, tom. iv. *Observ.* xx. p. 406. tom. v. *Ob-*
serv. i. p. 3.—BAYLE's *Diction.* at the article OCHIN.—CHRIST.
 SANDII *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 4.—NICERON, *Memoires pour*
servir à l'Histoire des hommes illustres, tom. xix. p. 166.

that

that was carried on with such animosity between the *Puritans*, and the abettors of *episcopacy* in *England*. For if, on the one hand, they could not but stand well affected to the *Puritans*, who were stedfast defenders of the discipline and sentiments of the Helvetic church; so, on the other, they were connected with the episcopal doctors by the bonds of Christian communion and fraternal love. In this critical situation their whole thoughts were turned towards reconciliation and peace; and they exhorted their brethren, the *Puritans*, to put on a spirit of meekness and forbearance towards the episcopal church, and not to break the bonds of charity and communion with its rulers or its members. Such was the gentle spirit of the doctors in *Switzerland* towards the church of *England*, notwithstanding the severe treatment, the greatest part of the *Reformed* had received from that church, which constantly insisted on the divine origin of its government and discipline, and scarcely allowed the other Reformed communities the privileges, or even the denomination, of a true church. This moderation of the Helvetic doctors was the dictate of prudence. They did not think it expedient to contend with a generous and flourishing people, nor to incur the displeasure of a mighty queen, whose authority seemed to extend not only to her own dominions, but even to the United provinces, which were placed in her neighbourhood, and, in some measure, under her protection. Nor did the apprehensions of a general schism in the Reformed church contribute a little to render them meek, moderate, and pacifick. It is one thing to punish and excommunicate a handful of weak and unsupported individuals, who attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the state by the introduction of opinions, which, though neither highly absurd nor of dangerous consequence, have yet the demerit of novelty; and another to irritate, or promote divisions in a flourishing church, which, though weakened more or less by intestine feuds, is yet both powerful and respectable in a high degree. Be-

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fides, the dispute between the church of *England* and the other Reformed churches did not, as yet, turn upon points of doctrine, but only on the rites of external worship and the form of ecclesiastical government. It is, however, to be observed, that in process of time, nay soon after the period now under consideration, certain religious doctrines were introduced into the debate between the two churches, that contributed much to widen the breach, and to cast the prospect of a reconciliation at a distance [d].

XLIV. That the Reformed church abounded, during this century, with great and eminent men justly celebrated for their illustrious talents and universal learning, is too well known, to stand in need of any proof. Besides CALVIN, ZUINGLE, and BEZA, who exhibited to the Republick of Letters amazing instances of genius and erudition, we may place in the list of those, who have gained an immortal name by their writings, OECOLAMPADIUS, BULLINGER, FAREL, VIRET, MARTYR, BIBLIANDER, MUSCULUS, PELLICAN, LAVATER, HOSPINIAN, URSINUS, CRANMER, archbishop of *Canterbury*, SZEGEDINUS, and many others, whose names and merits are recorded by the writers of philological history, and particularly by MELCHIOR ADAM, ANTHONY WOOD, and DANIEL NEAL, the learned and industrious author of the *History of the Puritans*.

Many persons of eminent genius and learning among the Reformed.

[(d) All the protestant divines of the *Reformed* church, whether Puritans or others, seemed indeed, hitherto, of one mind about the *Doctrines of Faith*. But towards the latter end of Queen ELIZABETH's reign there arose a party, which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing, the received opinions concerning *Predestination*, *Perseverance*, *Free Will*, *Effectual Grace*, and the *Extent of Christ's Redemption*. These are the doctrines to which Dr. MOSHEIM alludes in this passage. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lead towards the notions concerning these intricate points, which ARMINIUS propagated some time after this; while, on the other hand, the Puritans adhered rigorously to the system, of CALVIN. Several episcopal doctors remained attached to the same system. and all these abettors of Calvinism, whether episcopal or presbyterian, were called *Doctrinal Puritans*.]

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Anabaptists or Mennonites.

I. **T**HE true origin of that sect which acquired the denomination of *Anabaptists* [e], by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of *Mennonites*, The origin of the Anabaptists obscure.

[e] The modern *Mennonites* reject the denomination of *Anabaptists*, and also disavow the custom of repeating the ceremony of baptism, from whence this denomination is derived. They acknowledge that the antient *Anabaptists* practised the repetition of baptism to those who joined them from other Christian churches; but they maintain, at the same time, that this custom is at present abolished by far the greatest part of their community. (See HERM. SCHYN *Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior Deductio*, cap. ii. p. 32.) But here, if I am not much mistaken, these good men forget that ingenuous candour and simplicity, of which, on other occasions, they make such ostentation, and have recourse to artifice in order to disguise the true cause and origin of the denomination in question. They pretend, for instance, that the *Anabaptists*, their ancestors, were so called from their baptizing a second time all adult persons, who left other churches to enter into their communion. But it is certain, that the denomination in question was given them not only on this account, but also, and indeed principally from the following consideration, that they did not look upon those who had been baptized in a state of infancy, or at a tender age, as rendered, by the administration of this sacrament, true members of the Christian church, and therefore insisted upon their being re-baptized in order to their being received into the communion of the *Anabaptists*. It is likewise certain, that all the churches of that communion, however they may vary in other respects, and differ from each other in their tenets and practices, agree nevertheless in this opinion, and, as yet, persevere obstinately in it. In a more especial manner are the antient *Flemish Anabaptists* entitled to this denomination. For they not only re-baptize the children, that have been already baptized in other churches, but even observe the same method with respect to persons that are come to the years of reason and discretion. Nay, what is still more remarkable, the different sects of *Anabaptists* deal in the same manner one with another; each sect re-baptizes the persons that enter into its communion, although they have already received that sacrament in another sect of the same denomination; and the reason of this conduct is, that each sect considers its baptism alone as pure

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nonites, from the famous man to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely

pure and valid. It is indeed to be observed, that there is another class of *Anabaptists*, called *Waterlandians*, who are more moderate in their principles, and wiser in all respects than those now mentioned, and who do not pretend to re-baptize *adult* persons, who have already been baptized in other Christian churches, or in other sects of their own denomination. This moderate class are however, with propriety termed *Anabaptists*, on account of their re-baptizing such as had received the Baptifinal Rite in a state of infancy or childhood. The patrons of the sect seem, indeed, very studious to conceal a practice, which they cannot deny to take place among them, and their eagerness to conceal it arises from an apprehension of reviving the hatred and severities which formerly pursued them. They are afraid, lest, by acknowledging the truth, the modern *Mennonites* should be considered as the descendants of those flagitious and fanatical *Anabaptists* of *Munster*, whose enormities rendered their very name odious to all true Christians. All this appears evident from the following passage in SCHYN'S *Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior Deductio*, tom ii. p. 32. where that author pretends to prove that his brethren are unjustly *stigmatized* with the odious denomination of *Anabaptists*. His words are: *Anabaptismus ille plane obsolevit et a multis retro annis neminem cujuscunque sectæ Christianæ fidei, JUXTA MANDATUM CHRISTI baptizatum, dum ad nostras Ecclesias transire cupit, rebaptizaverunt*, i. e. *That species of Anabaptism, with which we are charged, exists no longer, nor has it happened, during the space of many years past, that any person, professing Christianity of whatever church or sect he may have been, and who had been previously baptized ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDMENT OF CHRIST, has been rebaptized upon his entering into our communion.* This passage would, at first sight, induce an unattentive reader to imagine that there is no such thing among the modern *Mennonites*, as the custom of re-baptizing those who enter into their community. But the words, which we have marked in capitals (*JUXTA MANDATUM CHRISTI*, i. e. *ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDMENT OF CHRIST*) discover sufficiently the artifice and fraud that lie hid in this apology; for the *Anabaptists* maintain, that there is *no commandment of Christ* in favour of infant baptism. Moreover, we see the whole fallacy exposed by what the author adds to the sentence already quoted: *Sed illum etiam ADULTORUM baptismum ut sufficientem agnoscunt.* Nevertheless, this author, as if he had perfectly proved his point, concludes, with an air of triumph, that the odious name of *Anabaptists* cannot be given, with any propriety, to the *Mennonites* at this day; *Quare*, says he, *verissimum est, illud odiosum nomen Anabaptistarum illis non convenire.* In this, however, he is certainly mistaken; and the name in question is just as applicable to the modern *Mennonites*, as it was to the sect from which they descend, since the best

extremely difficult to be ascertained [f]. This uncertainty will not appear surprizing, when it is considered, that this sect started up, all of a sudden, in several countries at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first contests of the Reformers with the Roman pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned in such a manner, as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters of indifference. The modern *Mennonites* not only consider themselves as the descendants of the *Waldenses*, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman church, but pretend, moreover,

best and wisest of the *Mennonites* maintain, in conformity with the Principles of the ancient Anabaptists, that the baptism of infants is destitute of validity, and consequently are very careful in re-baptizing their proselytes, notwithstanding their having been baptized, in their tender years, in other Christian churches. Many circumstances persuade me, that the *declarations* and representations of things given by the modern *Mennonites*, are not always worthy of credit. Unhappily instructed by the miseries and calamities, in which their ancestors were involved, they are anxiously careful to conceal entirely those tenets and laws that are the distinguishing characteristics of their sect; while they embellish what they cannot totally conceal, and disguise with the greatest art such of their institutions, as otherwise might appear of a pernicious tendency, and might expose them to censure.

[f] The writers for and against the *Anabaptists* are amply enumerated by CASPER SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introductio ad Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 826. & CHRIST. M. PFAFFIUS, in his *Introduct. in Hist. Litterar Theologiae*, part. II. p. 349.—Add to these a modern writer, and a Mennonite preacher, HERMAN SCHYN, who published at Amsterdam in 8vo. in the year 1729, his *Historia Mennonitar.* and, in 1729, his *Plenior Deductio Hist. Mennonit.* These two books, though they do not deserve the title of a *History of the Mennonites*, are nevertheless useful, in order to come at a thorough knowledge of the affairs of this sect; for this author is much more intent upon defending his brethren against the accusations and reproaches, with which they have been loaded, than careful in tracing out the origin, progress, and revolutions of their sect. And indeed, after all, the Mennonites have not much reason to boast either of the extraordinary learning or dexterity of this their patron; nay, it is even to be imagined, that they may easily find a more able defender. For an accurate account of the Mennonite historians, and their confessions of faith, see JO. CHRIST. KOECHER *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 461.

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to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averie to all principles of rebellion on the one hand, and all the suggestions of fanaticism on the other [g]. Their adversaries, on the contrary, represent them as the descendants of those turbulent and furious *Anabaptists*, who, in the sixteenth century, involved *Germany, Holland, Switzerland*, and more especially the province of *Westphalia*, in such scenes of blood, perplexity, and distress; and alledge, that terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, and also influenced by the moderate counsels and wise injunctions of *Mennon*, they abandoned the ferocity of their primitive enthusiasm, and were gradually brought to a better mind. After having examined these two different accounts of the origin of the *Anabaptists* with the utmost attention and impartiality, I have found that neither of them are exactly conformable to truth.

The most
probable ac-
count of the
origin of the
Anabaptists.

II. It may be observed in the first place, that the *Mennonites* are not entirely mistaken when they boast of their descent from the *Waldenses*, *Petrobrussians*, and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as *witnesses of the truth*, in the times of universal darkness and superstition. Before the rise of *LUTHER* and *CALVIN* there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of *Europe*, particularly in *Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland*, and *Germany*, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine which the *Waldenses*, *Wickliffites*, and *Hussites* had maintained, some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner, viz. *That the kingdom of CHRIST, or the visible church be had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions, which human prudence suggests to oppose the progress of*

[g] See *HERM. SCHYN, Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennon. cap. i. p. 2.* as also a Dutch work, entitled, *GALENUS ABRAHAMZON, Verdediging der Christenen, die Doopsgezinde genamd worden, p. 29.*

iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors. This max-^{CENT.}
 im is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to ^{XVI.}
 be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the
Mennonites; and it is most certain, that the greatest
 part of these peculiarities were approved of by many of
 those, who, before the dawn of the reformation, en-
 tertained the notion, already mentioned, relating to the
 visible church of CHRIST [b]. There were, however,
 different ways of thinking among the different mem-
 bers of this sect with respect to the methods of attaining
 to such a perfect church-establishment as they had in
 view. Some, who were of a fanatical complexion on
 the one hand, and were persuaded, on the other, that
 such a visible church, as they had modelled out in
 fancy, could not be realised by the power of man, enter-
 tained the pleasing hope, that God, in his own good
 time, would erect to himself an holy church, exempt
 from every degree of blemish and impurity, and would
 set apart, for the execution of this grand design, a cer-
 tain number of chosen instruments, divinely assisted
 and prepared for this work by the extraordinary suc-
 cours of his Holy Spirit. Others, of a more prudent
 and rational turn of mind, entertained different views
 of this matter. They neither expected stupendous mi-
 racles nor extraordinary revelations; since they were
 persuaded, that it was possible by human wisdom, in-
 dustry, and vigilance to purify the church from the
 contagion of the wicked, and to restore it to the sim-
 plicity of its original constitution, provided that the
 manners and spirit of the primitive Christians could but
 recover their lost dignity and lustre.

III. The drooping spirits of these people, who had
 been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted
 every where with the greatest severity, were revived

[b] See, for an account of the religious sentiments of the
Waldenses, LIMBORCH's excellent *History of the Inquisition*, trans-
 lated into English by the learned DR. SAMUEL CHANDLER,
 book I. chap. viii.—It appears from undoubted testimonies,
 that the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites* did not differ extremely from the
Waldenses, concerning the point under consideration.

when

CENT. XVI. when they were informed that LUTHER, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had successfully attempted the reformation of the church. Then they spoke with openness and freedom, and the enthusiasm of the fanatical, as well as the prudence of the wise, discovered themselves in their natural colours. Some of them imagined, that the time was now come in which God himself was to dwell with his servants in an extraordinary manner by celestial succours, and to establish upon earth a kingdom truly spiritual and divine. Others, less sanguine and chimerical in their expectations, flattered themselves, nevertheless, with the fond hopes of the approach of that happy period in which the restoration of the church, which had been so long expected in vain, was to be accomplished, under the divine protection, by the labours and counsel of pious and eminent men. This sect was soon joined by great numbers and (as usually happens in sudden revolutions of this nature) by many persons, whose characters and capacities were very different, though their views seemed to turn upon the same object. Their progress was rapid; for, in a very short space of time, their discourses, visions, and predictions excited commotions in a great part of *Europe*, and drew into their communion a prodigious multitude, whose ignorance rendered them easy victims to the illusions of enthusiasm. It is however to be observed, that as the leaders of this sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion, that the new kingdom of CHRIST, which they expected, was to be exempt from every kind of vice and from the smallest degree of imperfection and corruption, they were not satisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by LUTHER. They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views, and, consequently, undertook a more perfect reformation, or, to express more properly their visionary enterprise, they proposed to found a new church, entirely spiritual, and truly divine.

The first motions of the Anabaptists.

IV. It is difficult to determine, with certainty, the particular spot that gave birth to that seditious and pestilential

lential sect of Anabaptists, whose tumults and desperate attempts were equally pernicious to the cause of religion, and the civil interests of mankind. Whether they first arose in *Switzerland*, *Germany*, or the *Netherlands*, is, as yet, a matter of debate, whose decision is of no great importance [i]. It is most probable, that several persons of this odious class made their appearance, at the same time, in different countries; and we may fix this period soon after the dawn of the reformation in *Germany*, when LUTHER arose to set bounds to the ambition of *Rome*. This appears from a variety of circumstances, and especially from this striking one, that the first *Anabaptist* doctors of any eminence, were, almost all, heads and leaders of particular and separate sects. For it must be carefully observed, that though all these projectors of a new, unspotted, and perfect church, were comprehended under the general denomination of *Anabaptists*, on account of their opposing the baptism of infants, and their rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of childhood in other churches, yet they were from their very origin subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other in points of no small moment. The most pernicious faction, of all those that composed this motley multitude, was that which pretended that the founders of the new and *perfect church*, already mentioned, were under the direction of a divine impulse, and were armed against all opposition by the power of working miracles. It was this detestable faction that, in the year 1521, began their fanatical work under the guidance of MUNZER, STUBNER, STORCK, and other leaders of the same furious complexion, and excited the most unhappy tumults and commotions in *Saxony* and the adjacent countries. They employed at first the various arts of persuasion in order to propagate their doctrine.

[i] FUESLIN has attempted to examine, whether the Anabaptists first arose in *Germany* or *Switzerland*, in a German work, entitled, *Beytrage zur Schweizerisch Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 190. tom. ii. p. 64. 65. 265. 327. 328. tom. iii. p. 323, but without success.

They

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They preached, exhorted, admonished, and reasoned in a manner that seemed proper to gain the multitude, and related a great number of visions and revelations with which they pretended to have been favoured from above. But when they saw that these methods of making proselytes were not attended with such a rapid success as they fondly expected, and that the ministry of LUTHER and other eminent reformers was detrimental to their cause, they then had recourse to more expeditious measures, and madly attempted to propagate their fanatical doctrine by force of arms. MUNZER and his associates assembled, in the year 1525, a numerous army, composed for the most part, of the Peasants of *Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony*, and, at the head of this credulous and deluded rabble, declared war against all laws, government, and magistrates of every kind, under the chimerical pretext that CHRIST was now to take the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government into his own hands, and to rule alone over the nations. But this seditious croud was routed and dispersed, without much difficulty, by the elector of *Saxony* and other princes; MUNZER, their ringleader, ignominiously put to death, and his factious counsellors scattered abroad in different places [k].

The progress
of this sect.

V. This bloody defeat of one part of these seditious and turbulent fanatics did not produce that effect that might naturally have been expected; it rendered them, indeed, more timorous, but it did not open their eyes upon their delusion. It is certain, that, even after this period, numbers of them, that were infected with the same odious principles, that occasioned the destruction of MUNZER, wandered about in *Germany, Switzerland, and Holland*, and excited the people to rebellion by their seditious discourses. They gathered together congregations in several places, foretold, in consequence of a divine

[k] See SECKENDORF, *Histor. Lutheranismi*, lib. i. p. 192. 304. lib. ii. p. 13.—SLEIDAN, *Commentar.* lib. v. p. 47.—JOACH. CAMERARI *Vita Melancthonis*, p. 44.

commission,

commission, the approaching abolition of magistracy, and the downfall of civil rulers and governors; and while they pretended to be ambassadors from the most high, insulted, on many occasions, the majesty of heaven, by the most flagitious crimes. Those, who distinguished themselves by the enormity of their conduct in this infamous sect, were LEWIS HETZER, BALTHASAR HUBMEYER, FELIX MENTZ, CONRAD GREBEL, MELCHIOR HOFFMAN, and GEORGE JACOB, who, if their power had seconded their designs would have involved all *Switzerland, Holland, and Germany* in blood-shed [l]. A great part of this rabble seemed really delirious; and nothing more extravagant or more incredible can be imagined than the dreams and visions that were constantly arising in their disordered brains. Such of them, as had some sparks of reason left, and had reflexion enough to reduce their notions into a certain form, maintained, among others, the following points of doctrine: That *the church of CHRIST ought to be exempt from all sin—that all things ought to be in common among the faithful—that all usury, tythes, and tribute ought to be entirely abolished—that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil—that every Christian was invested with a power to preach the Gospel—and consequently, that the church stood in no need of ministers or pastors—that in the kingdom of CHRIST civil magistrates were absolutely useless—and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions* [m.]

[l] See Jo. BAPT. OTTII *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 21.—Jo. HORNBECKII *Summa Controvers.* lib. v. p. 332.—ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analect. veteris ævi*, tom. iv. p. 629. 677. 679.—BERNARD. RAUPACHII *Austriæ Evangel.* tom. ii. p. 41.—Jo. GEORG. SCHELHORN, in *Actis ad Histor. Eccles. pertinentibus*, tom. i. p. 100—GODOFR. ARNOLDI *Historia Hæretica*, lib. xvi. cap. xxi. p. 727:—As also the German work of FUESLIN, entitled, *Beiträgen zu der Schweizer Reform. Geschichte.*

[m] This account of the doctrine of the Anabaptists is principally taken from the learned FUESLIN already quoted.

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It would betray, however, a strange ignorance, or an unjustifiable partiality, to maintain, that even all those that professed, in general, this absurd doctrine, were chargeable with that furious and brutal extravagance which has been mentioned as the character of too great a part of their sect. This was by no means the case; several of these enthusiasts discovered a milder and more pacific spirit, and were free from any other reproach, than that which resulted from the errors they maintained, and their too ardent desire of spreading them among the multitude. It may still further be affirmed with truth, that many of those, who followed the wiser class of *Anabaptists*, nay, some who adhered to the most extravagant factions of that sect, were men of upright intentions and sincere piety, who were seduced into this mystery of fanaticism and iniquity, by their ignorance and simplicity on the one hand, and by a laudable desire of reforming the corrupt state of religion on the other.

Severe punishments
inflicted on all
the Anabaptists.

VI. The progress of this turbulent sect in almost all the countries of *Europe* alarmed all that had any concern for the public good. Kings, princes, and sovereign states exerted themselves to check these rebellious enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out, first, severe edicts to restrain their violence, and employing, at length, capital punishments to conquer their obstinacy [n]. But here a maxim, already verified by repeated experience, received a new

[n] It was in *Saxony*, if I am not mistaken, and also in the year 1525, that penal laws were first enacted against this fanatical tribe. These laws were renewed frequently in the years 1527, 1528, 1534. (See a German work of the learned KAPPIUS, entitled, *Nachlese van Reformations Urkunden*, part. I. p. 176.)—CHARLES V. incensed at the encreasing impudence and iniquity of these Enthusiasts, issued out against them severe edicts in the years 1527 and 1529. (See OTTII *Annales Anabapt.* p. 45.)—The magistrates of *Switzerland* treated, at first, with remarkable lenity and indulgence, the *Anabaptists* that lived under their government; but

new degree of confirmation; for the conduct of the *Anabaptists*, under the pressures of persecution, plainly shewed the extreme difficulty of correcting or influencing by the prospect of suffering, or even by the terrors of death, minds that are either deeply tainted with the poison of fanaticism, or firmly bound by the ties of religion. In almost all the countries of *Europe* an unspeakable number of these unhappy wretches preferred death, in its worst forms, to a retraction of their errors. Neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominy of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible but ill placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets, that appeared dearer to them than life and all its enjoyments. The *Mennonites* have preserved voluminous records of the lives, actions, and unhappy fate of those of their sect who suffered death for the crimes of rebellion or heresy, which were imputed to them [o]. Certain it is that they were treated with severity; but it is much to be lamented that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect, when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Why were the innocent and the guilty involved in the same fate? why were doctrines purely theological, or, at worst, fanatical, punished with the same rigour that was shewn to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society? Those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and their excluding the unrighteous from the external communion of the church, ought undoubtedly to have met with milder treatment than what was given to

but when it was found that this lenity rendered them still more enterprising and insolent, it was judged proper to have recourse to a different manner of proceeding. Accordingly the magistrates of *Zurich* denounced capital punishment against this riotous sect in the year 1525.

[o] See JOACH. CHRIST. JEHRING, *Prefat. ad Historiam Mennonitarum*, p. 3.

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those seditious incendiaries, who were for unhinging all [government and destroying all civil authority. Many suffered for errors they had embraced with the most upright intentions, seduced by the eloquence and fervor of their doctors, and persuading themselves that they were contributing to the advancement of true religion. But as the greatest part of these enthusiasts had communicated to the multitude visionary notions concerning the new spiritual kingdom that was soon to be erected, and the abolition of magistracy and civil government that was to be the immediate effect of this great revolution, this rendered the very name of *Anabaptist* unspeakably odious, and made it always excite the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. It is true, indeed, that many *Anabaptists* suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged to be *incurable Heretics*; for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies. It is, nevertheless, certain, that the greatest part of these wretched sufferers owed their unhappy fate to their rebellious principles and tumultuous proceedings, and that many also were punished for their temerity, and imprudence, which led them to the commission of various crimes.

The Ana-
baptists of
Munster.

VII. There stands upon record a most shocking instance of this in the dreadful commotions that were excited at *Munster* in the year 1533, by certain Dutch Anabaptists, who chose that city as the scene of their horrid operations, and committed in it such deeds, as would surpass all credibility, were they not attested in a manner that excludes every degree of doubt and uncertainty. A handful of madmen, who had got into their heads the visionary notion of a new and spiritual kingdom, soon

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be established in an extraordinary manner, formed ^{CENT.} themselves into a society under the guidance of a ^{XVI.} few illiterate leaders chosen out of the populace. And they persuaded, not only the ignorant multitude, but even several among the learned, that *Munster* was to be the seat of this new and heavenly *Jerusalem*, whose ghostly dominion was to be propagated from thence to all the ends of the earth. The ring-leaders of this furious tribe were JOHN MATTHISON, JOHN BOCKHOLD, a taylor of *Leyden*, one GERHARD, with some others, whom the blind rage of enthusiasm, or the still more culpable principles of sedition had embarked in this extravagant and desperate cause. They made themselves masters of the city of *Munster*, deposed the magistrates, and committed all the enormous crimes and ridiculous follies, which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest [*p*]. JOHN BOCKHOLD was proclaimed king and legislator of this new Hierarchy; but his reign was transitory, and his end deplorable. For the city of *Munster* was, in the year 1536, retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign Count WALDECK, the *New Jerusalem* of the Anabaptists destroyed, and its mock-monarch punished with a most painful and ignominious death [*q*]. The disorders.

[(*p*) BOCKHOLDT, or BOCKELSON, alias JOHN of *Leyden*, who headed them at *Munster*, ran stark naked in the streets, married eleven wives, at the same time, to shew his approbation of polygamy, and entitled himself king of *Sion*; all which was but a very small part of the pernicious follies of this mock monarch.]

[*q*] See ANTON. CORVINI *Narratio de miserabili Monaster. Anabapt. excidio*, published first at *Wittemberg* in the year 1536. —CASP. SAGITTAR. *Introduct. in Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 537 & 835. —HERM. HAMELMANN. *Historia, Renati Evangelii in Urbe Monaster. in Operib. Genealogico-Historicis*, p. 1203. —The elegant Latin poem of BOLANDUS in *Elegiac verse*, entitled, JO. FABRICII BOLANDI *Motus Monasteriens. Libri Decem*, Colon. 1546, in 8vo. —HERM. KERSSENBROCK, *Histor. Belli Monaster.* —DAN. GERDES, *Miscellan. Groningens.* Nov. tom. ii. p. 377. This latter author speaks also of BERNARD ROTHMAN, an ecclesiastic of *Munster*,

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ders occasioned by the Anabaptists, at this period, not only in *Westphalia*, but also in other places [*r*], shewed too plainly to what horrid lengths the pernicious

Munster, who had introduced the Reformation into that city, but afterwards was infected with the Enthusiasm of the Anabaptists; and, though in other respects he had shewn himself to be neither destitute of learning nor virtue, yet enlisted himself in this fanatical tribe, and had a share in their most turbulent and furious proceedings.

[(*r*) The scenes of violence, tumult, and sedition, that were exhibited in *Holland* by this odious tribe, were also terrible. They formed the design of reducing the city of *Leyden* to ashes, but were happily prevented and severely punished. JOHN of *Leyden*, the anabaptist king of *Munster*, had taken it into his head that God had made him a present of the cities of *Amsterdam*, *Deventer*, and *Wesel*; in consequence thereof he sent bishops to these three places, to preach his gospel of sedition and carnage. About the beginning of the year 1535, twelve Anabaptists, of whom five were women, assembled at midnight in a private house at *Amsterdam*. One of them, who was a taylor by profession, fell into a trance, and after having preached and prayed during the space of four hours, stripped himself naked, threw his cloaths into the fire, and commanded all the assembly to do the same, in which he was obeyed without the least reluctance. He then ordered, them to follow him through the streets in this state of nature, which they accordingly did, howling, and bawling out, *Woe! woe! the wrath of God! the wrath of God! woe! to Babylon!* When, after being seized and brought before the magistrates, cloaths were offered them to cover their indecency, they refused them obstinately, and cried aloud, *We are the naked truth.* When they were brought to the scaffold, they sung and danced, and discovered all the marks of enthusiastic frenzy.—These tumults were followed by a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, formed by VAN GELEN (an envoy of the mock king of *Munster* who had made a considerable number of proselytes) against the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, with a design to wrest the government of that city out of their hands. This incendiary marched his fanatical troop to the town-house on the day appointed, drums beating, and colours flying, and fixed there his head quarters. He was attacked by the burghers, assisted by some regular troops, and headed by several of the burgomasters of the city. After an obstinate resistance he was surrounded, with his whole troop, who were put to death in the severest and most dreadful manner to serve as examples to the other branches of the sect, who were exciting commotions of a like nature in *Friesland*, *Groningen*, and other provinces and cities in the *Netherlands*.]

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cious doctrines of this wrong-headed sect were adapted to lead the inconsiderate and unwary; and therefore it is not at all to be wondered, that the secular arm employed rigorous measures to extirpate a faction, which was the occasion, nay the source, of unspeakable calamities in so many countries [s].

VIII. While the terrors of death, in the most dreadful forms, were presented to the view of this miserable sect, and numbers of them were executed every day, without a proper distinction being made between the innocent and the guilty, those, that escaped the severity of justice, were in the most discouraging situation that can well be imagined. On the one hand, they beheld, with sorrow, all their hopes blasted by the total defeat of their brethren at *Munster*; and on the other, they were filled with the most anxious apprehensions of the perils that threatened them on all sides. In this critical situation they derived much comfort and assistance from the counsels and zeal of MENNO SIMON, a native of *Friesland*, who had formerly been a popish priest, and, as he himself confesses, a notorious profligate. This man went over to the Anabaptists, at first, in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secrecy; but, in the year 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank and office in the Romish church, and publicly embraced their communion. About a year after this he was earnestly solicited by many of the sect to assume, among them, the rank and functions of a public teacher; and, as he looked upon the persons from whom this proposal came, to be exempt from the fanatical frenzy of their brethren at *Munster* (though, according to other accounts, they were originally of the same stamp, only rendered somewhat wiser by their sufferings) he yielded to their entreaties. From this period to the end of his days, that is, during the

[s] GER. BRANDT, *Histor. Reform. Belgicæ*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 119.

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space of twenty-five years, he travelled from one country to another with his wife and children, exercising his ministry under pressures and calamities of various kinds that succeeded each other without interruption, and constantly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. *East and West-Friesland*, together with the province of *Groningen*, were first visited by this zealous apostle of the Anabaptists; from thence he directed his course into *Holland*, *Gelderland*, *Brabant*, and *Westphalia*, continued it through the German provinces that lie on the coasts of the *Baltick* sea, and penetrated so far as *Livonia*. In all these places his ministerial labours were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the Anabaptists, and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination. The success of this missionary will not appear very surprising to those, who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state of the Anabaptists at the period of time now under consideration. MENNO was a man of genius; though, as his writings shew, his genius was not under the direction of a very sound judgment. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliable and obsequious in his commerce with persons of all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example, as well as by his precepts. A man of such talents and dispositions could not fail to attract the admiration of the people, and to gain a great number of adherents wherever he exercised his ministry. But no where could he expect a more plentiful harvest

harvest than among the *Anabaptists*, whose ignorance^{C E N T. XVI.} and simplicity rendered them peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, and who, having been long accustomed to leaders that resembled frenetick bacchanals, more than christian ministers, and often deluded by odious impostors, who involved them in endless perils and calamities, were rejoiced to find at length a teacher, whose doctrine and manners seemed to promise them more prosperous days [t.]

IX. MENNO drew up a plan of doctrine and discipline of a much more mild and moderate nature than that of the furious and fanatical Anabaptists already mentioned, but somewhat more severe, though more clear and consistent, than the doctrine of some of the wiser branches of that sect, who aimed at nothing more than restoration of the Christian church to its primitive purity. Accordingly, he condemned the plan of ecclesiastical discipline, that was founded on the prospect of a new kingdom, to be miraculously established by JESUS CHRIST on the ruins of civil government and the destruction of human rulers, and which

His doctrine.

[t] MENNO was born at *Witmarsum*, a village in the neighbourhood of *Bolswert* in *Friesland*, in the year 1505, and not in 1496, as most writers tell us. After a life of toil, peril, and agitation, he departed in peace in the year 1561, in the duchy of *Holstein*, at the country seat of a certain nobleman not far from the city of *Oldestoe*, who, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which MENNO was exposed and the snares that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, together with certain of his associates, into his protection, and gave him an asylum. We have a particular account of this famous Anabaptist in the *Cimbria Litterata* of MOLLERUS, tom. ii. p. 835. See also HERM. SCHYN. *Plenior Deduct. Histor. Mennon*, cap. vi. p. 116.—The writings of MENNO, which are almost all composed in the Dutch language, were published *in folio* at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1651. An excessively diffuse and rambling style, frequent and unnecessary repetitions, an irregular and confused method, with other defects of equal moment, render the perusal of these productions highly disagreeable.

had

C E N T. had been the fatal and pestilential source of such dreadful commotions, such execrable rebellions, and such enormous crimes. He declared, publickly, his dislike of that doctrine, which pointed out the approach of a marvellous reformation in the church by the means of a new and *extraordinary* effusion of the Holy Spirit. He expressed his abhorrence of the licentious tenets which several of the Anabaptists had maintained with respect to the lawfulness of polygamy and divorce; and, finally, considered as unworthy of toleration those fanatics, who were of opinion that the Holy Ghost continued to descend into the minds of many chosen believers in as extraordinary a manner, as he did at the first establishment of the Christian church, and that he testified this peculiar presence to several of the faithful by miracles, predictions, dreams, and visions of various kinds. He retained, indeed, the doctrines commonly received among the Anabaptists in relation to the baptism of infants, the *Millennium*, or thousand years reign of CHRIST upon earth, the exclusion of magistrates from the Christian church, the abolition of war, and the prohibition of oaths enjoined by our Saviour, and the vanity, as well as the pernicious effects of human science. But while MENNO retained these doctrines in a general sense, he explained and modified them in such a manner, as made them resemble the religious tenets that were universally received in the protestant churches; and this rendered them agreeable to many, and made them appear inoffensive even to numbers, who had no inclination to embrace them. It however so happened, that the nature of the doctrines, considered in themselves, the eloquence of MENNO, which set them off to much advantage, and the circumstances of the times, gave a high degree of credit to the religious system of this famous teacher among the Anabaptists, so that it made a rapid progress in that sect. And thus it was in consequence of the ministry of MENNO, that the different sorts of Anabaptists agreed together in excluding from their communion the fanatics that dishonoured it, and in renouncing

nouncing all tenets that were detrimental to the au-^{C E N T.}thority of civil government, and, by an unexpected ^{XVI.}coalition, formed themselves into one community [u].

X. To

[u] These facts shew us plainly how the famous question concerning the origin of the modern Anabaptists may be resolved. The Mennonites opposed, with all their might, the account of their descent from the ancient Anabaptists, which we find in so many writers, and would willingly give the modern Anabaptists a more honourable origin. See SCHYN, *Histor Mennonitar*, cap. viii, ix. xxi. p. 223.) The reason of their zeal in this matter is evident. Their situation has rendered them timorous. They live as it were in the midst of their enemies, and are constantly filled with an uneasy apprehension, that, some day or other, malevolent zealots may take occasion from their supposed origin to renew against them the penal laws by which the seditious Anabaptists of ancient times suffered in such a dreadful manner. At least, they imagine that the *odium*, under which they lie, will be greatly diminished, if they can prove, to the satisfaction of the publick, the falsehood of that generally received opinion, that the *Mennonites are the descendants of the Anabaptists, or, to speak more properly, the same individual sect, purged from the fanaticism that formerly disgraced it, and rendered wiser than their ancestors, by reflexion and suffering.*

After comparing diligently and impartially together what has been alleged by the Mennonites and their adversaries in relation to this matter, I cannot see what it is, properly, that forms the subject of their controversy; and, if the merits of the cause be stated with accuracy and perspicuity, I don't see how there can be any dispute at all about the matter now under consideration: For in the

First place, if the Mennonites mean nothing more than this: that MENNO, whom they consider as their parent and their chief, was not infected with those odious opinions which drew the just severity of the laws upon the Anabaptists of *Munster*, that he neither looked for a new and spotless kingdom that was to be miraculously erected on earth, nor excited the multitude to depose magistrates and abolish civil government; that he neither deceived himself, nor imposed upon others, by fanatical pretensions to dreams and visions of a supernatural kind; if (I say) this be all that the Mennonites mean, when they speak of their chief, no person, acquainted with the history of their sect, will pretend to contradict them. Nay, even those who maintain that there was an immediate and intimate connexion between the ancient and modern Anabaptists, will readily allow to be true all that has been here said of MENNO.—2dly, if the Anabaptists maintain, that such of their churches as received their doctrine and discipline from MENNO, have not only discovered without interruption a pious spirit and an unlimited submission to civil government (abstaining from every thing that carried the remotest aspect of sedition, and shewing the utmost abhorrence of wars and bloodshed) but have even banished

CENT. X. To preserve a spirit of union and concord in a
 XVI. body, composed of such a motley multitude of dissonant

banished from their *confessions* of faith and their religious instructions all those tenets and principles that led on the ancient Anabaptists to disobedience, violence and rebellion; all this again, will be readily granted.—And, if they alledge in the third place, that even the Anabaptists, who lived before MENNO, were not *all* so delirious as MUNZER, nor so outrageous as the fanatical part of that sect, that rendered their memory eternally odious by the enormities they committed at *Munster*; that, on the contrary, many of these ancient Anabaptists abstained religiously from all acts of violence and sedition, followed the pious examples of the antient Waldenses, Henricians, Petrobrussians, Hussites, and Wickliffites, and adopted the doctrine and discipline of MENNO, as soon as that new parent arose to reform and patronise the sect; all this will be allowed without hesitation.

But, on the other hand, the Mennonites may assert many things in defence of the purity of their origin, which cannot be admitted by any person who is free from prejudice, and well acquainted with their history. If they maintain, *1st*, that none of their sect descended by birth from those Anabaptists, who involved *Germany* and other countries in the most dreadful calamities, or, that none of these furious fanatics adopted the doctrine and discipline of MENNO, they may be easily refuted by a great number of facts and testimonies, and, particularly, by the declarations of MENNO himself, who glories in his having conquered the ferocity, and reformed the lives and errors of several members of this pestilential sect. Nothing can be more certain than this fact, *viz.* that the first Mennonite congregations, were composed of the different sorts of Anabaptists already mentioned, of those, who had been always inoffensive and upright, and of those, who before their conversion by the ministry of MENNO, had been seditious fanatics. Nor can the acknowledgment of this incontestable fact be a just matter of reproach to the Mennonites, or be more dishonourable to them, than it is to us, that our ancestors were warmly attached to the idolatrous and extravagant worship of paganism or popery.—Again; it will not be possible for us to agree with the *Mennonites*, if they maintain, *2dly*, that their sect does not retain, at this day, any of those tenets, or even any remains of those opinions and doctrines, which led the seditious and turbulent Anabaptists of old to the commission of so many and of such enormous crimes. For not to mention MENNO's calling the Anabaptists of *Munster* his *Brethren* (a denomination indeed somewhat softened by the epithet of *erring*, which he joined to it) it is undoubtedly true, that the doctrine concerning the nature of *Christ's Kingdom*, or the *Church of the New Testament*, which led, by degrees, the ancient Anabaptists to those furious acts of rebellion that have rendered them so odious, is by no means effaced in the minds of the modern Mennonites. It is, indeed, weakened and modified in such a manner as to have lost its noxious qualities, and to be no longer pernicious in its influence; but it is not totally

nant members, required more than human power, and C E N T.
MENNO neither had, nor pretended to have supernatu- XVI.

ral succours. Accordingly, the seeds of dissension were, in a little time, sown among this people. About the middle of this century a warm contest, concern- ing *Excommunication*, was excited by several Anabap- tists, headed by LEONARD BOUWENSON and THEO- DORE PHILIP; and its fruits are yet visible in that di- vided sect. These men carried the discipline of ex- communication to an enormous degree of severity and rigour. They not only maintained, that open trans- gressors, even those who sincerely deplored and la- mented their faults, should, without any previous warning or admonition, be expelled from the com- munion of the church, but were also audacious enough to pretend to exclude the persons, thus excommunicated, from all intercourse with their wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, children, and relations. The same persons, as might naturally be expected from this sam- ple of their severity, were harsh and rigid in their man- ners, and were for imposing upon their brethren a course of moral discipline which was difficult and austere in the highest degree. Many of the Anabaptists protest- ed against this, as unreasonable and unnecessary; and thus the community was, all of a sudden, divided into two sects; of which the one treated transgressors with lenity and moderation, while the other proceeded against them with the utmost rigour. Nor was this the only difference that was observable in the conduct and manners of these two parties; since the latter was re- markable for the sordid austerity that reigned in their rules of life and practice; while the former, consider- ing,

The origin
of the sects
that have
started up a-
mong the A-
nabaptists.

ally renounced nor abolished.—I shall not now inquire how far the reformed and milder sect has been, in time past, exempt from tumults and commotions of a grievous kind, nor shall I examine what passes at this day among the Anabaptists in general, or in particular branches of that sect; since it is certain, that the more eminent communities of that denomination, particularly those that flourish in *North-Holland*, and the places adjacent, behold fanatics with the utmost aversion, as appears evidently from this circumstance, among others, that they will not suffer the people called *Quakers* to enter into their communion.

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ing, more wisely, the present state of human nature, were less severe in their injunctions, and were not altogether regardless of what is called decent, agreeable and ornamental in life and manners. MENNO employed his most vigorous efforts to heal these divisions, and to restore peace and concord in the community; but when he perceived that his attempts were vain, he conducted himself in such a manner, as he thought the most proper to maintain his credit and influence among both parties. For this purpose he declared himself for neither side, but was constantly trimming between the two, as long as he lived; at one time discovering an inclination towards the austere Anabaptists; and, at another, seeming to prefer the milder discipline and manners of the more moderate brethren. But in this he acted in opposition to the plainest dictates of prudence; and accordingly the high degree of authority he enjoyed, rendered his inconstancy and irresolution not only disagreeable to both parties, but also the means of enflaming instead of healing their divisions [w].

The rigid
and moder-
ate Anabap-
tists.

XI. These two sects are to this very day distinguished by the denominations of *finer* and *gross* [x], or, to express the distinction in more intelligible terms, into *rigid* and *moderate* Anabaptists. The former observe with the most religious accuracy, veneration, and precision, the antient doctrine, discipline, and precepts of the purer sort of Anabaptists; the latter depart much more from the primitive sentiments, manners, and institutions

[w] See the *Historia Bellorum et Certaminum quæ ab A. 1615, inter Mennonitas contigerunt*, which was published by an anonymous Menno- nite—See also a German work, entitled, SIM. FRED. RUES, *Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Mennoniten*, published in 8vo. at Jena, in the year 1743.

[(x)] The terms *fine* and *gross* are a literal translation of *groben* and *feinen*, which are the German denominations used to distinguish these two sects. The same terms have been introduced among the Protestants in *Holland*; the *fine* denoting a set of people, whose extraordinary, and, sometimes fanatical, devotion resembles that of the English Methodists; while the *gross* is applied to the generality of Christians, who make no extraordinary pretensions to uncommon degrees of sanctity and devotion.]

stitutions of their sect, and approach nearer to those of the protestant churches. The *gross* or *moderate* Anabaptists consisted, at first, of the inhabitants of a district in *North-Holland*, called *Waterland*; and hence their whole sect was distinguished by the denomination of *Waterlandians* [y]. The *fine* or *rigid* part of that community were, for the most part, natives of *Flanders*; and hence their sect acquired the denomination of *Flemingians*, or *Flandrians*. But new dissensions and contests arose among these *rigid* Anabaptists, not, indeed, concerning any point of doctrine, but about the manner of treating persons, that were to be excommunicated, and other matters of inferior moment. Hence a new schism arose, and they were subdivided into two sects, distinguished by the appellations of *Flandrians* and *Frieslandians*, who differed from each other in their manners and discipline. To these were added a third, who took the name of their country, like the two former, and were called *Germans*; for the Anabaptists of *Germany* passed, in shoals, into *Holland* and the *Netherlands*. But in process of time the greatest part of these three sects came over, by degrees, to the moderate community of the *Waterlandians*, with whom they lived in the strictest bonds of peace and union. Those among the *rigid* Anabaptists, who refused to follow this example of moderation, are still known by the denomination of the *Old Flemingians*, or *Flandrians*, but are few in number,

[y] See FRID. SPANHEMII *Elenchus Controvers. Theol. Opp.* tom. iii. p. 772. The *Waterlandians* were also called *Johannites* from JOHN DE RIES, who was of great use to them in many respects, and who, assisted by LUBBERT GERARD, composed their confession of faith in the year 1580. This confession (which far surpasses both in point of simplicity and wisdom all the other confessions of the Mennonites) has passed through several editions, and has been lately republished by HERMAN SCHYN, in his *Histor. Mennon.* cap. vii. p. 172. It was also illustrated in an ample Commentary, in the year 1686, by PETER JOANNIS, a native of *Holland*, and pastor among the *Waterlandians*. It has, however, been alledged, that this famous production is, by no means, the general confession of the *Waterlandians*, but the private one only of that particular congregation, of which its author was the pastor. See RUES, *Nachrichten*, p. 93, 24.

C E N T. number, when compared with the united congregations
XVI. of the milder sects now mentioned.

The source
from which
the Menno-
nites drew
their doc-
trine.

XII. No sooner were the workings of enthusiasm suppressed among the Mennonites, than all the different sects, into which they had been divided, unanimously agreed to draw the whole system of their religious doctrine from the Holy Scriptures alone. To give a satisfactory proof of the sincerity of their resolution in this respect, they took care to have *Confessions* drawn up, in which their sentiments concerning the Deity, and the manner of serving him were expressed in the terms and phrases of Holy writ. The most ancient, and also the most respectable of these *Confessions*, is that which we find among the *Waterlandians*. Several others, of later date, were also composed, some for the use of large communities, for the people of a whole district, and which were consequently submitted to the inspection of the magistrate; others designed only for the benefit of private societies [z]. It might not perhaps, be amiss to inquire, whether all the tenets, received among the Mennonites, are faithfully exhibited, and plainly expressed in these *Confessions*, or whether several points be not there omitted, which relate to the internal constitution of this sect, and would give us a compleat idea of its nature and tendency. One thing is certain, that
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[z] See an account of these *Confessions* in SCHYN's *Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennon.* cap. iv. p. 78. 115. where he maintains, that *these Confessions prove as great an uniformity among the Mennonites in relation to the great and fundamental doctrines of religion, as can be pretended to, by any other Christian community.* But should the good man even succeed in persuading us of this boasted uniformity, he will yet never be able to make his assertion go down with many of his own brethren, who are, to this day, quarrelling about several points of religion, and who look upon matters, which appear to him of little consequence, as of high moment and importance to the cause of true piety. And, indeed, how could any of the Mennonites, before this present century, believe what SCHYN here affirms, since it is well known, that they disputed about matters which he treats with contempt, as if they had been immediately connected with their eternal interests.

whoever peruses these *Confessions* with an ordinary degree of attention, will easily perceive, that those tenets which appear detrimental to the interests of civil society, particularly those that relate to the prerogatives of magistracy and the administration of oaths, are expressed with the utmost caution, and embellished with the greatest art, to prevent their bearing an alarming aspect. At the same time the more discerning observer will see, that these embellishments are intended to disguise the truth, and that the doctrine of the Anabaptists, concerning the critical points above-mentioned, are not represented in their public *Confessions* in their real colours.

XIII. The ancient Anabaptists, who presumptuously trusted in an extraordinary direction of the Holy Spirit, were (under the pretended influence of so infallible a guide) little solicitous about composing a system of religion, and never once thought of instilling into the minds of the people just sentiments of the Deity. Hence the warm dissensions that arose among them concerning matters of the highest consequence, such as the *Divinity of CHRIST*, *Polygamy*, and *Divorce*. MENNO and his disciples made some attempts to supply this defect. But, nevertheless, we find, after his time, that the Mennonites, more especially those of the *rigid* class, carried the freedom of their religious speculations to such an excessive height, as bordered upon extravagance. This circumstance alone, were there no other, proves that the heads of this sect employed the smallest part of their zeal to prevent the introduction and propagation of error; and that they looked upon sanctity of life and manners alone, as the essence of true religion. The *Waterlandians* indeed, and after them the other Anabaptists, were obliged, at length, to draw up a summary of their doctrine, and to lay it before the public, in order to remove the *odium* that was cast upon them on account of their bold tenets, and their extravagant disputes, which were likely to

C E N T.
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The religion of the
Mennonites.

XIV. If we are to form our judgment of the religion of the *Mennonites* from their public creeds and confessions, we shall find that, though it varies widely from the doctrine of the Lutherans, yet, in most things, it differs but little from that of the Reformed church. They consider the sacraments in no other light, than as *signs* or symbols of the spiritual blessings administered in the Gospel; and their ecclesiastical discipline seems to be almost entirely the same with that of the *Presbyterians*. There are, however, peculiar tenets by which they are distinguished from all other religious communities, and these may be reduced under three heads. For it is observable, that there are certain doctrines which are held in common by all the various sects of the *Mennonites*: others which are only received in some of the more eminent and numerous sects of that community: (such were the sentiments of MEN-

NO, which hindered him from being universally acceptable to the Anabaptists:) and others, again, which are only to be found among the more obscure and inconsiderable societies of that denomination. These last, indeed, appear and vanish with the transitory sects that adopt them, and therefore do not deserve to employ our attention any farther, in this place.

XV. The opinions that are held in common by the Mennonites, seem to be all derived from this leading and fundamental principle, that *the kingdom which CHRIST established upon earth is a visible church or community, into which the holy and the just are alone to be admitted, and which is, consequently, exempt from all those institutions and rules of discipline, that have been invented by human wisdom for the correction and reformation of the wicked.*

This fanatical principle was frankly avowed by the ancient Mennonites: their more immediate descendants, however, began to be less ingenuous, and, in their public *Confessions of faith*, they either disguised it under ambiguous phrases, or expressed themselves as if they meant to renounce it entirely. To renounce it entirely, was impossible, without falling into the greatest inconsistency, and undermining the very foundation of those doctrines that distinguished them from all other Christian societies [a]. And yet

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[a] That they did not renounce it entirely, is evident from their own *Creeds and Confessions*, even from those, in which the greatest caution has been employed to conceal the principles, that rendered their ancestors odious, and to disguise whatever might render themselves liable to suspicion. For example, they speak, in the most pompous terms, concerning the dignity, excellence, utility, and divine origin of civil magistrates; and I am willing to suppose that they speak their real sentiments in this matter. But when they proceed to give reasons that prevent their admitting magistrates into their communion, they discover unwarily the very principles, which they are otherwise so studious to conceal. Thus, in the thirtieth article of the Waterlandian Confession, they declare, that *Jesus Christ has not comprehended the institution of civil magistracy in his spiritual kingdom, in*

The great principle on which the general doctrine of the Mennonites is founded.

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it is certain, that the present Mennonites, as they have, in many other respects, departed from the principles and maxims of their ancestors; so have they given a striking instance of defection in the case now before us, and have almost wholly renounced this fundamental doctrine of their sect relating to the nature of the Christian church. A dismal experience has convinced them of the absurdity of this chimerical principle, which the dictates of reason and the declarations of scripture had demonstrated sufficiently, but without effect. Now that the Mennonites have opened their eyes, they seem to be pretty generally agreed about the following tenets; *First*, that there is an *invisible* church, which is universal in its extent, and is composed of members from all the sects and communities that bear the Christian name; *Secondly*, that the mark of the true church is not, as their former doctrine supposed, to be sought for in the unspotted sanctity of all its members (since they acknowledge that the visible church is promiscuously composed of the righteous and the wicked) but in the knowledge of the truth, as it was delivered by CHRIST, and in the agreement of all the members of the church in professing and defending it.

Their peculiar tenets or doctrines.

XVI. Notwithstanding all this, it is manifest, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the religious opinions which still distinguish the Mennonites from all other Christian communities, flow directly from the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists con-

the church of the New Testament, nor has he added it to the offices of his church: The Latin words are: Potestatem banc politicam Dominus Jesus in regno suo spirituali, ecclesia Novi Testamenti, non instituit neque banc officiis ecclesiæ suæ adjunxit. Hence it appears, that the Mennonites look upon the church of the New Testament as a holy republic inaccessible to the wicked, and, consequently, exempt from those institutions and laws that are necessary to oppose the progress of iniquity. Why then do they not speak plainly, when they deliver their doctrine concerning the nature of the church, instead of affecting ambiguity and evasions?

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cerning the nature of the church. It is in consequence of this doctrine, that *they admit none to the sacrament of baptism, but persons that are come to the full use of their reason*; because infants are incapable of binding themselves by a solemn vow to a holy life, and it is altogether uncertain whether or no, in maturer years, they will be saints or sinners: It is in consequence of the same doctrine, that *they neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy*; for where there are no malefactors, magistrates are useless. Hence do they pretend also to deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war, in all its shapes, as unchristian and unjust; for as those, who are perfectly holy, can neither be provoked by injuries, nor commit them, they don't stand in need of the force of arms, either for the purposes of resentment or defence. It is still the same principle that excites in them *the utmost aversion to the execution of justice, and more especially to capital punishments*; since, according to this principle, there are no transgressions nor crimes in the kingdom of CHRIST, and consequently no occasion for the arm of the judge. Nor can it be imagined that *they should refuse to confirm their testimony by an oath*, upon any other foundation than this, that *the perfect members of a holy church can neither dissemble nor deceive*. It was certainly then, the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists concerning the sanctity of the church that gave rise to the tenets now mentioned, and that was the source of that rigid and severe discipline, which excited such tumults and divisions among the members of that community.

XVII. The rules of moral discipline, that were formerly observed by the Mennonites, were rigorous and austere in the highest degree, and this every way conformable to the fundamental principle, which has been already mentioned as the source of all their peculiar tenets. It is somewhat doubtful

Their system of morality.

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whether these rules still subsist and are respected among them; but it is certain, that in the times of old their moral precepts were very severe. And indeed it could not well be otherwise; for when these people had once got it into their heads, that *sanctity of manners* was the *only* genuine mark of the true church, it may well be imagined, that they would spare no pains to obtain this honourable character for their sect, and that, for this purpose, they would use the strictest precautions to guard their brethren against disgracing their profession by immoral practices. Hence it was, that they unanimously and, no doubt, justly exalted the rules of the Gospel on account of their transcendent purity. They alledged, that CHRIST had promulgated a new law of life far more perfect than that which had been delivered by MOSES and the Prophets, and they excluded from their communion all such as deviated in the least, from the most rigorous rules of simplicity and gravity in their looks, their gestures, their cloathing, and their table: all, whose desires surpassed the dictates of mere necessity: nay even all, who observed a certain decorum in their manners, and paid a decent regard to the innocent customs of the world. But this primitive austerity is greatly diminished in the more considerable sects of the Mennonites, and more especially among the Waterlandians and Germans. The opulence they have acquired by their industry and commerce has relaxed their severity, softened their manners, and rendered them less insensible of the sweets of life: so that, at this day, the Mennonite congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter of censure and admonition as any other Christian community [b]. There are, however, still some remains

[(b) It is certain, that the Mennonites in *Holland*, at this day, are in their tables, their equipages and their country-seats the most luxurious part of the Dutch nation. This is more especially true of the Mennonites of *Amsterdam*, who are very numerous and extremely opulent.]

of the abstinence and severity of manners that prevailed formerly among the Anabaptists; but these are only to be found among some of the smaller sects of that persuasion, and, more particularly, among those who live remote from great and populous cities.

XVIII. The particular sentiments and opinions that divided the more considerable societies of the Mennonites, were those that follow: 1. MENNO denied that CHRIST derived from his mother the body he assumed, and thought, on the contrary, that it was produced out of nothing, in the womb of that blessed Virgin; by the *creating* power of the Holy Ghost [c]. This opinion is yet firmly maintained by the *ancient Flamingians*, or *rigid Anabaptists*; but has, long since, been renounced by all the

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other

[c] This is the account that is given of the opinion of MENNO by HERMAN SCHYN, in his *Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennonit.* p. 164, 165, which other writers represent in a different manner. After an attentive perusal of several passages in the writings of MENNO, where he professedly handles this very subject, it appears to me more than probable, that he inclined to the opinion attributed to him in the text, and that it was in this sense only that he supposed CHRIST to be clothed with a *divine* and *celestial* body. For that may, without any impropriety, be called *celestial* and *divine*, which is produced immediately, in consequence of a *creating* act, by the Holy Ghost. It must, however be acknowledged, that MENNO does not seem to have been unchangeably wedded to this opinion. For in several places he expresses himself ambiguously on this head, and even sometimes falls into inconsistencies. From hence, perhaps, it might not be unreasonable to conclude, that he renounced, indeed, the common opinion concerning the origin of CHRIST's human nature; but was pretty much undetermined with respect to the hypothesis, which, among many that were proposed, it was proper to substitute in its place. See FUESLINI *Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformatore. Helveticis scriptar.* p. 383.—Be that as it may, MENNO is generally considered as the author of this opinion concerning the origin of CHRIST's body, which is still embraced by the more rigid part of his followers. It appears probable, nevertheless, that this opinion was much older than his time, and was only adopted by him with the other tenets of the Anabaptists. As a proof of this it may be observed, that BOLANDUS, in his poem, entitled,

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The singular tenets of some sects.

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other sects of that denomination [d]. II. The more austere Mennonites, like their forefathers, not only animadvert, with the most unrelenting severity, upon actions manifestly criminal, and evidently repugnant to the divine laws, but also treat in the same manner the smallest marks of an internal propensity to the pleasures of sense, or of a disposition to comply with the customs of the world. They condemn, for example, elegant dress, rich furniture, every thing, in a word, that looks like ornament, or surpasses the bounds of absolute necessity. Their conduct also to offenders is truly merciless; for they expel them from the church without previous admonition, and never temper the rigour of their judgments by an equitable consideration of the infirmities of nature in this imperfect state. The other Mennonites are, by no means, chargeable with this severity towards their offending brethren; they exclude none from their communion but the obstinate contemners of the divine laws; nor do they proceed to this extremity even with regard to such, until repeated admonitions have proved ineffectual to reform them.—III. The more rigid Mennonites look upon those that are excommunicated as the pests of soci-

titled, *Motus Monasterienses*, lib. x. v. 49. plainly declares, that many of the Anabaptists of *Munster* (who certainly had not been instructed by MENNO) held this very doctrine in relation to CHRIST's incarnation:

*Esse (Christum) Deum statuunt alii, sed corpore carnem
Humanam sumto sustinuisse negant :
At Diam mentem, tenuis quasi fauce canalis,
Per MARIE corpus virginis isse ferunt.*

[d] Many writers are of opinion, that the *Waterlandians*, of all the other Anabaptists, shewed the strongest propensity to adopt the doctrine of MENNO relating to the origin of CHRIST's body. See *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, p. 223.—*Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 200. But that these writers are mistaken, is abundantly manifest from the public *Confession of Faith* of the *Waterlandians*, composed by RIES. See also, for a further refutation of this mistake, HERM. SCHYN *Deductio Plenior Histor. Mennonit.* p. 165.
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ty, who are to be avoided upon all occasions, and to be banished from all the comforts of social intercourse. Neither the voice of nature, nor the ties of blood, are allowed to plead in their behalf, or to procure them the smallest degree of indulgence. In such a case the exchange of good offices, the sweets of friendly conversation, and the mutual effusions of tenderness and love are cruelly suspended even between parents and children, husbands and wives, and also in all the other endearing relations of human life.—But the more moderate branches of this community have wisely rejected this unnatural discipline, and look upon the honour and sanctity of the church to be sufficiently vindicated, when its members avoid a close and particular intimacy with those who have been expelled from its communion.

iv. The rigid Anabaptists enjoin it as an obligation upon their disciples and the members of their community to wash the feet of their guests, as a token of brotherly love and affection, and in obedience to the example of CHRIST, which they suppose, in this case, to have the force of a positive command; and hence they are sometimes called *Podoniptæ*. But the other *Mennonites* deny that CHRIST meant, in this instance of his goodness and condescension, to recommend this custom to the imitation of his followers, or to give his example in this case the authority of a positive precept.

XIX. The Anabaptists, however divided on other subjects, were agreed in their notions of learning and philosophy, which in former times, they unanimously considered as the pests of the Christian church, and as highly detrimental to the progress of true religion and virtue. Hence it happened, that among a considerable number of writers, who, in this century, employed their pens in the defence of that sect, there is none whose labours bear any inviting marks of learning or genius. The rigid *Mennonites* persevere still in the barbarous system of their ancestors, and, neglecting totally the improvement of the mind and the culture of the sciences,

The state of
learning and
philosophy
among the
Anabaptists.

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sciences, devote themselves entirely to trade, manual industry, and the mechanic arts. The *Waterlandians*, indeed, are honourably distinguished from all the other Anabaptists in this, as well as in many other respects. For they permit several members of their community to frequent the public universities, and there to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, antiquities, and more especially of physic, whose usefulness and importance they do not pretend to deny; and hence it happens, that, in our times, so many pastors among the Mennonites assume the title and profession of physicians. Nay more; it is not unusual to see Anabaptists of this more humane and moderate class engaged even in philosophical researches, on the excellence and utility of which their eyes are, at length, so far opened, as to make them acknowledge their importance to the well-being of society. It was, no doubt, in consequence of this change of sentiment, that they have erected, not long ago, a public seminary of learning at *Amsterdam*, in which there is always a person of eminent abilities chosen as professor of philosophy. But though these moderate Anabaptists acknowledge the benefit which may be derived to civil society from the culture of philosophy and the sciences, yet they still persevere so far in their ancient prejudices, as to consider theology as a system that has no connexion with them; and, consequently, they are of opinion, that in order to preserve it pure and untainted, the utmost caution must be used not to blend the dictates of philosophy with the doctrines of religion. It is farther to be observed, that, in the present times, even the *Flemish*, or *rigid* Anabaptists begin gradually to divest themselves of their antipathy to learning, and allow their brethren to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, and the other sciences.

Their division
into a
multitude
of sects.

XX. That simplicity and ignorance, of which the ancient Anabaptists boasted as the guardians of their piety and the sources of their felicity, contributed principally to those divisions and schisms that reigned among them, from even their first rise, in a degree unknown and

and unexperienced in any other Christian community.^{C E N T. XVI.}
 This will appear evident to such as inquire with the smallest attention into the more immediate causes of their dissensions. For it is observable, that their most vehement contests had not for their object any difference in opinion concerning the doctrines or mysteries of religion, but generally turned upon matters relating to the conduct of life, on what was *lawful, decent, just, and pious* in actions and manners, and what, on the contrary, was to be considered as *criminal or unseemly*. These disputes were a natural consequence of their favourite principle, that *holiness* of life and purity of manners were the authentic *marks* of the true church. But the misfortune lay here, that, being ignorant themselves, and under the guidance of persons whose knowledge was little superior to theirs, they were unacquainted with the true method of determining, in a multitude of cases, what was *pious, laudable, and lawful*, and what was *impious, unbecoming, and criminal*. The criterion they employed for this purpose was neither the decision of right reason, nor the authority of the divine laws, accurately interpreted; since their ignorance rendered them incapable of using these means of arriving at the truth. They judged, therefore, of these matters by the suggestions of fancy and the opinions of others. But as this method of discerning between right and wrong, decent and indecent, was extremely uncertain and precarious, and could not but produce a variety of decisions, according to the different feelings, fancies, tempers, and capacities of different persons, hence naturally arose diversity of sentiments, debates, and contests of various kinds. These debates produced schisms and divisions, which are never more easily excited, nor more obstinately fomented and perpetuated, than where ignorance, the true source of bigotry, prevails.

XXI. The Mennonites, after having been long in an uncertain and precarious situation, obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United Provinces under the shade of a legal toleration procured for them by WILLIAM, prince of Orange, the glorious founder of
 The first settled settlement of the Mennonites in the United Provinces.
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Belgic liberty. This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to Christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged by gratitude to favour the Mennonites, who had assisted him, in the year 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted [e]. The fruits, however, of this toleration were not immediately enjoyed by all the Anabaptists that were dispersed through the different Provinces of the rising republic. For, in several places, both the civil magistrates and the clergy made a long and obstinate opposition to the will of the prince in this matter; particularly in the province of *Zealand* and the city of *Amsterdam*, where the remembrance of the plots the Anabaptists had laid and the tumults they had excited was still fresh in the minds of the people [f]. This opposition, indeed, was in a great measure conquered before the conclusion of this century, partly by the resolution and influence of WILLIAM the First and his son MAURICE, and partly by the exemplary conduct of the Mennonites, who manifested their zealous attachment to the republic on several occasions, and redoubled, instead of diminishing, the precautions, that might remove all grounds of suspicion to their disadvantage, and take from their adversaries every pretext which could render their opposition justifiable. But it was not before the following century, that their liberty and tranquillity were fixed upon solid foundations, when, by a *Confession of Faith*, published in the year 1626, they cleared themselves from the imputation of those pernicious and detestable errors that had been laid to their charge [g].

The English
Anabaptists.

XXII. The sect in *England*, which rejects the custom of baptizing infants, are not distinguished by the title of

[e] See BRANDT, *Historie der Reformatie in de Nederlande*, vol. i. p. 525, 526.—*Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 201.

[f] BRANDT *loc. cit.* book xi. p. 555. 586, 587. 609, 610. book xiv. p. 780. book xvi. p. 811.

[g] See HERM. SCHYN, *Plenior Deductia Histor. Mennonit.* cap. iv. p. 79.

Anabaptists,

Anabaptists, but by that of *Baptists*. It is, however, ^{CENT. XVI.} probable, that they derive their origin from the German and Dutch Mennonites, and that, in former times, they adopted their doctrine in all its points. That indeed is, by no means, the case at present; for the English Baptists differ, in many things, both from the ancient and modern Mennonites. They are divided into two sects. One of which is distinguished by the denomination of *General* or *Arminian Baptists* on account of their opposition to the doctrine of absolute and unconditional decrees; and the other by that of *Particular* or *Calvinistical Baptists* from the striking resemblance of their religious system to that of the Presbyterians, who have CALVIN for their chief [b]. The Baptists of this latter sect settled chiefly at *London*, and in the towns and villages adjacent; and they have departed so far from the tenets of their ancestors, that, at this day, they retain no more of the peculiar doctrines and institutions of the Mennonites, than the administration of baptism by immersion, and the refusal of that sacrament to infants, and those of tender years. And consequently they have none of those scruples relating to oaths, war, and the functions of magistracy, that still remain among even the most rational part of the modern Mennonites. They observe in their congregations the same rules of government and the same method of worship that are followed by the Presbyterians, and their community is under the direction of men eminent for their piety and learning [i]. From their Confession of Faith, that was published in the year 1643, it appears plainly, that their religious sentiments were the same then, that they are at this day [k].

XXIII. The *General* Baptists, or, as they are called by some, the *Antipædobaptists*, are dispersed in great numbers through several counties of *England*, and are, ^{The opinions of the General and Particular Anabaptists in England.}

[b] See WHISTON'S *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, vol. ii. p. 461.

[i] See a German Work composed by ANT. WILLIAM BÖHM, under the title of the *History of the reformation in England*, p. 151.

473. 536. 1152.

[k] *Bibliotèque Britannique*, tom. vi. p. 2.

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for the most part, persons of mean condition and almost totally destitute of learning and knowledge. This latter circumstance will appear less surprizing, when it is considered, that, like the ancient Mennonites, they profess a contempt of erudition and science. There is much latitude in their system of religious doctrine, which consists in such vague and general principles, as render their communion accessible to Christians of almost all denominations. And, accordingly, they tolerate, in fact, and receive among them persons of every sect, even Socinians and Arians; nor do they reject any from their communion who profess themselves Christians, and receive the Holy Scriptures as the source of truth, and the rule of faith [1]. They agree with the *Particular Baptists* in this circumstance, that they admit to baptism adult persons only, and administer that sacrament by dipping or total immersion; but they differ from them in another respect, even in their repeating the administration of baptism to those, who had received it, either in a state of infancy, or, by aspersión, instead of dipping; for if the common accounts may be believed, the *Particular Baptists* don't carry matters so far. The following sentiments, rites, and tenets are also peculiar to the former: 1. After the manner of the ancient Mennonites, they look upon their sect, as the only true Christian church, and, consequently, shun, with the most scrupulous caution, the communion of all other religious so-

[1] This appears evidently from their *Confession of Faith*, which appeared first in the year 1660, was republished by Mr. WHISTON, in the *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 561. and is drawn up with such latitude, that, with the removal or alteration of a few points*, it may be adopted by Christians of all denominations†. Mr. WHISTON, though an Arian, became a member of this baptist community, which, as he thought, came nearest to the simplicity of the primitive and apostolic age. The famous Mr. EMLYN, who was persecuted on account of his Socinian principles, joined himself also to this society, and died in their communion.

[* *Viz.* those relating to *Universal redemption*, the *Perseverance of the Saints*, *Election* and *Reprobation*, which are illustrated entirely on Arminian principles, and consequently cannot be embraced by rigid Calvinists; not to mention the points relating to Baptism, which are the distinctive marks of this sect.]

[† Our author does not certainly mean to include Roman catholics in this large class, for then his assertion would not be true.]

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cieties. II. They dip only once, and not three times, CENT. XVI.
as is practised elsewhere, the candidates for baptism,

and consider it as a matter of indifference whether that sacrament be administered in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or, in that of CHRIST alone.

III. They adopt the doctrine of MENNO with respect to the *Millennium*, or thousand years reign of the saints with CHRIST upon earth, And IV. many of them embrace his particular opinion concerning the origin of CHRIST's body [m]. V. They look upon the precept of the apostles prohibiting the use of blood, and *things strangled* [n], as a law that was designed to be in force in all ages and periods of the church. VI. They believe that the soul, from the moment that the body dies until its resurrection at the last day, remains in a state of perfect insensibility. VII. They use the ceremony of extreme unction. And to omit matters of a more trifling nature, VIII. several of them observe the Jewish, as well as the Christian sabbath [o]. These Baptists have three different classes of ecclesiastical governors, *bishops*, *elders*, and *deacons*; the first of these, among whom there have been several learned men [p],

they modestly call *messengers* [q], as St. JOHN The David-ists, or David-Georgians. is known to have styled that order in the book of the *Revelations*.

XXIV. Before we conclude the history of the Anabaptists, it may not be improper to mention a very singular and ridiculous sect that was founded by

[(m) To wit, that the body of Jesus was not derived from the substance of the blessed Virgin, but *created* in her womb by an omnipotent act of the holy Spirit.]

[n] ACTS xv. 29.

[o] These accounts of the doctrine of the Baptists are taken from WALL's *History of Infant Baptism*; and from the second volume of WHISTON's *Memoirs of his Life*, p. 465, &c.

[p] See WHISTON's *Memoirs of his Life*, tom. ii p. 466. as also CROSBY's *History of the English Baptists*, published in four volumes 8vo in the year 1728.

[q] St. JOHN calls them the *angels of the churches*; the word *angel* (in Greek ἄγγελος) signifies properly an *envoy*, or *messenger*.

DAVID

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DAVID GEORGE, a native of *Delft*, and a member of that community. This enthusiast, after having laid the foundation of the sect of the *Davidists*, or *David-Georgians*, deserted the Anabaptists, and removed to *Basil* in *Switzerland*, in the year 1544, where he changed his name, and by the liberality and splendor that attended his opulence, joined to his probity and purity of manners, acquired a very high degree of esteem which he preserved till his death. The lustre of his reputation was, however, but transitory; for, soon after his decease, which happened in the year 1556, his son-in-law NICHOLAS BLES DYCK charged him with having maintained the most blasphemous and pestilential errors. The senate of *Basil*, before whom this accusation was brought, being satisfied with the evidence by which it was supported, pronounced sentence against the deceased heretic, and ordered his body to be dug up and to be publickly burnt. And, indeed, nothing more horribly impious and extravagant can possibly be conceived, than the sentiments and tenets of this fanatic, if they were really such as they have been represented, either by his accusers or his historians. For he is said to have given himself out for the son of God, the fountain of divine wisdom, to have denied the existence of angels, good and evil, of heaven and hell, and of the last judgment; and he is also charged with having trampled upon all the rules of decency and modesty with the utmost contempt [r]. In all this, however, it is very possible, that there may be much exaggeration. The enthusiast in question, though a man of some natural genius, was, ne-

[r] See NIC BLES DYCKII *Historia Davidis Georgii* à JACOBO REVIO edita; as also the Life of the same Fanatic written in the German language by STOLTERFOTH. Among the modern writers see ARNOLD's *Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie*, tom. i. p. 750. tom. ii. p. 534 & 1183. in which there are several things that tend to clear the character of DAVID. See also HENR. MORI *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, sect. xxxiii. p. 23.—And the documents I have published in relation to this matter, in the *History of Servetus*, p. 425.

vertheless, totally destitute of learning of every kind, and had something obscure, harsh, and illiberal in his manner of expression, that gave too much occasion to an unfavourable interpretation of his religious tenets. That he had both more sense and more virtue, than is generally imagined, appear manifestly not only from his numerous writings, but also from the simplicity and candour that were visible in the temper and spirit of the disciples he left behind him, of whom several are yet to be found in *Holstein*, *Friesland*, and other countries [s]. He deplored the decline of vital and practical religion, and endeavoured to restore it among his followers; and, in this he seemed to imitate the example of the more moderate Anabaptists. But the excessive warmth of an irregular imagination threw him into illusions of the most dangerous and pernicious kind, and seduced him into a persuasion that he was honoured with the gift of divine inspiration, and had celestial visions constantly presented to his mind. Thus was he led to such a high degree of fanaticism, that, rejecting, as mean and useless, the external services of piety, he reduced religion to contemplation, silence, and a certain frame or habit of soul, which it is equally difficult to define and to understand. The soaring *Mysticks* and the visionary *Quakers* may, therefore, if they please, give DAVID GEORGE a distinguished rank in their enthusiastical community.

XXV. HENRY NICHOLAS, a *Westphalian*, one of the intimate companions of this fanatic, though somewhat different from him in the nature of his enthusiasm, and also in point of genius and character, founded a sect in *Holland*, in the year 1555, which he called the *Family of Love*. The principles of this sect were afterwards propagated in *England*, and produced no small confusion in both nations. The judgment that has

The *Family of Love*
founded by
Henry Nicholas.

[s] See JOH. MOLLER *Introduct. in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, p. 116. & *Cimbria Litteratæ*, tom. i. p. 442.

CENT. been formed with respect to DAVID GEORGE may be
 XVI. applied with truth, at least in a great measure, to
 his associate NICHOLAS, who, perhaps, would have prevented a considerable part of the heavy reproaches with which he has been loaded, had he been endowed with a degree of genius, discernment, and knowledge sufficient to enable him to express his sentiments with perspicuity and elegance. Be that as it may, the character, temper, and views of this man may be learned from the spirit that reigned in his flock [t]. As to his pretensions, they were, indeed, visionary, and chimerical; for he maintained, that he had a commission from heaven to teach men, that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of *divine love*; that all other theological tenets, whether they related to objects of faith or modes of worship, were of no sort of moment; and consequently, that it was a matter of the most perfect indifference, what opinions Christians entertained concerning the divine nature, provided their hearts burned with the pure and sacred flame of piety and love. To this, his main doctrine, NICHOLAS may have probably added other odd fancies, as always is the case with those innovators, who are endued with a warm and fruitful imagination; to come, however, at a true notion of the opinions of this enthusiast, it will be much wiser to consult his own writings, than to depend entirely upon the accounts and refutations of his adversaries [u].

[t] See JO. HORNBECK, *Summa Controvers.* lib. vi. p. 393.—ARNOLD, *Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie*, p. 746.—BOHM's *History of the Reformation in England*, (written in German) book iv. ch. v. p. 541.

[u] The most learned of all the authors, who wrote against the *Family of Love*, was DR. HENRY MORE, in his *Grand Explanation of the Mystery of Godliness*, &c. book vi. chap. 12. 18.—GEORGE FOX, the founder of the sect of Quakers, inveighed also severely against this seraphic *Family*, and called them a motley tribe of Fanatics, because they took oaths, danced, sung, and made merry. See SHEWEL's *History of the Quakers*, book iii. p. 88, 89. 344.

The History of the Socinians.

1. **T**HE Socinians are said to have derived this denomination from the illustrious family of the Sozzini, which flourished a long time at Sienna in Tuscany, and produced several great and eminent men, and among others LÆLIUS and FAUSTUS SOZINUS, who are commonly supposed to have been the founders of this sect. The former was the son of MARIANUS, a famous lawyer, and was, himself, a man of uncommon genius and learning, to which he added, as his very enemies are obliged to acknowledge, the lustre of a virtuous life, and of unblemished manners. Being forced to leave his country, in the year 1547, on account of the disgust he had conceived against popery, he travelled through France, England, Holland, Germany, and Poland, in order to examine the religious sentiments of those who had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and thus at length to come at the truth. After this he settled at Zurich, where he died in the year 1562, before he had arrived at the fortieth year of his age [w]. His mild and gentle disposition rendered him averse from whatever had the air of contention and discord. He adopted the Helvetic confession of faith, and professed himself a member of the church of Switzerland; but this did not engage him to conceal entirely the doubts he had formed in relation to certain points of religion, and which he communicated, in effect, by letter, to some learned men, whose judgment he respected, and in whose friendship he could confide [x].

[w] CLOPPENBURG. *Dissertatio de origine et progressu Socinianismi*.

—JO. HORNBECK, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 563. —JO. HENR.

HOTTINGER. *Hist Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 417.

[x] ZANCHIUS, *Præf. ad Libr. de tribus Elobim*. —BEZA, *Epist.* Volum. ep. lxxxi. p. 167. Certain writings are attributed to him by SANDIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Antitrinitar.* p. 18. but it is very doubtful, whether he was the real author of them, or not.

C E N T. His sentiments were indeed propagated, in a more
 XVI. public manner, after his death; since FAUSTUS, his nephew and his heir, is supposed to have drawn from the papers he left behind him that religious system upon which the sect of the Socinians was founded.

The term Socinian bears different significations.

II. It is, however, to be observed, that this denomination does not always convey the same ideas, since it is susceptible of different significations, and is, in effect, used sometimes in a more strict and proper, and, at others, in a more improper and extensive sense. For, according to the usual manner of speaking, all are termed *Socinians*, whose sentiments bear a certain affinity to the system of SOCINUS; and they are more especially ranked in that class, who either boldly deny or artfully explain away the doctrines that assert the *Divine Nature* of CHRIST, and a *Trinity* of persons in the Godhead. But, in a strict and proper sense, they only are deemed the members of this sect, who embrace wholly, or with a few exceptions, the form of theological doctrine which FAUSTUS SOCINUS either drew up himself, or received from his uncle, and delivered to the *Unitarian* brethren, or Socinians, in *Poland* and *Transylvania* [y].

III. The

[y] We have, hitherto, no compleat or accurate History either of the sect called Socinians, or of LÆLIUS and FAUSTUS SOCINUS its founders, nor any satisfactory account of those who laboured principally with them, and after them, in giving a permanent and stable form to this community. For the accounts we have of the Socinians, and their principal doctors, from HORNBECK (1), CALOVIVS (2), CLOPPENBURG (3), SANDIUS (4), LUBIENIECIUS (5), and LAUTERBACH (6), are far from being proper to satisfy the curiosity of those, who desire something more than a vague and superficial knowledge of this matter. The History of Socinianism, that was published at *Paris* by LAMY in the year 1723, is a wretched compilation from the most common-place writers on that subject; it is also full of errors, and is loaded with a variety of matters that have no sort

- (1) In his *Socianism, Confutat.* vol. i. — (2) In his *Opera Anti-Sociniana.* — (3) In his *Dissertat. de origine et progress. Socinianismi*, tom. ii. opp. — (4) In his *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum.* — (5) In his *Historia Reformationis Polonicæ.* — (6) In his *Ariano-Socinismus*, published in German, at *Frankfort*, in the year 1725.

III. The origin of *Socinianism* may be traced to C E N T. XVI. the earliest period of the Reformation. For scarcely had that happy revolution in the state of religion taken place, when a set of men, fond of extremes, The origin of Socinianism. and consequently disposed to look upon as erroneous, whatever had hitherto been taught and professed in the church of *Rome*, began to undermine the doctrine of CHRIST'S *Divinity* and the other truths that are connected with it, and proposed reducing the whole of religion to practical piety and virtue. The efforts of these men were opposed with united zeal and vigilance by the Romish, Reformed, and Lutheran churches, and their designs were so far disconcerted, as to prevent their forming themselves and their followers into a regular and permanent sect. So early as the year 1524, the *Divinity* of CHRIST was openly denied by LEWIS HETZER, one of the wandering and fanatical *Anabaptists*, who, about three years afterwards, was put to death at *Constance* [2]. There were not wanting, among the first *Anabaptists*, several persons who entertained the opinions of HETZER, though it would be manifestly unfair to lay these opinions to the charge of the whole community. But it was not only from that quarter that erroneous opinions were propagated in relation to the points already mentioned; others seemed to have been seized with the contagion, and it manifested itself from day to day in several countries. JOHN CAMPANUS, a native of *Juliers*, disseminated at *Wittenberg* and other places, various tenets of an heretical aspect, and taught, among other things, that the *Son* was inferior to the *Father*, and that the *Holy Ghost* was not

of relation to the history of SOCINUS, or to the doctrine he taught. The very learned and laborious LA CROSE promised in his *Dissertations Historiques*, tom. i. p. 142. a compleat History of Socinianism, from its origin to the present times, but did not fulfil this interesting engagement.

[2] SANDII *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.*—JO. BAPT. OTTIUS, *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 50.—BREITINGERI *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 391. tom. vi. p. 100. 479.

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the title of a *divine person*, but a *denomination* used to denote the *nature* of the *Father*, and of the *Son*; and thus did this innovator revive, in a great measure, the errors of the antient Arians [a]. A doctrine of a similar kind was propagated, in the year 1530, in *Switzerland*, *Augsbourg*, and among the *Grisons*, by a person, whose name was *CLAUDIUS*, who, by his opposition to the doctrine of *CHRIST's* divinity, excited no small commotions in these countries [b]. But none of these new teachers were so far encouraged by the number of their followers, or the indulgence of their adversaries, as to be in a condition to form a regular sect.

Michael
Servetus.

IV. The attempts of *MICHAEL SERVEDE* [c], or *SERVETUS*, a Spanish physician, were much more alarming to those, who had the cause of true religion at heart, than the feeble and impotent efforts of the innovators now mentioned. This man, who has made such a noise in the world, was born at *Villa nueva*, in the kingdom of *Arragon*, distinguished himself by the superiority of his genius, and had made a considerable progress in various branches of science. In the years 1531 and 1532, he published, in Latin, his *Seven Books concerning the errors that are contained in the doctrine of the Trinity*, and his *Two Dialogues* on the same subject, in which he attacked, in

[a] See the Dissertation de *Job. Campano*, *Anti-Trinitario*, in the *Amoenitates Litterariæ*, of the very learned *SCHELHORNII*, tom. xi. p. 1—92.

[b] See *SCHELHORNII Dissert. Epistol. de Mino Celso Senensi, Claudio item Allobroge, homine Fanatico et SS. Trinitatis hoste*, Ulmæ 1748, in 4to.—*JAC. BREITINGERI Museum Helvetic.* tom. vii. p. 667.—*JO. HALLERUS, Epistol. in JO. CONRAD. FUESLINI Centuria Epistolar. Viror. Eruditor.* p. 140.

[c] By taking away the last syllable of this name (I mean the Spanish termination *de*) there remains *Serve*, which, by placing differently the letters that compose it, makes *Reves*. *SERVETUS* assumed this latter name in the title-pages of all his books. He also called himself sometimes *Michael Villanovanus*, or *Villanovanus* alone, after the place of his nativity, omitting the name of his family.

the

the most audacious manner, the sentiments adopted by C E N T. XVI.
 far the greatest part of the Christian church in relation to the *Divine Nature*, and a *Trinity* of persons in the *Godhead*. Some years after this he travelled into *France*, and after a variety of adventures, settled at *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, where he applied himself, with success to the practice of physick. It was here, that, letting loose the reins to his warm and irregular imagination, he invented that strange system of theology, which was printed, in a clandestine manner, in the year 1553, under the title of *Christianity restored*. The man seemed to be seized with a passion for reforming (in his way) and many things concurred to favour his designs, such as the fire of his genius, the extent of his learning, the power of his eloquence, the strength of his resolution, the obstinacy of his temper, and an external appearance, at least, of piety, that rendered all the rest doubly engaging. Add to all this the protection and friendship of many persons of weight in *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, which SERVETUS had obtained by his talents and abilities both natural and acquired, and it will appear that few innovators have set out with a better prospect of success. But, notwithstanding these signal advantages, all his views were totally disappointed by the vigilance and severity of CALVIN, who, when SERVETUS had escaped from his prison, at *Vienne*, and was passing through *Switzerland* in order to seek refuge in *Italy*, caused him to be apprehended at *Geneva*, in the year 1553, and had an accusation of blasphemy brought against him before the council [d]. The issue of this accusation was fatal to SERVETUS, who, adhering resolutely to the opinions he had embraced, was, by a public sentence of the court, declared an obstinate heretic, and, in consequence thereof, condemned to the flames. For it is observable, that, at this time,

[(d) This accusation was brought against SERVETUS, by a person, who lived in CALVIN's family, as a servant; and this circumstance displeased many.]

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the ancient laws that had been enacted against heretics by the emperor FREDERIC II, and had been so frequently renewed, after his reign, were still in vigour at *Geneva*. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this learned and ingenious sufferer was worthy of a better fate; though it is certain, on the other hand, that his faults were neither few nor trivial; since it is well known, that his excessive arrogance was accompanied with a malignant and contentious spirit, an invincible obstinacy of temper, and a considerable portion of fanaticism [e].

The doctrine of Servetus.

V. The religious system, that SERVETUS had struck out of a wild and irregular fancy, was, indeed, singular in the highest degree. The greatest part of it

[(e) Dr. MOSHEIM refers the reader here, in a note, to an ample and curious history of SERVETUS, composed by him in the German language, of which the first edition was published at *Helmstadt* in 4to in the year 1748, and the second, with considerable additions, at the same place, the year following. Those who are not acquainted with the German language, will find a full account of this singular man, and of his extraordinary history in a Latin dissertation, composed under the inspection of Dr. MOSHEIM, and published at *Helmstadt* under the following title: *Historia Michaelis Serveti, quam Præside Jo. Laur. Moshemio, Abbate, &c. placido Doctorum examini publice exponit HENRICUS AB ALLWOERDEN*. There is an accurate history of this unhappy man in the first volume of the work, entitled, *Memoirs of Literature, containing a Weekly Account of the State of Learning, both at home and abroad*. This was composed by Monsieur DE LA ROCHE, and was afterwards augmented by him and translated into French, in his *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. ii. part. I. art. vii. p. 76— There is also an account of SERVETUS given by MACKENZIE, in the first volume of his *Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, which was published at *Edinburgh* in the year 1708.

It is impossible to justify the conduct of CALVIN in the case of SERVETUS, whose death will be an indelible reproach upon the character of that great and eminent Reformer. The only thing that can be alledged, not to efface, but to diminish his crime, is, that it was no easy matter for him to divest himself at once of that persecuting spirit which had been so long nourished and strengthened by the popish religion in which he was educated. It was a remaining portion of the spirit of popery in the breast of CALVIN that kindled his unchristian zeal against the wretched SERVETUS. We have a like instance of unpardonable severity in the conduct of the valuable and, otherwise humane, archbishop CRANMER, towards the unhappy fanatic, called the *Maid of Kent*.]

was

was a necessary consequence of his peculiar notions^{C E N T. XVI.} concerning the *universe*, the *nature of God*, and the *nature of things*, which were equally strange and chimerical. Thus it is difficult to unfold, in a few words, the doctrine of this unhappy man; nor, indeed, would any detail render it intelligible in all its branches. He took it into his head that the true and genuine doctrine of CHRIST had been entirely lost, even before the council of *Nice*; and he was, moreover, of opinion, that it had never been delivered with a sufficient degree of precision and perspicuity in any period of the church. To these extravagant assertions he added another still more so, even that he, himself, had received a commission from above to reveal anew this divine doctrine, and to explain it to mankind. His notions, with respect to the supreme Being, and a Trinity of persons in the God-head, were obscure and chimerical beyond all measure, and amounted in general to the following propositions: "That the *Deity*, before the creation of the world, had produced within himself two *personal representations* or *manners of existence* [*f*], which were to be the *medium* of intercourse between him and mortals, and by whom, consequently, he was to reveal his will, and to display his mercy and beneficence to the children of men; that these two representatives were the *Word* and the *Holy Ghost*; that the former was united to the man CHRIST, who was born of the Virgin MARY by an omnipotent act of the divine will; and that on this account CHRIST might be properly called *God*; that the *Holy Spirit* directed the course, and animated the whole system of nature, and more especially, produced in the minds of men wise counsels, virtuous propensities, and divine feelings; and, finally, that these two *Representations* were to cease after the destruction of this terrestrial globe,

[[*f*] These *representations* or *manners of existence* SERVETUS also called *economies*, *dispensations*, *dispositions*, &c. for he often changed his terms in unfolding his visionary system.]

" and

C B N T. "and to be absorbed into the *substance* of the *Deity*,
 XVI. "from whence they had been formed." This is, at
 ——— least, a general sketch of the doctrine of SERVETUS,
 who, however, did not always explain his system in
 the same manner, nor take any pains to avoid incon-
 sistencies and contradictions, and who frequently ex-
 pressed himself in such ambiguous terms, that it is ex-
 tremely difficult to learn from them his true sentiments.
 His system of morality agreed in many circumstances
 with that of the *Anabaptists*; whom he also imitated
 in censuring with the utmost severity the custom of
Infant-Baptism.

Other Anti-
 Trinitari-
 ans.

VI. The pompous plans of Reformation that had
 been formed by SERVETUS, were not only disconcerted
 but even fell into oblivion, after the death of their
 author. He was, indeed, according to vulgar report,
 supposed to have left behind him a considerable num-
 ber of disciples, and we find in the writings of the
 doctors of this century many complaints and appre-
 hensions that seem to confirm this supposition, and
 would persuade us that SERVETUS had really founded
 a sect; yet when this matter is attentively examined,
 there will appear just reason to doubt whether this man
 left behind him any one person, that might properly be
 called his true disciple. For those, who were denomi-
 nated *Servetians* by the theological writers of this cen-
 tury, not only differed from SERVETUS in many points
 of doctrine, but also varied widely from him in his doc-
 trine of the Trinity, which was the peculiar and distin-
 guishing point of his theological system. VALENTINE
 GENTILIS, a Neapolitan, who suffered death at Bern
 in the year 1566, adopted the Arian hypothesis, and
 not that of SERVETUS, as many writers have imagin-
 ed; for his only error consisted in this, that he consid-
 ered the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost*, as subordinate to the
Father [g]. Nearly allied to this was the doctrine of

[g] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article GENTILIS.—SPON-
Hist. de Geneve, livr. iii. tom. ii. p. 80.—SANDII *Biblioth. Anti-Trini-*
nit. p. 26.—LAMY, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part II. ch. vi. p. 251.
 —FUESL. *Reformations-Beytrage*, tom. v. p. 381.

MATTHEW GRIBALDI, a lawyer, whom a timely death, CENT.
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in the year 1566, saved from the severity of an ecclesiastical tribunal, that was ready to pronounce sentence against him on account of his errors; for he supposed the *divine nature* divided into *three eternal spirits*, which were distinguished from each other not only by *number*, but also by *subordination* [b]. It is not so easy to determine the particular charge that was brought against ALCIAT, a native of *Piedmont*, and SYLVESTER TELLIIUS, who were banished from the city and territory of *Geneva* in the year 1559; nor do we know, with any degree of certainty, the errors that were embraced by PARUTA, LEONARDI, and others [i], who were ranked among the followers of SERVETUS. It is, however, more than probable, that none of the persons now mentioned, were the disciples of SERVETUS, or adopted the hypothesis of that visionary innovator. The same thing may be affirmed with respect to GONESIUS, who is said to have embraced the doctrine of that unhappy man, and to have introduced it into *Poland* (k), for, though he

[b] SANDII *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 17.—LAMY *loc. cit.* part II. ch. vii. p. 257.—SPON *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 85. not.—HALLERUS, in *Museo Tigurino*, tom. ii. p. 114.

[i] For an account of these, and other persons of the same class, see SANDIUS, LAMY, and also LUBIENIECIUS, his *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 96.—There is a particular and ample account of ALCIAT given by BAYLE in the first volume of his *Dictionary*; see also SPON *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 85. 86.

[k] This is affirmed upon the authority of WISSOWATIUS and LUBIENIECIUS; but the very words of the latter will be sufficient to shew us upon what grounds.—These words (*Hist. Reformat. Polon.* cap. vi. p. 111.) are as follow: *Is Serveti sententiam de præ-eminentia patris in patriam attulit, eamque non dissimulavit*, i. e. GONESIUS introduced into Poland the opinion embraced by Servetus in relation to the pre-eminence of the father, and was, by no means, studious to conceal it. Who, now, does not see, that, if it was the pre-eminence of the father that GONESIUS maintained, he must have differed considerably from SERVETUS, whose doctrine removed all *real* distinction in the divine nature. The reader will do well to consult SANDIUS (*loc. cit.* p. 40) concerning the sentiments of GONESIUS; since it is from this writer, that LAMY has borrowed the greatest part of what he has advanced in his *Histoire de Socinianisme*, tom. ii. ch. x. p. 278.

maintained

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maintained some opinions that really resembled it, in some of its points; yet his manner of explaining the mystery of the Trinity was totally different from that of SERVETUS.

Erroneous
accounts of
the origin of
Socinianism.

VII. It is evident that none of the persons, now mentioned, professed that form or system of theological doctrine, that is properly called *Socinianism*, the origin of which is, by the writers of that sect, dated from the year 1546, and placed in *Italy*. These writers tell us, that, in this very year, above forty persons, eminently distinguished by their learning and genius, and still more by their generous zeal for truth, held secret assemblies, at different times, in the territory of *Venice*, and particularly at *Vicenza*, in which they deliberated concerning a general reformation of the received systems of religion, and in a more especial manner undertook to refute the peculiar doctrines that were afterwards publicly rejected by the Socinians. They tell us further, that the principal members of this clandestine society were LÆLIUS SOCINUS, ALCIAT, OCHINUS, PARUTA, and GENTILIS; that their design was divulged and their meetings discovered by the temerity and imprudence of some of their associates; that two of them were apprehended and put to death, while the rest, being dispersed, sought a refuge in *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Moravia*, and other countries, and that SOCINUS, after having wandered up and down in several parts of *Europe*, went into *Poland*, first in the year 1551, and afterwards in 1558, and there sowed the seeds of his doctrine, which in process of time grew apace and produced a rich and abundant harvest [1]. Such is the account of

[1] See the *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinit.* p. 18. & 25. of SANDIUS, who mentions some writings that are supposed to have been published by the clandestine society of pretended Reformers at *Venice* and *Vicenza*; though the truth of this supposition is extremely dubious;—ANDR. WISSOWATII *Narratio, quomodo in Polonia Reformati ab Unitariis separati sunt*, which is subjoined to the *Biblioth.* of SANDIUS, p. 209, 210.—The reader may likewise consult LUBIENIECIUS, *Histor. Reformat. Polon.* lib. ii. cap. i. p. 38. who intimates, that he took

of the origin of Socinianism, that is generally given ^{CENT.} by the writers of that sect. To assert that it is, in ^{XVI.} every circumstance, fictitious and false, would perhaps be going too far: but, on the other hand, it is easy to demonstrate that the system of religion, commonly called *Socinianism*, was neither invented nor drawn up in those meetings at *Venice* and *Vicenza* that have now been mentioned [m.]

VIII. While,

took this account of the origin of Socinianism from the manuscript *Commentaria* of BUDZINUS, and his *Life* of LÆLIUS SOCINUS. See also SAM. PRZIPCOWIUS, in *Vita Socini*.

[m] See GUSTAV. GEORG. ZELTNERI *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, ca. ii. § xli. p. 321. not.—This writer seems to think that the inquiries that have hitherto been made into this affair are, by no means, satisfactory; and he therefore wishes that some men of learning, equal to the task, would examine the subject anew.—This, indeed, were much to be wished. In the mean time, I shall venture to offer a few observations, which may perhaps contribute to cast some light upon this matter. That there was, in reality, such a society as is mentioned in the text, is far from being improbable. Many circumstances and relations prove sufficiently, that, immediately after the Reformation had taken place in *Germany*, secret assemblies were held and measures proposed, in several provinces that were still under the jurisdiction of *Rome*, with a view to combat the errors and superstition of the times. It is also, in a more especial manner, probable, that the territory of *Venice* was the scene of these deliberations; since it is well known, that a great number of the Venetians at this time, though they had no personal attachment to LUTHER, approved, nevertheless, of his design of reforming the corrupt state of religion, and wished well to every attempt that was made to restore Christianity to its native and primitive simplicity. It is further highly credible, that these assemblies were interrupted and dispersed by the vigilance of the papal emissaries, that some of their members were apprehended and put to death, and that the rest saved themselves by flight. All this is probable enough; but it is extremely improbable, nay utterly incredible, that all the persons, who are said to have been present at these assemblies, were really so. And I therefore adopt willingly the opinion of those, who affirm, that many persons, who, in after times, distinguished themselves from the multitude by opposing the doctrine of *Trinity in Unity*, were considered as members of the Venetian society by ignorant writers who looked upon that society as the source and nursery of the whole *Unitarian* sect. It is certain, for instance, that OCHINUS is erroneously placed among the members of the famous society now mentioned; for not to insist upon this circumstance, that it is not sufficiently clear whether he was really a Socinian or not, it appears

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rigin of So-
cinianism.

VIII. While, therefore, we reject this inaccurate account of the matter under consideration, it is incumbent upon us to substitute a better in its place; and, indeed, the origin and progress of the Socinian doctrine seem easy to be traced out, by such as are acquainted with the history of the church during this century. There were certain sects and doctors, against whom

appears undeniably from the *Annales Capucinatorum* of BOVERIUS, as well as from other unquestionable testimonies, that he left *Italy* so early as the year 1543, and went from thence to *Geneva*. See a singular book, entitled, *La Guerre Seraphique ou l'Histoire des perils qu'a courus la Barbe des Capucins*, livr. iii. p. 191. 216.—What I have said of OCHINUS may be confidently affirmed with respect to LÆLIUS SOCINUS, who, though reported to have been at the head of the society now under consideration, was certainly never present at any of its meetings. For how can we suppose that a young man only one and twenty years old, would leave the place of his nativity, repair to *Venice* or *Vicenza*, and that without any other view than the pleasure of disputing freely on certain points of religion*? Or how could it happen, that a youth of such unexperienced years should acquire such a high degree of influence and authority, as to obtain the first rank, and the principal direction in an assembly composed of so many eminently learned and ingenious men? Besides, from the *Life of LÆLIUS*, which is still extant, and from other testimonies of good authority it is easy to shew, that it was the desire of improvement and the hope of being aided, in his inquiries after truth, by the conversation of learned men in foreign nations, that induced him to leave *Italy*, and not the apprehension of persecution and death, as some have imagined. It is also certain, that he returned into his native country afterwards, and, in the year 1551, remained some time at *Sienna*, while his father lived at *Bologna*. See his letter to BULLINGER, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 489. Now surely it cannot easily be imagined, that a man in his senses would return to a country from whence, but a few years before, he had been obliged to fly, in order to avoid the terrors of a barbarous inquisition and a violent death.

But waving this question for a moment, let us suppose all the accounts, we have from the Socinians, concerning this famous assembly of *Venice* and *Vicenza*, and the members of which it was composed, to be true and exact; yet it remains to be proved, that the Socinian system of doctrine was invented and drawn up in that assembly. This the Socinian writers maintain; and this, as the case appears to me, may be safely denied. For the Socinian doctrine is undoubtedly of

* Is such a supposition really so absurd? Is not a spirit of enthusiasm, or even an uncommon degree of zeal adequate to the production of such an effect?

whom, the zeal, vigilance, and severity of Catholics, C E N T.
Lutherans, and Calvinists were united, and, in op- XVI.
posing whose settlement and progress, these three
communities, forgetting their dissensions, joined their
most vigorous counsels and endeavours. The objects
of their common aversion were the *Anabaptists*, and
those who denied the *Divinity* of CHRIST, and a *Trinity*
of Persons in the Godhead. To avoid the unhappy
consequences of such a formidable opposition, great
numbers of both classes retired into *Poland* from this
persuasion, that in a country whose inhabitants were
passionately fond of freedom, religious liberty could
not fail to find a refuge. However, on their first ar-
rival they proceeded with circumspection and pru-
dence, and explained their sentiments with much cau-

much later date than this assembly; it also passed through different
hands, and was, during many years reviewed, and corrected, by men
of learning and genius, and thus underwent various changes and im-
provements before it was formed into a regular, permanent, and con-
nected system. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to cast an
eye upon the opinions, doctrines, and reasonings of several of the mem-
bers of the famous society, so often mentioned; which vary in such a
striking manner, as shew manifestly that this society had no fixed views,
nor had ever agreed upon any consistent form of doctrine. We learn,
moreover, from many circumstances in the life and transactions of LÆ-
LIUS SOCINUS, that this man had not, when he left *Italy*, laid the
plan of a regular system of religion; and it is well known, that for
many years afterwards his time was spent in doubting, inquiring, and
disputing; and that his ideas of religious matters were extremely fluc-
tuating and unsettled. So that it seems probable to me, that the man
died in this state of hesitation and uncertainty, before he had reduced
his notions to any consistent form. As to GRIBALDI and ALCIAT,
who have been already mentioned, it is manifest, that they inclined
towards the Arian system, and did not entertain such low ideas of
the person and dignity of JESUS CHRIST, as those that are adopt-
ed among the Socinians. From all this it appears abundantly evi-
dent, that these Italian Reformers, if their famous society ever existed
in reality (which I admit here as a probable supposition, rather than
as a fact sufficiently attested) were dispersed, and obliged to seek their
safety in a voluntary exile, before they had agreed about any regu-
lar system of religious doctrine. So that this account of the ori-
gin of Socinianism is rather imaginary, than real, though it has been
unconsiderately adopted by many writers. FUESLIN has alledged
several arguments against it in his German work, entitled, *Reforma-
tions-Beytragen*, tom. iii. p. 327.

tion,

CENT. tion, and a certain mixture of disguise, not knowing
XVI. surely what might happen, nor how far their opinions would be treated with indulgence. Thus they lived in peace and quiet, during several years, mixed with the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had already obtained a solid settlement in *Poland*, and who admitted them into their communion, and even into the assemblies where their public deliberations were held. They were not, however, long satisfied with this state of constraint, notwithstanding the privileges with which it was attended, but having insinuated themselves into the friendship of several noble and opulent families, they began to act with more spirit, and even to declare, in an open manner, their opposition to certain doctrines, that were generally received among Christians. Hence arose violent contests between them and the Swiss, or Reformed churches, with which they had been principally connected. These dissensions drew the attention of the government, and occasioned, in the year 1565, a resolution of the diet of *Petrikow*, ordering the innovators to separate themselves from the churches already mentioned, and to form a distinct congregation or sect [n]. These founders of the Socinian church were commonly called *Pinczowians*, from the town in which the heads of their sect resided. Hitherto, indeed, they had not carried matters so far as they did afterwards; for they professed chiefly the Arian doctrine concerning the divine nature, maintaining that the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost* were two distinct natures, begotten by *God the Father*, and subordinate to him [o].

IX. The

[n] LAMY, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part I. ch. vi. &c. p. 16.—STOINII *Epitome Originis Unitariorum in Polonia*, apud SANDIUM, p. 183.—GEORG. SCHOMANNI *Testamentum*, apud eundem, p. 194.—ANDR. WISSOWATIUS *de Separatione Unitar. a Reformatis*, ibid. p. 211, 212.—LUBIENIECIUS, *Histor. Reformat. Polonica*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 111. cap. viii. p. 144. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 158.

[o] This will appear abundantly evident to all such as consult, with a proper degree of attention, the writers mentioned in the preceding

IX. The *Unitarians*, being thus separated from the C E N T. XVI. other religious societies in *Poland*, had many difficulties to encounter, both of an internal and external kind. From without they were threatened with a formidable prospect arising from the united efforts of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, to crush their infant sect. From within they dreaded the effects of intestine discord, which portended the ruin of their community before it could arrive at any measure of stability or consistence. This latter apprehension was too well grounded; for, as yet, they had agreed upon no regular system of principles, which might serve as a centre and bond of union. Some of them chose to persevere in the doctrine of the Arians, and to proceed no further; and these were called *Farnovians* [p]. Others, more adventurous, went much greater lengths, and attributed to CHRIST almost no other rank or dignity than those of a divine messenger, and a true prophet. A third class, distinguished by the denomination of *Budneians* [q], went still further: declaring that JESUS CHRIST was born in an ordinary way, according to the general law of nature, and that, consequently, he was no proper object of divine worship or adoration [r]. There were also among these people several fanatics, who were desirous of introducing into the society the discipline of the enthusiastic Anabaptists, such as a community of goods, an equality of ranks, and other ab-

The progress
of Socinian-
ism.

note. It is unquestionably certain, that all those, who then called themselves *Unitarian Brethren*, did not entertain the same sentiments concerning the Divine Nature. Some of the most eminent doctors of that sect adopted the notions relating to the *person* and *dignity* of CHRIST, that were, in after times, peculiar to the Socinians; the greatest part of them, however, embraced the Arian system, and affirmed, that our blessed Saviour was created before the formation of the world, by *God the Father*, to whom he was much inferior, nevertheless, in dignity and perfection.

[(p) For a more particular account of the *Farnovians*, see § xxii. of this chapter.]

[(q) See the part of this chapter referred to in the preceding note.]

[r] *Vita Andr. Wiffowatii* in SANDII *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* p. 226.

—As also SANDIUS in *Simone Budnæo*, p. 54.

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furdities of the same nature [s]. Such were the disagreeable and perilous circumstances in which the *Unitarians* were placed, during the infancy of their sect, and which, no doubt, rendered their situation extremely critical and perplexing. But they were happily extricated out of these difficulties by the dexterity and resolution of certain of their doctors, whose efforts were crowned with singular success on account of the credit and influence they had obtained in *Poland*. These Unitarian doctors suppressed, in a little time, the factions that threatened the ruin of their community, erected flourishing congregations at *Cracow*, *Lublin*, *Pinczow*, *Luck*, *Smila* [t] (a town belonging to the famous *DUDITH* [u],) and in several other places both in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, and obtained the privilege of printing their productions and those of their brethren without

[s] LUBIENIECII *Hist. Reform. Polon.* lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240.[t] MART. ADULT, *Historia Arianismi Smiglienſis*, Ged. 1741, in 8vo.

[(n) This *DUDITH*, who was certainly one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century, was born at *Buda*, in the year 1533; and, after having studied in the most famous universities, and travelled through almost all the countries of *Europe*, was named to the bishoprick of *Pina*, by the Emperor *FERDINAND*, and made privy counsellor to that prince. He had, by the force of his genius and the study of the ancient orators, acquired such a masterly eloquence, that in all public deliberations he carried every thing before him. In the council, where he was sent in the name of the Emperor, and of the Hungarian clergy, he spoke with such energy against several abuses of the church of *Rome*, and particularly against the celibacy of the clergy, that the pope, being informed thereof by his legates, solicited the emperor to recal him. *FERDINAND* complied, but, having heard *DUDITH*'s report of what passed in that famous council, he approved of his conduct, and rewarded him with the bishoprick of *Chonat*. He afterwards married a maid of honour of the queen of *Hungary*, and resigned his bishoprick; the emperor, however, still continued his friend and protector. The papal excommunication was levelled at his head, but he treated it with contempt. Tired of the fopperies and superstitions of the church of *Rome*, he retired to *Cracow*, where he embraced the protestant religion publicly, after having been for a good while its secret friend. It is said, that he shewed some inclination towards the Socinian system. Some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain that he afterwards changed his sentiments in that respect.

without molestation or restraint [*w*]. All these advantages were crowned by a signal mark of liberality and munificence, they received from Jo. SIENIENIUS, palatine of *Podolia*, who gave them a settlement in the city of *Racow*, which he himself had built in the year 1569, in the district of *Sendomir* [*x*]. This extraordinary favour was peculiarly adapted to better the state of the Unitarians, who were, hitherto, dispersed far and wide in the midst of their enemies. And accordingly they now looked upon their religious establishment as permanent and stable, and presumed so far upon their good fortune, as to declare *Racow*, the centre of their community, where their distant and dispersed members might unite their counsels and hold their deliberations.

X. When they saw their affairs in this promising situation, the first thing that employed the attention and zeal of their doctors and spiritual rulers was a translation of the Bible into the Polish language, which was accordingly published in the year 1572. They had, indeed, before this a Polish version of the sacred writings, which they had composed jointly with the Helvetic doctors, in the year 1565, while they lived in communion with that church. But after the breach of that communion, and the order they had received to separate themselves from the Reformed church, this Version lost its credit among them, as it did not seem proper to answer their views [*y*]. After they had finished their new Version they drew up a summary of their re-

A summary
view of the
religion they
professed.

He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and the mathematics, with the sciences of physic, history, theology, and the civil law. He was such an enthusiastical admirer of CICEO, that he copied over three times, with his own hand, the whole works of that immortal author. He had something majestic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive.]

[*w*] SANDII *Bibliotheca Anti-Trin.* p. 201.

[*x*] SANDIUS *loc. citat.* p. 201.—LUBIENIECIUS *loc. cit.* p. 239.

[*y*] See a German work of RINGELTAUBE, entitled, *Von den Pöhlischen Bibeln*, p. 90. 113. 142. in which there is a further account of the Polish interpretations of the Bible composed by Socinian authors.

religious doctrine, which was published at *Cracow*, in the year 1574, under the title of *Catechism*, or *Confession* of the *Unitarians* [z]. The system of religion, that is contained

[z] From this little performance, and indeed from it alone, we may learn, with certainty, the true state of the Unitarian religion before FAUSTUS SOCINUS; and, nevertheless, I don't find that it has been so much as once quoted, or even mentioned by any of the Socinian writers, by any historians who have given an account of their sect, nor yet by any of the divines that have drawn the pen of controversy against their religious system. I am almost inclined to believe, that the Socinians (when, in process of time, they had gained ground, acquired more dexterity in the management of their affairs, and drawn up a new, specious, and artful summary of their doctrine) were prudent enough to desire that this primitive Catechism should disappear, that it might not furnish their adversaries with an occasion of accusing them of inconsistency in abandoning the tenets of their ancestors, nor excite factions and divisions among themselves by inducing any of their people to complain that they had deviated from the ancient simplicity of their first founders. These reasons, very probably, engaged the Socinian doctors to buy up all the copies, they could find, of this original *Confession* or *Catechism*, with a view to bury it in oblivion. It will not, therefore be improper to give here some account of the form and matter of this first Socinian creed, which contained the doctrine of that sect before the *Racovian Catechism* was composed. This account will throw new light upon a period and branch of Ecclesiastical History that are highly interesting. The original Catechism, now under consideration, which is extremely rare, has the following title prefixed to it: *Catechism or Confession of Faith of the Congregation assembled, in Poland, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified and raised from the dead*—DEUTER. vi. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One God*—JOHN viii. 54. *It is my Father—of whom ye say that he is your God.* Printed by Alexander Turobinus, born in the year of Christ, the Son of God, 1574, in 12 (1). We find by a passage, at the end of the *Preface*, that this curious Catechism was printed at *Cracow*; for it is said to have been published in that city, *in the year 1574, after the birth of Christ*. Now it is known that the *Unitarians* had, at that time, a printing-house at *Cracow*, which was, soon after, removed to *Racow*. Alexander Turobinus, who is said to have been the printer of this little

[1] The original title runs thus: *Catechesis et confessio fidei coetus per Poloniam congregati in nomine Jesu Christi, Domini nostri, crucifixi et resuscitati*, Deut. vi. *Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus noster Deus unus est*, Johannis viii. *dicit Jesus: Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est pater meus.* Typis Alexandri Turobini, anno nati Jesu Christi, filii Dei, 1574. in 12.

tained in this Catechism, is remarkable for its simplicity, and is neither loaded with scholastic terms nor subtle discussions; but it, nevertheless, breathes, in several places,

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production, is mentioned by SANDIUS (in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* p. 51.) under the denomination of TUROBINCYCK, which he undoubtedly derived from *Turobin*, a town in the Palatinate of *Chelm*, in *Little or Red Russia*, which was the place of his nativity. The author of this Catechism was the famous GEORGE SCHOMAN, as has been evidently proved from a piece, entitled, *Schomanni Testamentum* (2); and other circumstances, by JO. ADAM MULLERUS, in his *Dissertation de Unitariorum Catechesi et Confessione omnium* (3). The *Preface*, which is composed in the name of the whole Congregation, begins with the following salutation: *To all those who thirst after eternal salvation, the LITTLE and AFFLICTED FLOCK in Poland, which is baptized in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, sendeth greeting; praying most earnestly that peace may be shed upon them by one, supreme God and Father, through his only-begotten Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ who was crucified* (4). After this general salutation the *Prefacers* give an account of the reasons that engaged them to compose and publish this Confession. The principal of these reasons was the reproaches and aspersions that were cast upon the *Anabaptists* in several places; from which we learn that, at this time, the denomination of *Anabaptists* was given to those, who, in after times, were called *Socinians*. The rest of this *Preface* is employed in beseeching the reader to be firmly persuaded, that the designs of the *Congregation* are pious and upright, to read with attention, that he may judge with discernment, and, *abandoning the doctrine of Babylon and the conduct and conversation of Sodom, to take refuge in the Ark of Noah*, i. e. among the Unitarian Brethren.

In the beginning of the *Catechism* itself the whole doctrine of Christianity is reduced to six points. The first relates to the *Nature of God*, and his Son *Jesus Christ*; the second to *Justification*; the third to *Discipline*; the fourth to *Prayer*; the fifth to *Baptism*; and the sixth to the *Lord's Supper*. These six points are explained at length in the following manner: Each point is defined and unfolded, in general terms, in one *question and answer*, and is afterwards sub-divided into

(2) This *Testament* is published by SANDIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Anti-Trin.* p. 51.

(3) The *Dissertation* of MULLERUS is to be found in a collection of pieces published by BARTHOLOMÆUS under the following title: *Fortgesetzten nützlichen Anmerkungen von allerhand Materien*, part xxi. p. 758.

(4) *Omnibus salutem æternam sitientibus, gratiam ac pacem ab uno illo altissimo Deo patre, per unigenitum ejus filium, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum crucifixum, ex animo precatur COETUS EXIGUUS ET AFFLICTUS per Poloniam, in nomine ejusdem Jesu Christi Nazareni baptizatus.*

ces, the spirit of Socinianism, and that even in those parts of it which its authors look upon as most important

its several branches in various *questions and answers*, in which its different parts are illustrated, and confirmed by texts of Scripture. From this it appears, at first sight, that the primitive state of Socinianism was a state of real infancy and weakness, that its doctors were, by no means distinguished by the depth or accuracy of their theological knowledge, and that they instructed their flock in a superficial manner, by giving them only some vague notions of certain leading doctrines and precepts of religion. In their definition of the *Nature of God*, with which this Catechism begins, the authors discover immediately their sentiments concerning JESUS CHRIST, by declaring that he, together with all other things, is *subject* to the supreme Creator of the universe. It may also be observed as a proof of the ignorance or negligence of these authors, that, in illustrating the nature and perfections of the Deity, they make not the least mention of his *infinity*, his *omniscience*, his *immensity*, his *eternity*, his *omnipotence*, his *omnipresence*, his *spirituality*, nor of those other perfections of the divine nature that surpass the comprehension of finite minds. Instead of this, they characterize the supreme Being only by his *wisdom*, his *immortality*, his *goodness*, and unbounded *dominion* and empire over the creatures. By this it would seem, that, even in this early period of Socinianism, the rulers of that sect had adopted it, as a maxim, that nothing *incomprehensible* or *mysterious* was to be admitted into their religious system.—Their erroneous notion concerning JESUS CHRIST is expressed in the following terms: *Our mediator before the throne of God is a man who was formerly promised to our fathers by the prophets, and in these latter days was born of the seed of David, and whom God, the Father, has made Lord and Christ, that is, the most perfect prophet, the most holy priest, and the most triumphant king, by whom he created the NEW world (5), by whom he has sent peace upon earth, restored all things and reconciled them to himself, and by whom also he has bestowed eternal life upon his elect; to the end that, after the supreme God, we should believe in him, adore and invoke him, bear his voice, imitate his example, and find, in him, rest to our souls (6).* It is here worthy of note, that, although they call CHRIST a

most

(5) This expression is remarkable; for these doctors maintained, that these declarations of Scripture, which represent the world as formed by Christ, do not relate to the visible world, but to the restoration of mankind to virtue and happiness by the son of God. They invented this interpretation to prevent their being obliged to acknowledge the divine glory and creating power of Christ.

(6) *Est homo, mediator noster apud Deum, patribus olim per prophetas promissus, et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum prophetam, sanctissimum*

tant and fundamental. Nor will this appear surprizing CENT.
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to those, who consider, that the papers of LÆLIUS SOCINUS,

most holy priest, and justify this title by citations from Scripture, yet they, no where, explain the nature of that *priesthood*, which they attribute to him.—With respect to the *Holy Ghost*, they plainly deny his being a *divine person*, and represent him as nothing more than a divine quality, or virtue, as appears from the following passage: *The Holy Ghost is the energy or perfection of God, whose fulness God the Father bestowed upon his only-begotten Son, our Lord, that we becoming his adopted children, might receive of his fulness* (7).—They express their sentiments concerning *Justification* in the ensuing terms: *Justification consists in the remission of all our past sins, through the mere grace and mercy of God, in and by our Lord Jesus Christ, without our merits and works, and in consequence of a lively faith, as also in the certain hope of life eternal, and the true and unfeigned amendment of our lives and conversation through the assistance of the divine spirit to the glory of God the Father, and the edification of our neighbours* (8). As by this inaccurate definition *Justification* comprehends in it amendment and obedience, so in the explication of this point our authors break in upon the following one which relates to *Discipline*, and lay down a short summary of moral doctrine, which is contained in a few precepts, and expressed, for the most part, in the language of scripture. There is this peculiarity in their moral injunctions, that they prohibit the *taking of oaths* and the *repelling of injuries*. As to what regards *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, they define it thus: *Ecclesiastical discipline consists in calling frequently to the remembrance of every individual the duties, that are incumbent upon them, in admonishing first privately, and afterwards if this be ineffectual, in a public manner before the whole congregation, such as have sinned openly against God, or offended their neighbour, and, lastly, in excluding from the communion of the church the obstinate and impenitent, that being thus covered with shame they may be led to repentance,*

sanctissimum sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem mundum creavit, omnia restauravit secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam æternam electis suis donavit: ut in illum, post Deum altissimum, credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitemur, et, in illo, requiem animabus nostris inveniamus.

(7) *Spiritus sanctus est virtus Dei, cujus plenitudinem dedit Deus pater filio suo unigenito, Domino nostro, ut ex ejus plenitudine nos adoptivi acciperemus.*

(8) *Justificatio est, ex mera gratia per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in viva fide remissio, vitæque æternæ indubitata expectatio, et auxilio spiritus Dei vitæ nostræ non simulata, sed vera correctio, ad gloriam Dei patris nostri et ædificationem proximorum nostrorum.*

CENT. CINUS, which he undoubtedly left behind him in Poland, were in the hands of many, and that by the refusal

ance, or if they remain unconverted may be damned eternally (9). By their further explication of the point relating to Ecclesiastical Discipline, we see how imperfect and incomplete their notions of that matter were. For they treat in the first place, concerning the government of the church and its ministers, whom they divide into *bishops, deacons, elders, and widows*. After this, they enumerate, at length, the duties of husbands and wives, old and young, parents and children, masters and servants, citizens and magistrates, poor and rich, and conclude with what relates to the admonishing of offenders, and their exclusion from the communion of the church in case of obstinate impenitence. Their sentiments concerning Prayer are, generally speaking, sound and rational. But in their notion of Baptism they differ from other Christian churches in this, that they make it to consist in immersion or dipping, and emergence or rising again out of the water, and maintain that it ought not to be administered to any but adult persons. Baptism, say they, is the immersion into water, and the emergence of one who believes in the Gospel and is truly penitent, performed in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in the name of Jesus Christ alone, by which solemn act the person baptized publicly acknowledgeth, that he is cleansed from all his sins through the mercy of God the Father, by the blood of Christ, and the operation of the Holy Spirit; to the end, that, being ingrafted into the body of Christ, he may mortify the old Adam, and be transformed into the image of the new and heavenly Adam, in the firm assurance of eternal life after the resurrection (10). The last point handled in this performance is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which the authors give an explication, that will be readily adopted by those who embrace the doctrine of ZUINGLE on that head. At the end of this curious Catechism there is a piece, entitled, *Oeconomia Christiana, seu Pastoratus Domesticus*, which contains a short instruction to heads of families, shewing them how they ought to proceed in order to maintain and encrease in their houses, a spirit of piety, and in which also their devotion is assisted by forms of prayer composed for morning, evening, and other occasions.

The

(9) *Disciplina ecclesiastica est officii singulorum frequens commemoratio et peccantium contra Deum vel proximum primum privata, deinde etiam publica, coram toto coetu, commonesactio, denique pertinacium a communione sanctorum alienatio, ut pudore suffusi convertantur, aut, si id nolint, æternum damnentur.*

(10) *Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis et poenitentiam agentis in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi in aquam immersio et emersio, qua publice profitetur, se gratia Dei Patris, in sanguine Christi, opera Spiritus Sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut, in corpus Christi insertus, mortificet veterem Adamum et transformetur in Adamum illum coelestem, certus, se post resurrectionem consequuturum esse vitam æternam.*

refusal of them, the Arians, who had formerly the upper CENT.
XVI. hand in the community of the Unitarians, were engaged to change their sentiments concerning the nature and mediation of CHRIST [a]. It is true, indeed, that the denomination of *Socinian* was not as yet known. Those, who were afterwards distinguished by this title, passed in *Poland* at the time of which we now speak, under the name of *Anabaptists*, because they admitted to baptism adult persons only, and also re-baptized those that joined them from other Christian churches [b].

XI. The

The copy of this Catechism, which is now before me, was given, in the year 1680, by MARTIN CHELMIUS, one of the most eminent and zealous Socinian doctors, to Mr. *Christopher Heiligmeier*, as appears by a long inscription, written by the donor, at the end of the book. In this inscription CHELMIUS promises his friend other productions of the same kind, provided he receives the present one kindly, and concludes with these words of St. PAUL: *God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong.*

[a] This appears evidently from the following passage in SCHOMAN'S *Testamentum*, (published by SANDIUS, in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.*) p. 194. 155. *Sub id fere tempus (A. 1566.) ex Rhapsodiis Lælii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam patri coessentialem et coæqualem, sed hominem Jesum Christum, ex Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Virgine Maria natum, crucifixum, et resuscitatum: a quibus nos commoniti, sacras litteras perscrutari, persuasi sumus.* These words shew plainly, that the Unitarians or *Pinczovians*, as they were sometimes called, had, before their separation from the Reformed church, in the year 1565, believed in a *Trinity* of some kind or other; and had not gone so far as totally to divest JESUS CHRIST of his divinity. SCHOMAN, now cited, was a doctor of great authority in this sect; and he tells us himself, that, at the diet of *Petrikow*, in the year 1565, he defended *the unity of God the Father* against the Reformed, who maintained *the existence of a threefold Deity*. We learn nevertheless from himself, that it was not till the year 1566, that a perusal of the papers of LÆLIUS SOCINUS had engaged him to change his sentiments, and to deny the *divine personality* of CHRIST. What then are we to conclude from hence? The conclusion is plainly this: that, before the year last mentioned, he and his *Pinczovian* flock, were not Socinians but Arians only.

[b] This the Unitarians acknowledge in the *Preface* of their *Catechism*, as we have observed above; and it is confirmed by the writer of the *Epistola de Vita And. Wiffowatii*, which is subjoined to the *Bibliotheca Anti-Trin.* of SANDIUS. This writer tells us, that his sect were distinguished by the denominations of *Anabaptists* and *Arians*; but that all

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XVI.The proceedings of
Faustus Socinus.

XI. The dexterity and perseverance of FAUSTUS SOCINUS gave a new face to the sect of the Unitarians, of which he became the zealous and industrious patron. He was a man of true genius, but of little learning; firm in his purposes and steady in his measures, much inferior in knowledge to his uncle LÆLIUS, while he surpassed him greatly in courage and resolution. This eminent sectary, after having wandered through several countries of *Europe*, settled, in the year 1579, among the *Unitarians* in *Poland*, and at his arrival there suffered many vexations and much opposition from a considerable number of persons, who looked upon some of his tenets as highly erroneous. And indeed it is evident, that the religious system of FAUSTUS SOCINUS, which he is said to have drawn from the papers of his uncle LÆLIUS, was much less remarkable for its simplicity than that of the *Unitarians*. He triumphed, however, at last over all the difficulties, that had been laid in his way, by the power of his eloquence, the spirit and address that reigned in his compositions, the elegance and gentleness of his manners, the favour and protection of the nobility which he had acquired by his happy talents and accomplishments, and also by some lucky hits of fortune that favoured his enterprizes. By seizing the occasions when it was prudent to yield, and improving the moments that demanded bold resistance and firm resolution, he stemmed dexterously and courageously the torrent of opposition, and beheld the *Unitarians* submitting to his doctrine, which they had before treated with indignation and contempt. They, in effect, laid aside all feuds and controversies, and formed themselves into one community under his superintendency and direction. [c].

all other Christian communities and individuals in *Poland* were promiscuously called *Chrzesciani*, from the word *Chrzest*, which signifies Baptism.

[c] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article SOCINUS, tom. iv. p. 2741.—SANDII *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* p. 64.—SAM. PRZYPCOPI *Vita Socini*, which is prefixed to the works of SOCINUS.—LAMY *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part I. ch. xxiv. p. 101. part II. ch. xxii. p. 375 &c.

XII. Thus

XII. Thus did SOCINUS introduce a considerable change into the ancient Unitarian system, which, before his time, was ill digested, ill expressed, and chargeable, in many places, with ambiguity and incoherence. He disguised its inconsistencies, gave it an air of connection, method, and elegance, and defended it with much more dexterity and art, than had ever been discovered by its former patrons [d]. And, accordingly, the affairs of the Unitarians put on a new face. Under the auspicious protection of such a spirited and insinuating chief the little flock, that had been hitherto destitute of strength, resolution, and courage, grew apace, and all of a sudden, arose to a high degree of credit and influence. Its number was augmented by profelytes

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The Unitarian religion changed by Socinus.

[d] Hence it appears that the modern *Unitarians* are very properly called *Socinians*. For certainly the formation and establishment of that sect were entirely owing to the labours of LÆLIUS and FAUSTUS SOCINUS. The former, indeed, who was naturally timorous and irresolute, died at *Zurich*, in the year 1562, in the communion of the Reformed church, and seemed unwilling to expose himself to danger, or to sacrifice his repose by founding a new sect, that is, by appearing professedly and openly in this enterprize. Besides; many circumstances concur to render it highly probable, that he did not finish the religious system of which he had formed the plan, but died, on the contrary, in a state of uncertainty and doubt with respect to several points of no small importance. But, notwithstanding all this, he contributed much to the institution of the sect now under consideration. For he collected the materials that FAUSTUS afterwards digested and employed with such dexterity and success. He secretly and imperceptibly excited doubts and scruples in the minds of many concerning several doctrines generally received among Christians; and, by several arguments against the divinity of Christ, which he left behind him committed to writing, he so far seduced, even after his death, the Arians in *Poland*, that they embraced the communion and sentiments of those, who looked upon CHRIST as a mere man, created immediately, like ADAM, by God himself. What LÆLIUS had thus begun, FAUSTUS carried on with vigour and finished with success. It is indeed difficult, nay scarcely possible to determine precisely, what materials he received from his uncle, and what tenets he added himself; that he added several is plain enough. This difficulty arises from hence, that there are few writings of LÆLIUS extant, and of those that bear his name, some undoubtedly belong to other authors. We learn however from FAUSTUS himself, that the doctrine he propagated, with respect to the *person* of CHRIST, was, at least the greatest part of it, broached by his uncle LÆLIUS.

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profelytes of all ranks and orders. Of these some were distinguished by their nobility, others by their opulence, others by their address, and many by their learning and eloquence. All these contributed, in one way or another, to encrease the lustre, and to advance the interests of this rising community, and to support it against the multitude of adversaries, which its remarkable prosperity and success had raised up against it from all quarters; the rich maintained it by their liberality, the powerful by their patronage and protection, and the learned by their writings. But now the system of the *Unitarians*, being thus changed and new modelled, required a new confession of faith to make known its principles, and give a clear and full account of its present state. The ancient *Catechism*, which was no more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was therefore laid aside, and a new form of doctrine, was drawn up by SOCINUS himself. This form was corrected by some, augmented by others, and revised by all the Socinian doctors of any note; and, having thus acquired a competent degree of accuracy and perfection, was published under the title of the *Catechism of Racow*, and is still considered as the *Confession of Faith*, of the whole sect. An unexpected circumstance crowned all the fortunate events that had happened to this sect, and seemed to leave them nothing further to desire, and this was the zealous protection of JACOBUS A SIENNO, to whom *Racow* belonged. This new patron, separating himself from the Reformed church, in the year 1600, embraced the doctrine and communion of the Socinians, and, about two years after, erected in his own city, which he declared their metropolis, a public school, designed as a seminary for their church, to form its ministers and pastors [e.]

The propagation of Socinianism in Transylvania and Hungary.

XIII. From *Poland* the doctrine of SOCINUS made its way into *Transylvania* in the year 1563, and that, principally, by the credit and influence of GEORGE BLANDRATA, a celebrated physician, whom SIGISMUND, at

[e] See WISSOWATII *Narratio de Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis*, p. 214.—LUBIENTECIUS, *Histor. Reformat. Polon.* lib. iii. c. xii. p. 240.

that time, sovereign of the country, had invited to his court in order to the restoration of his health. BLANDRATA was a man of uncommon address, had a deep knowledge of men and things, and was particularly acquainted with the manners, transactions, and intrigues of courts. He had brought with him a Socinian minister, whose name was FRANCIS DAVID, who seconded his efforts with such zeal, that by their united solicitations and labours, they engaged the Prince and the greatest part of the nobility in their cause, infected almost the whole province with their errors, and obtained for the ministers and members of their communion the privilege of professing and propagating their doctrines in a public manner. The *Batori*, indeed, who were afterwards chosen dukes of *Transylvania*, were by no means, prejudiced in favour of the Socinians; but that sect was grown so powerful by its numbers and its influence, that they could not, in prudence, attempt to suppress it [f] Such also was the case with the successors of the *Batori*; they desired ardently to extirpate this society; but never could bring this desire into execution; so that to this very day the Socinians profess their religion publicly in this province, and, indeed, in it alone; and, relying on the protections of the laws and the faith of certain treaties that have been made with them, have their churches and seminaries of learning, and hold their ecclesiastical and religious assemblies, though exposed to perpetual dangers and snares from the vigilance of their adversaries [g]. About the same time, the Socinians endeavoured to form settlements in *Hungary* [b] and *Austria* [i]; but these attempts

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[f] See SANDII *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 28. & 55.—PAULI DEBREZENI *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungaria*, p. 147.—MART. SCHMEIZELII *De Statu Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ in Transylvania*, p. 55.—LAMY, *Hist. du Socinianisme*, part I. ch. xiii. p. 46.—SALIG, *Hist. Aug. Confessionis*, vol. ii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 847.

[g] GUSTAV. GEORG. ZELTNERI *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfina*, cap. ii. p. 357. 359.

[b] DEBREZENI *Hist. Ecclesiæ Reform. in Hungaria*, p. 169.

[i] HENR. SPONDANI *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A. 1586*, n. xxiv. p. 704.

were

C E N T. were happily defeated by the united and zealous opposi-
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In Holland
and England.

XIV. No sooner had the Socinians obtained a solid and happy settlement at *Racow*, but the dictates of zeal and ambition suggested to them views of a still more extensive nature. Encouraged by the protection of men in power, and the suffrages of men of learning and genius, they began to lay several plans for the enlargement of their community, and meditated nothing less than the propagation of their doctrine through all the states of *Europe*. The first step they took towards the execution of this purpose, was the publication of a considerable number of books, of which some were designed to illustrate and defend their theological system, and others to explain, or rather to pervert, the sacred writings into a conformity with their peculiar tenets. These books, which were composed by the most subtle and artful doctors of the sect, were printed at *Racow*, and dispersed with the utmost industry and zeal through different countries [k]. They also sent missionaries to several places, towards the conclusion of this century, as appears evident from authentic records, in order to make proselytes and to erect new congregations. These missionaries, seemed every way qualified to gain credit to the cause in which they had embarked, as some of them were distinguished by the lustre of their birth, and others by the extent of their learning and the power of their eloquence; and yet notwithstanding these uncommon advantages, they failed, almost every where, in their attempts. A small congregation was founded at *Dantzic*, which subsisted for some time in a clandestine

[k] A considerable number of these books were republished together in the year 1656, in one great collection, consisting of six volumes in folio, under the title of *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*. There are, indeed, in this collection many pieces wanting, which were composed by the most eminent leaders of the sect; but what is there published, is nevertheless, sufficient to give the attentive reader a clear idea of the doctrine of the Socinians, and of the nature of their institution as a religious community.

manner, and then gradually dwindled to nothing [l].^C The first attempts to promote the cause of Socinianism in *Holland* were made by a person whose name was ERASMUS JOHANNIS [m]. After him CHRISTOPHER OSTOROD and ANDREW VOIVODIUS, who were the main pillars of the sect, used their utmost endeavours to gain disciples and followers in that country; nor were their labours wholly unsuccessful, though the zeal of the clergy and the vigilance of the magistrates prevented their forming any regular assemblies, and thus effectually checked their progress [n] and hindered their party from acquiring any considerable degree of strength and stability [o]. Socinianism did not meet with a better reception in *Britain* than in *Holland*. It was introduced into *Germany* by ADAM NEUSER, and other emissaries, who infected the Palatinate with its errors, having entered into a league with the Transylvanians at the critical period, when the affairs of the Unitarians in *Poland* carried a dubious and unpromising aspect. But this pernicious league was soon detected, and the schemes of its authors entirely blasted and disconcerted; upon which NEUSER went into *Turkey*, and enlisted among the Janizaries [p]

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[l] GUSTAV. GEORG. ZELTNERI *Hist. Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini*, p. 199.

[m] SANDIUS, *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinit.* p. 87.

[(n)] The learned and judicious BRANDT, in his *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands*, tells us, that OSTOROD and VOIVODIUS were banished, and that their books were condemned to be burnt publicly by the hands of the common hangman. Accordingly the pile was raised, the executioner approached, and the multitude was assembled, but the books did not appear. The magistrates, who were curious to peruse their contents, had quietly divided them among themselves and their friends.

[o] ZELTNERUS, *Hist. Crypto-Socinismi*, &c. p. 31. & 178.

[p] BURCH. GOTT. STRUVII *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* cap. viii. § liii. p. 214.—ALTING. *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* in MIEGII *Monum. Palat.* p. 266—337.—LA CROZE, *Dissertations Historiques*, tom. i. p. 101. 127. compared with BERN. RAUPACHIUS, his *Presbyterologia Austriaca*, p. 113. where there is an account of JOHN MATTHÆUS, who was concerned in these troubles.

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The main
principle of
Socinianism.

XV. Although the Socinians profess to believe that all our knowledge of divine things is derived solely from the Holy Scriptures; yet they maintain, in reality, that the sense of scripture is to be investigated and explained by the dictates of right reason, to which, of consequence, they attribute a great influence in determining the nature and unfolding the various doctrine of religion. When their writings are perused with attention, they will be found to attribute more to reason, in this matter, than most other Christian societies. For they frequently insinuate artfully, nay sometimes declare plainly, that the sacred penmen were guilty of several mistakes, from a defect of memory, as well as a want of capacity: that they expressed their sentiments without either perspicuity or precision, and rendered the plainest things obscure by their pompous and diffuse Asiatic style; and that it was therefore absolutely necessary to employ the lamp of human reason to cast a light upon their doctrine, and to explain it in a manner conformable to truth. It is easy to see what they had in view by maintaining propositions of this kind. They aimed at nothing less than the establishment of the following general rule, *viz.* that the history of the Jews and of JESUS CHRIST was indeed to be derived from the books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, and that it was not lawful to entertain the least doubt concerning the truth of this history, and the authenticity of these books in general; but that the particular doctrines, which they contain, were, nevertheless, to be understood and explained in such a manner as to render them conformable to the dictates of reason. According to this representation of things, it is not the Holy Scripture, which declares clearly, and expressly, what we are to believe concerning the nature, counsels, and perfections of the Deity; but it is human reason, which shews us the system of religion that we ought to seek in, and deduce from, the divine oracles.

XVI. This

XVI. This fundamental principle of Socinianism C E N T. XVI. will still appear more dangerous and pernicious, when we consider the sense in which the word *Reason* was understood by this sect. The dangerous consequences of this principle. The pompous title of *Right Reason* was given, by the Socinians, to that measure of intelligence and discernment, or in other words, to that faculty of comprehending and judging which we derive from nature. According to this definition, the fundamental rule of the Socinians necessarily supposes, that no doctrine ought to be acknowledged as true in its nature or divine in its origin, all whose parts are not level to the comprehension of the human understanding, and that, whatever the Holy Scriptures teach concerning the perfections of God, his counsels and decrees, and the way of salvation, must be modified, curtailed, and filed down, in such a manner, by the transforming power of art and argument, as to answer the extent of our limited faculties. Those who adopt this singular rule, must, at the same time, grant that the number of religions must be nearly equal to that of individuals. For as there is a great variety in the talents and capacities of different persons, so what will appear difficult and abstruse to one, will seem evident and clear to another, and thus the more discerning and penetrating will adopt as divine truth what the slow and superficial will look upon as unintelligible jargon. This consequence does not, at all, alarm the Socinians, who suffer their members to explain in very different ways many doctrines of the highest importance, and permit every one to follow his particular fancy in composing his theological system, provided they acknowledge, in general, the truth and authenticity of the history of CHRIST, and adhere to the precepts, the Gospel lays down for the regulation of our lives and actions.

XVII. In consequence of this leading maxim the Socinians either reject without exception, or change and accommodate to their limited capacities, all those The sum and substance of Socinianism. doctrines

CENT. doctrines relating to the nature of God and of JESUS
XVI. CHRIST, the plan of redemption and the eternal re-
wards and punishments unfolded in the Gospel; which
they either cannot comprehend, or consider as attended
with considerable difficulties. The sum of their theolo-
gy is as follows: " God, who is infinitely more perfect
" than man, though of a similar nature in some respects,
" exerted an act of that power by which he governs all
" things, in consequence of which an extraordinary
" person was born of the Virgin MARY. That person
" was JESUS CHRIST, whom God first translated to
" heaven by that portion of his divine power, which
" is called the *Holy Ghost*, and having instructed him
" fully there in the knowledge of his will, counsels,
" and designs, sent him again into this sublunary
" world to promulgate to mankind a new rule of life,
" more excellent than that under which they had for-
" merly lived, to propagate divine truth by his minis-
" try, and to confirm it by his death.

" Those who obey the voice of this Divine Teacher,
" (and this obedience is in the power of every one
" whose will and inclination leads that way) shall,
" one day, be cloathed with new bodies, and inhabit
" eternally those blessed regions, where God, himself,
" immediately resides. Such, on the contrary, as are
" disobedient and rebellious, shall undergo most terri-
" ble and exquisite torments, which shall be succeeded
" by annihilation, or the total extinction of their be-
" ing."

The whole system of Socinianism, when stripped of
the embellishments and commentaries with which it
has been loaded and disguised by its doctors, is really
reducible to the few propositions now mentioned.

The moral
doctrine of
the Socini-
ans.

XVIII. The nature and genius of the Socinian theo-
logy has an immediate influence upon the moral system
of that sect, and naturally leads its doctors, to confine
their rules of morality and virtue to the *external* actions
and duties of life. On the one hand, they deny the
influence of a divine spirit and power upon the minds of
men; and, on the other, they acknowledge, that no
mortal

mortal has such an empire over himself as to be able to suppress or extinguish his sinful propensities and corrupt desires. Hence they have no conclusion left, but one, and that is to declare all such true and worthy Christians whose *words* and external *actions* are conformable to the precepts of the Divine law. It is, at the same time, remarkable, that another branch of their doctrine leads directly to the utmost severity in what relates to life and manners, since they maintain that the great end of CHRIST's mission upon earth was to exhibit to mortals a new law, distinguished from all others by its unblemished sanctity and perfection. Hence it is, that a great number of the Socinians have fallen into the fanatical rigour of the ancient Anabaptists, and judged it absolutely unlawful to repel injuries, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishments on malefactors, to oppose the despotic proceedings of tyrannical magistrates, to acquire wealth by honest industry, and other things of that nature. But, in this, there is something extremely singular, and they are here, indeed, inconsistent with themselves. For while in matters of doctrine, they take the greatest liberty with the expressions of scripture, and pervert them in a violent manner to the defence of their peculiar tenets, they proceed quite otherwise, when they come to prescribe rules of conduct from the precepts of the Gospel; for then they understand these precepts literally, and apply them without the least distinction of times, persons, and circumstances.

XIX. It must carefully be observed, that the *Catechism of Racow*, which most people look upon as the great standard of Socinianism, and as an accurate summary of the doctrine of that sect, is, in reality, no more than a collection of the popular tenets of the Socinians, and, by no means, a just representation of the secret opinions and sentiments of their doctors [q]. The

The Cate-
chism of
Racow.

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writings,

[q] We have an account of the authors of this famous *Catechism*, and of the various success it met with, in the *Commentatio de Catechesi Racoviensi*, published by JO. AND. SCHMIDIUS in the year 1707.

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writings, therefore, of these learned men must be perused, with attention, in order to our knowing the hidden reasons and true principles from whence the doctrines of the Catechism are derived. It is observable, besides, that, in this Catechism, many Socinian tenets and institutions, which might have contributed to render the sect still more odious, and to expose its internal constitution too much to publick view, are entirely omitted; so that it seems to have been less composed for the use of the Socinians themselves, than to impose upon strangers, and to mitigate the indignation which the tenets of this community had excited in the minds of many [r]. Hence it never obtained among the Socinians the authority of a public confession or rule of faith; and hence the doctors of that sect were authorised to correct and contradict it, or to substitute another form of doctrine in its place. It is also observable, that the most eminent writers and patrons of the Socinians give no clear or consistent account of the sentiments of that sect in relation to ecclesiastical discipline and government, and the form of public worship. All that we know is, that they follow in these matters, generally speaking, the customs received in the protestant churches [s].

The state of
learning a-
mong the
Socinians.

XX. The first founders and patrons of this sect were eminently

See also KOECHEIRI *Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ*.—A new edition of the *Catechism* itself, with a solid refutation of the doctrine it contains, was published in 8vo at *Frankfort* and *Leipsick*, in the year 1739, by GEORGE LEWIS OEDER.

[r] This appears evidently enough from their presenting a Latin translation of this Catechism to JAMES I. king of *Great Britain*, and a German one to the academy of *Wittemberg*.

[s] This is manifest from a work composed by PETER MORSCOVIVS, or MORSCOWSKY, under the following title: *Politia Ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma Regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per filium ejus Unigenitum in Spiritu Sancto consentiuntur*. This work, which is divided into three books, was composed in the year 1642, and published in 4to at *Nuremberg*, but a few years ago, by the learned GEORGE LEWIS OEDER. It is mentioned by SANDIUS in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 142. who says that it was drawn up for the use of the *Belgic churches*.

eminently distinguished by their learning and genius. CENT.
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 Their successors, however, did not follow their steps in this respect, nor keep up the reputation they had universally obtained. The *Unitarians* in *Poland* seem to have had little ambition of science. They gave no encouragement to learning or talents; and appeared little solicitous of having in their community subtle doctors and learned disputants. But when they perceived, on the one hand, that the success of their community required as able defenders, as they had learned and ingenious adversaries, and were so lucky, on the other, as to obtain the privilege of erecting seminaries of learning at *Racow* and *Lublin*, they then changed their sentiments with respect to this matter, and became sensible of the necessity under which they lay to encourage in their community a zeal for the sciences. This zeal increased greatly from the time that FAUSTUS SOCINUS undertook the restoration of their declining credit, and put himself at the head of their tottering sect. At that time many persons, distinguished by their birth, education and talents, embraced its doctrine, and contributed to promote the love of science among its members. Then the youth were taught the rules of eloquence and rhetorick, and instructed in the important branches of Oriental, Greek, and Latin literature. Nay, even the secret paths of philosophy were opened, though their treasures were disclosed only to a few, who were selected, for that purpose, from the multitude. The *Racovian* doctors, in compliance with the spirit and taste of the age, chose ARISTOTLE as their guide in philosophy, as appear evidently from the *Ethics* of CRELLIUS, and other literary records of these times.

XXI. Notwithstanding this progress of philosophy among the Socinians, their doctors seemed to reject its succours in theology with obstinacy and disdain. They declare in numberless places of their writings, that both in the interpretation of scripture, and in explaining and demonstrating the truths of religion in general, clearness and simplicity are alone to be consulted, and no regard paid to the subtilties of philosophy and Logic.

Their method of proceeding in theology.

C E N T. XVI. And indeed, had their doctors and interpreters followed in practice, this rule that they have laid down with so much ostentation, in theory, they would have saved their adversaries and perhaps themselves much trouble. But this is, by no means, the case. For in the greatest part of their theological productions, their pretended simplicity is frequently accompanied with much subtilty and with the most refined intricacies of scientific art. And, what is more inexcusable, they reason with the greatest dexterity and acuteness concerning those subjects, which (as they surpass the reach of the human understanding) are generally received, among other Christians, as *facts* confirmed by the most respectable *testimony*, and consequently as matters of pure *faith*, while they discover little sagacity, or strength of judgment in those discussions which are within the sphere of reason, and are properly amenable to its tribunal. They are acute where they ought to be silent, and they reason awkwardly where sagacity and argument are required. These are certainly great inconsistencies; yet they proceed from one and the same principle, even the maxim, universally received in this community: that all things *that surpass the limits of human comprehension are to be entirely banished from the Christian religion.*

The divisions of the Socinians and their intestine controversies — Budnæans.

XXII. It has been already observed, that the *Unitarians* had no sooner separated themselves from the Reformed churches in *Poland*, than they became a prey to intestine divisions, and were split into several factions. The points of doctrine that gave rise to these divisions, related to the dignity of CHRIST's *nature* and *character*, the lawfulness of *Infant-Baptism*, the *personality* of the *Holy Ghost*, to which were added several alterations concerning the duties of life, and the rules of conduct that were obligatory on Christians. The sects, produced by these divisions, were not all equally obstinate. Some of them entertained pacific dispositions, and seemed inclined towards a reconciliation. But two particularly maintained tenaciously their sentiments, and persisted in their separation; these were the *Budnæans* and the *Farnovians*. The former were so called from

from their leader SIMON BUDNÆUS, a man of considerable acuteness and sagacity, who, more dexterous than the rest of his brethren in deducing consequences from their principles, and perceiving plainly the conclusions to which the peculiar principles of LÆLIUS SOCINUS naturally led, denied flatly all kinds of religious worship to JESUS CHRIST. Nor did BUDNÆUS stop here; in order to give a more specious colour to this capital error, and to maintain it upon consistent grounds, he asserted that CHRIST was not begotten by an extraordinary act of Divine power, but that he was born, like other men, in a natural way. This hypothesis, however conformable to the fundamental principles of Socinianism, appeared intolerable and impious to the greatest part of that community. Hence BUDNÆUS, who had gained over to his doctrine a great number of Profelytes in *Litbuania* and *Russian Poland*, was deposed from his ministerial functions in the year 1584, and publickly excommunicated with all his disciples. It is said, however, that he afterwards abandoned his peculiar and offensive sentiments, and was again re-admitted to the communion of that sect [t].

XXIII. This heretical doctrine, which had created so much trouble to BUDNÆUS, was soon adopted by FRANCIS DAVIDES, a Hungarian, who was the superintendent of the Socinian churches in *Transylvania*, and who opposed with the greatest ardor and obstinacy the custom of offering up prayers and divine worship to JESUS CHRIST. Several methods were used to reclaim him from this offensive error. BLANDRATA employed all the power of his eloquence for this purpose, and, to render his remonstrances still more effectual, sent for FAUSTUS SOCINUS, who went accordingly into *Transylvania* in the

The sentiments of Budnæus embraced by Davides and Francken.

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year

[t] See SANDII *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 54, 55.—*Epistola de Vita Wiffowatii*, p. 226.—RINGELTAUBE'S *German Dissertation on the Polish Bibles*, p. 144, 152.—SAMUEL CRELLIUS, the most learned Socinian of our times, looks upon ADAM NEUSER *, who was banished on account of his erroneous sentiments, to have been the author of this doctrine, which is so derogatory from the dignity of JESUS CHRIST. See CRELLII *Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian.* tom. i. p. 111.

* See § xiv. of this Chapter.

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year 1573, and seconded his arguments and exhortations with the utmost zeal and perseverance. But DAVIDES remained unmoved, and was, in consequence of this obstinate adherence to his error, thrown into prison by CHRISTOPHER BATHORY, prince of *Transylvania*; where he died in the year 1579, in an advanced age [u]. This his unhappy fate did not, however, extinguish the controversy to which his doctrine had given rise. For he left behind him disciples and friends who strenuously maintained his sentiments, stood firm against the opposition that was made to them, and created much uneasiness to SOCINUS and his followers in *Lithuania* and *Poland*. The most eminent of these were JACOB PALÆOLOGUS of the isle of *Cbio*, who was burnt at *Rome* in the year 1585; CHRISTIAN FRANCKEN, who had disputed in person with SOCINUS; and JOHN SOMMER [w], who was master of the academy of *Clausenburg* [x]. This little sect is branded by the Socinian writers with the infamous appellation of *Semi-Judaizers* [y].

XXIV. The

[u] SANDIUS, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 55, 56.—FAUST. SOCIN. *Oper.* tom. i. p. 353. 395. tom. ii. p. 713. 771. where there is an account of his conference and dispute with FRANCIS DAVIDES.—STAN. LUBIENIECII *Histor. Reform. Polonicae*, lib. iii. c. xi. p. 228.

[w] See SANDIUS *loc. cit.* p. 57, 58. The dispute between SOCINUS and FRANCKEN is related, at large, in the *Works* of the former, tom. ii. p. 767.

[(x)] *Clausenburg*, otherwise *Coloswar*, is a Town in *Transylvania*, extremely populous and well fortified. The Socinians have here a public school, and a printing-house; and their community in this place is very numerous. Till the year 1603, they were in possession of the Cathedral, which was then taken from them and given to the Jesuits, whose college and church they had pulled down.]

[y] FAUSTUS SOCINUS wrote a particular Treatise against the *Semi-Judaizers*, which is published in the second volume of his *Works*, p. 804. It is, however, worthy of observation, that the motive which engaged SOCINUS and his friends to employ so much pains and labour in the suppression of this faction, was not a persuasion of the pernicious tendency of its doctrines or peculiar notions. On the contrary, SOCINUS himself expressly acknowledges, that this controversy turns upon matters of very little importance, by declaring

XXIV. The *Farnovians* were treated by the Socinians with much more indulgence. They were neither excluded from the communion of the sect, nor obliged to renounce their peculiar tenets; they were only exhorted to conceal them prudently, and not to publish or propagate them in their discourses from the pulpit [2]. This particular branch of the Socinian community was so called from STANISLAUS FARNOVIUS, or FARNESIUS, who was engaged by GONESIUS to prefer the Arian system to that of the Socinians, and consequently asserted that

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The Farnovian sect.

it, as his opinion, that praying, or offering up divine worship to CHRIST, is not necessary to salvation. Thus, in his answer to *Wujek*, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 538.) he expresses himself in the following manner: *The Christian, whose faith is so great, as to encourage him to make his addresses habitually and directly to the supreme Being, and who standeth not in need of the comfort that flows from the invocation of CHRIST, his brother, who was tempted in all things like as he is, that Christian is not obliged to call upon the name of Jesus, by prayer or supplication* *. According therefore to the opinion of SOCINUS, those who lay aside all regard to CHRIST as an Intercessor, and address themselves directly to God alone, have a greater measure of faith than others. But, if this be so, why did he oppose with so much vehemence and animosity the sentiment of DAVIDES, who, in effect, did no more than exhort all Christians to address themselves directly and immediately to the Father. Here there appears to be a striking inconsistency. We find also LUBIENIECIUS, in his *Histor. Reformat. Polonicae*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228. speaking lightly enough of this controversy, and representing it as a matter of very little moment, whence he says, that in *Transylvania* there was much ado about nothing †. From all this, then, it appears manifest, that SOCINUS and his followers were more artful than ingenuous in their proceedings with respect to DAVIDES. They persecuted him and his followers, lest by tolerating his doctrine, they should increase the odium under which they already lay, and draw upon themselves anew the resentment of other Christian churches, while, in their private judgment, they looked upon this very doctrine and its professors as worthy of toleration and indulgence.

[2] *Epistola de Vita Wiffowatii*, p. 226.—ERASMUS JOHANNIS (as we are informed by SANDIUS *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 87.) was admitted Professor of Divinity in the Socinian academy at *Clausenburg*, on condition, that in his public discourses he should never say any thing of CHRIST's having existed before the Virgin MARY.

* *Quod si quis, tanta est fide præditus, ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo, recta accedere audeat, nec consolatione, quæ ex Christi Fratris sui per omnia tentati invocatione proficiscitur, indigeat, hic non opus habet, ut Christum invocet.*

† *Fluctus in simpulo excitatos esse.*

CENT. that CHRIST had been engendred or produced, out of
XVI. nothing, by the supreme Being before the creation of
this terrestrial Globe. It is not so easy to say, what his
sentiments were concerning the *Holy Ghost*; all we
know of that matter, is, that he warned his disciples
against paying the tribute of religious worship to that
Divine Spirit [a]. FARNOVIUS separated from the
other *Unitarians*, in the year 1568, and was followed,
in this schism, by several persons eminent on account of
the extent of their learning, and the influence of their
rank, such as MARTIN CZECHOVICIUS, NIEMOIOVI-
US, STANISLAUS WISNOWIUS, JOHN FALCON,
GEORGE SCHOMAN, and others. They did not, how-
ever, form themselves into a stable or permanent sect.
The lenity and indulgence of the Socinians, together
with the dexterity of their disputants, brought many
of them back into the bosom of the community they
had deserted, and considerable numbers were dispersed
or regained by the prudence and address of FAUSTUS
SOCINUS. So that, at length, the whole faction, being
deprived of its chief, who died in the year 1615, was
scattered abroad, and reduced to nothing [b].

[a] SANDIUS *Biblioth.* p. 52. & passim.

[b] We omit here an enumeration of the more famous Socinian
writers who flourished in this century, because the greatest part of
them have already been mentioned in the course of this History.
The rest may be easily collected from SANDIUS.

T H E

T H E
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
SECTION I.

The GENERAL HISTORY of the CHRISTIAN
CHURCH.

THE arduous attempts made by the pontiffs, ^{CENT. XVII.} in the preceding century, to advance the glory and majesty of the see of *Rome*, by extending the limits of the Christian church, and spreading the Gospel through the distant nations, met with much opposition; and as they were neither well conducted nor properly supported, their fruits were neither abundant nor permanent. But in this century the same attempts were renewed with vigour, crowned with success, and contributed not a little to give a new degree of stability to the tottering grandeur of the papacy. They were begun by GREGORY XV, who by the advice of his confessor NARNI, founded at *Rome* in the year 1622, the famous *Congregation for the propagation of the faith*, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary [a], is designed to propagate and maintain the religion of *Rome* in all parts and corners of the world. Its riches and possessions

[a] Such is the number of members belonging to this *Congregation* as they stand in the original *Bull* of GREGORY XV; see *Bullarium Roman.* tom. iii, p. 472. edit. *Luxemburg*.—CERRI mentions the same number in his *État Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 259. But a different account is given by AYMON, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part III. cap. iii. p. 279. for he makes this *Congregation* to consist of eighteen cardinals, one of the pope's secretaries, one apostolical protonotary, one referendary, and one of the assessors, or secretaries of the inquisition.

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ons were so prodigiously augmented by the munificence of URBAN VIII, and the liberality of an incredible number of donors, that its funds are, at this day, adequate to the most expensive and magnificent undertakings. And, indeed, the enterprizes of this *Congregation* are great and extensive. By it a vast number of missionaries are sent to the remotest parts of the world; books of various kinds published to facilitate the study of foreign and barbarous languages; the sacred writings and other pious productions sent abroad to the most distant corners of the globe, and exhibited to each nation and country in their own language and characters; seminaries founded for the sustenance and education of a prodigious number of young men set apart for the foreign missions; houses erected for the instruction and support of the Pagan youths that are yearly sent from abroad to *Rome*, that they may return from thence into their respective countries, and become the instructors of their blinded brethren; not to mention the charitable establishments that are designed for the relief and support of those, who have suffered banishment or been involved in other calamities on account of their steadfast attachment to the religion of *Rome*, and their zeal for promoting the glory of its pontiff. Such are the arduous and complicated schemes, with the execution of which this congregation is charged; but these, though the principal, are not the only objects of its attention; its views, in a word, are vast, and its exploits almost incredible. Its members hold their assemblies in a splendid and magnificent palace, whose delightful situation adds a singular lustre to its beauty and grandeur [b].

The College
pro propa-
gandas &c.
instituted by
Urban VIII.

II. To this famous establishment another, less magnificent, indeed, but highly useful, was added, in the year

[b] The authors, who have given an account of this Congregation, are mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorients*, cap. xxxiii. p. 566. Add to these DOROTHEUS ASCANIUS, *De Montibus Pietatis Ecclesiæ Romanæ*. p. 522. where there is a complete list of the books that have been published by this Congregation from its first institution until the year 1667.

year 1627, by pope URBAN VIII, under the denomination of a *College or Seminary for the propagation of the faith*. This seminary is set apart for the instruction and education of those who are designed for the foreign missions; and they are here brought up, with the greatest care, in the knowledge of all the languages and sciences, that are necessary to prepare them for propagating the Gospel among the distant nations. This excellent foundation was due to the zeal and munificence of JOHN BAPTIST VILES, a Spanish nobleman, who resided at the court of *Rome*, and who began by presenting to the pontif all his ample possessions together with his house, which was a noble and beautiful structure, for this pious and generous purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of pious emulation, and is followed with zeal even to this day. The *Seminary* was at first committed by URBAN to the care and direction of three *canons* of the *patriarchal* churches; but this disposition was afterwards changed, and, ever since the year 1641, it is governed by the *Congregation*, founded by GREGORY XV [c]

III. The same realous spirit reached *France*, and produced there several pious foundations of a like nature. In the year 1663, the *Congregation of priests of the foreign missions* was instituted by royal authority, while an association of bishops and other ecclesiastics founded the *Parisian Seminary for the missions abroad*, designed for the education of those who were set apart for the propagation of Christianity among the Pagan nations. From hence, apostolical vicars are still sent to *Siam*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin*, *China*, and *Persia*, bishops to *Babylon*, and missionaries to other Asiatic nations, and all these spiritual envoys are supported by the ample revenues and possessions of the *Congregation and Seminary* [d]. These

[c] HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 78. URB. CERRI *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 293. where, however, the first founder of this College is called, by mistake, VIVES.

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[d]. These *priests of the foreign missions* [e], and the apostles they send into foreign countries, are almost perpetually involved in altercations and debates with the Jesuits and their missionaries. The former are shocked at the methods that are ordinarily employed by the latter in converting the Chinese and other Asiatics to the Christian religion. And the Jesuits, in their turn, absolutely refuse obedience to the orders of the *apostolical vicars* and *bishops*, who receive their commission from the *Congregation* above-mentioned; though this commission be issued out with the consent of the pope, or of the *College de propaganda fide* residing at Rome. There was also another religious establishment formed in France, during this century, under the title of the *Congregation of the Holy Sacrament*, whose founder was AUTHERIUS, bishop of *Bethlehem*, and which in the year 1644, received an order from URBAN VIII. to have always a number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among the Pagan nations, whenever they should be called upon by the pope or the *Congregation de propaganda fide* for that purpose [f]. It would be endless to mention other associations of less note, that were formed in several countries, for promoting the cause of Christianity among the darkened nations, as also the care taken by the Jesuits and other religious communities to have a number of missionaries always ready for that purpose.

Missionaries
multiply,
more especially
those of
the Jesuits.

IV. These congregations and colleges sent forth those legions of missionaries, who, in this century, covered, in a manner, the whole face of the globe, and converted, to the profession of Christianity at least, if not to its temper and spirit, multitudes of persons in the fiercest and most barbarous nations. The religious orders, that made the greatest figure in these missions are the *Jesuits*, the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, and the

Capu-

[d] See the *Gallia Christiana Benedictinorum*, tom. vii. p. 1024 — HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 84.

[e] These ecclesiastics are commonly called in France *Messieurs des Missions Etrangères*.

[f] HELYOT *loc. cit.* cap. xiii. p. 87. 100.

Capuchins, who, though concerned in one common C E N T. cause, agree, nevertheless, very ill among them- XVII.
selves, accusing each other publicly and reciprocally, and that with the most bitter reproaches and invectives, of want of zeal in the service of CHRIST, nay of corrupting the purity of the Christian doctrine to promote their ambitious purposes. But none are so universally accused of sinister views and unworthy practices, in this respect, as the *Jesuits*, who are singularly odious in the eyes of all the other missionaries, and are looked upon as a very dangerous and pernicious set of apostles by a considerable part of the Romish Church. Nor, indeed, can they be viewed in any other light, if the general report be true, that, instead of instructing their proselytes in the genuine doctrines of Christianity, they teach them a corrupt system of religion and morality that sits easy upon their consciences, and is reconcilable with the indulgence of their appetites and passions;—that they not only tolerate, but even countenance in these new converts several prophane opinions and superstitious rites and customs;—that by commerce, carried on with the most rapacious avidity, and various other methods little consistent with probity and candour, they have already acquired an overgrown opulence which they augment from day to day;—that they burn with the thirst of ambition, and are constantly gaping after worldly honours and prerogatives;—that they are perpetually employing the arts of adulation and the seduction of bribery to insinuate themselves into the protection of men in power;—that they are deeply involved in civil affairs, in the cabals of courts and the intrigues of politicians;—and finally, that they frequently excite intestine commotions and civil wars in those states and kingdoms, where their views are obstructed or disappointed, and refuse obedience to the Roman pontif and to the vicars and bishops that bear his commission. These accusations are indeed grievous, but they are perfectly well attested, being confirmed by the most striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a prodigious number of unexceptionable.

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tionable witnesses. Among these we may reckon many of the most illustrious and respectable members of the church of *Rome*, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, on the one hand, nor considered as the effect of temerity or ignorance on the other; such are the cardinals, the members of the *Congregation de propaganda fide*, and even some of the popes themselves. These testimonies are supported and confirmed by glaring facts, even by the proceedings of the Jesuits in *China*, *Abyssinia*, *Japan*, and *India*, where they have dishonoured the cause of Christianity, and hurt the interests of *Rome* in the most sensible manner by their corrupt practices [g].

The Jesuits
ill-looking
upon.

V. The Jesuits exhausted all the resources of their peculiar artifice and dexterity to impose silence upon their accusers, to confound their adversaries, and to give a specious colour to their own proceedings. But all their stratagems were ineffectual. The court of *Rome* was informed of their odious frauds; and this information was, by no means, looked upon as groundless. Many circumstances concur to prove this, and among others the conduct of the Congregation at *Rome*, by which the foreign missions are carried on and directed. For it is remarkable, that, during many years past, the Jesuits have been much less employed, by that Congregation, than in former times, and are also treated, on, almost every occasion, with a degree of circumspection that manifestly implies suspicion and diffidence. Other religious orders have evidently gained the ascendant they formerly held, and, in the nice and critical affairs of the church, and more especially in what relates to the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, much more confidence is placed in the austere sobriety, poverty, industry, and patience of the *Capuchins* and *Carmelites* than in the opulence, artifice, genius, and fortitude of the disciples of *LOYOLA*.

On

[g] The reader will find an ample relation of these facts supported by a cloud of witnesses in the Preface to the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, published at *Utrecht* in the year 1741.

On the other hand it is certain, that if the Jesuits are not much trusted, they are, however, more or less feared; since neither the powerful *Congregation*, now mentioned, nor even the Roman pontiffs, themselves, venture to reform all the abuses, which they silently disapprove or openly blame in the conduct of this insidious Order. This connivance, however involuntary, is become a matter of necessity. The opulence of the Jesuits is so excessive, and their credit and influence are grown so extensive and formidable in all those parts of the world that embrace the religion of *Rome*, that they carry their insolence so far as to menace often the pontiff on his throne, who cannot, without the utmost peril, oblige them to submit to his Orders where they are disposed to be refractory. Nay more: the decisions of the pope are frequently suggested by this powerful society, and it is only in such a case that the society treats them with unlimited respect. When they come from any other quarter, they are received, in a very different manner, by the Jesuits; who trample upon some of them with impunity, and interpret others with their usual dexterity in such a manner, as to answer the views and promote the interests of their ambitious Order. Such, at least, are the accounts that are generally given of their proceedings; accounts which, though contradicted by them, are, nevertheless, supported by striking and palpable evidence.

VI. The rise of these dissensions between the Jesuits and the other Roman missionaries is owing to the methods of conversion used by the former, which are entirely different from those that are employed by the latter. The crafty disciples of LOYOLA judge it proper to attack the superstition of the *Indian* nations by artifice and stratagem, and to bring them only gradually with the utmost caution and prudence, to the knowledge of Christianity. In consequence of this principle, they interpret and explain the ancient doctrines of Paganism, and also those that CONFUCIUS taught in *China*, in such a manner as to soften and diminish, at least in appearance, their opposition to

The methods of converting practised by the Jesuits procure them enemies.

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the truths of the Gospel; and whenever they find, in any of the religious systems of the Indians, tenets or precepts that bear even the faintest resemblance of certain doctrines or precepts of Christianity, they employ all their dexterity and zeal to render this resemblance more plausible and striking, and to persuade the Indians that there is a great conformity between their ancient theology and the new religion they are exhorted to embrace. They go still further. For they indulge their proselytes in the observance of all their national customs and rites, except such as are glaringly inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Christian worship. These rites are modified a little by the Jesuits, and are directed towards a different set of objects, so as to form a sort of coalition between Paganism and Christianity. To secure themselves an ascendant over the untutored minds of the simple Indians, they study their natural inclinations and propensities, comply with them, on all occasions, and carefully avoid whatever may shock them. And as in all countries the clergy and men of eminent learning are supposed to have a considerable influence on the multitude, so the Jesuits are particularly assiduous in courting the friendship of the Indian priests, which they obtain by various methods, in the choice of which they are far from being scrupulous. But the protection of men in power is the great object they principally aim at, as the surest method of establishing their authority, and extending their influence. And hence they study all the arts that can render them agreeable or useful to great men; hence their application to the mathematics, physic, poetry, to the theory of painting, sculpture, architecture, and the other elegant arts; and hence their perseverance in studying men and manners, the interests of princes, and the affairs of the world, in order to prepare them for giving counsel in critical situations, and suggesting expedients in perplexing and complicated cases. It would be endless to enumerate all the abuses, that have been complained of in the proceedings of

of the Jesuits. These, that have been now mentioned, CENT.
XVII. have ruined their credit in the esteem of the other missionaries, who consider their artful and insidious dealings, as every way unsuitable to the character and dignity of the ambassadors of CHRIST, whom it becomes to plead the cause of God with an honest simplicity, and an ingenuous openness and candour, without any mixture of dissimulation or fraud. And, accordingly, we find the other religious Orders, that are employed in the foreign missions, proceeding in a very different method in the exercise of their ministry. They attack openly the superstitions of the Indians in all their connexions and in all their consequences, and are studious to remove whatever may seem adapted to nourish them. They shew little regard to the ancient rites and customs, in use among the blinded nations, and little respect for the authority of those by whom they were established. They treat with a certain indifference and contempt the Pagan priests, grandees, and princes, and preach, without disguise, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, while they attack, without hesitation or fear, the superstitions of those nations they are called to convert.

VII. These missionaries of the court of *Rome* spread Christianity
propagated
in India. the fame of the Christian religion through the greatest part of *Asia* during this century. To begin with *India*; it is observable, that the ministerial labours of the *Jesuits*, *Theatins*, and *Augustinians* contributed to introduce some rays of divine truth, mixed, indeed, with much darkness and superstition, into those parts of that vast region, that had been possessed by the Portuguese, before their expulsion from thence by the Dutch. But of all the missions that were established in these distant parts of the globe, none has been more constantly and universally applauded than that of *Madura*, and none is said to have produced more abundant and permanent fruit. It was undertaken and executed by ROBERT DE NOBILI [b], an Italian

[b] Others call this famous missionary ROBERT DE NOBILIEUS.

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Jesuit, who took a very singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Considering, on the one hand, that the Indians beheld with an eye of prejudice and aversion all the Europeans, and on the other, that they held in the highest veneration the order of *Brachmans*, as descended from the Gods; and, that, impatient of other rulers, they paid an implicit and unlimited obedience to them alone, he assumed the appearance and title of a *Brachman*, that had come from a far country, and by besmearing his countenance, and imitating that most austere and painful method of living, that the *Sanianes* or Penitents observe, he, at length, persuaded the credulous people that he was, in reality, a member of that venerable Order [i]. By this stratagem he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent *Brachmans*, whose example and influence engaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions, and to receive the doctrine of this famous missionary. On the death of ROBERT this singular mission was for some time at a stand; and seemed even to be neglected [k].

[i] URBAN CERRI, *État présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

[NOBILI, who is looked upon by the Jesuits as the chief apostle of the Indians after FRANÇOIS XAVIER, took incredible pains to acquire a knowledge of the religion, customs, and language of *Madura*, sufficient for the purposes of his ministry. But this was not all: for to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of Brachman as an imposture, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, shewing that the Brachmans of *Rome* were of much older date than those of *India*, and that the Jesuits of *Rome* descended, in a direct line, from the God *Brama*. Nay, Father JOUVENCI, a learned Jesuit, tells us, in the History of his Order, something yet more remarkable; even that ROBERT DE NOBILI, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared, *upon oath*, before the assembly of the Brachmans of *Madura*, that he (NOBILI) derived really and truly his origin from the God *Brama*. Is it not astonishing that this Reverend Father should acknowledge, is it not monstrous that he should applaud as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud? See JOUVENCI *Histoire des Jesuits*.—NORBERT *Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malab.* tom. ii. p. 145.]

[k] URBAN CERRI, *État présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

But it was afterwards renewed by the zeal and industry of the Portuguese Jesuits, and is still carried on by several missionaries of that order, from *France* and *Portugal*, who have inured themselves to the terrible austerities, that were practised by ROBERT, and that are thus become, as it were, the appendages of that mission. These fictitious *Brachmans*, who boldly deny their being Europeans or *Franks* [l], and only give themselves out for inhabitants of the northern regions, are said to have converted a prodigious number of Indians to Christianity; and if common report may be trusted to, the congregations they have already founded in these countries, grow larger and more numerous from year to year. Nor, indeed, do these accounts appear, in the main, unworthy of credit [m]; though we must not be too ready

[l] The Indians distinguish all the Europeans by the general denomination of *Franks* or (as they pronounce the word) *Pranghis*.

[m]. The Jesuits seem to want words to express the glory that has accrued to their Order from the remarkable success and the abundant fruits of this famous mission, as also the dreadful sufferings and hardships their missionaries have sustained in the course of their ministry. See the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes écrites des Missions étrangères*, tom. i. p. 9. 32. 46. 50. 55. where Father MARTIN observes (p. 9.), that, this mission surpasses all others; that each missionary baptizes, at least, a thousand converts every year (p. 11.); that, nevertheless, Baptism is not indiscriminately administered, or granted with facility and precipitation, to every one that demands it (p. 12.); that those who present themselves to be baptized, are accurately examined until they exhibit sufficient proofs of their sincerity, and are carefully instructed during the space of four months in order to their reception; that, after their reception, they live like angels, rather than like men, and that the smallest appearance of mortal sins is scarcely, if ever, to be found among them. If any one is curious enough to inquire into the causes that produce such an uncommon degree of sanctity among these new converts, the Jesuits alledge the two following; the first is modestly drawn from the holy lives and examples of the missionaries, who (p. 15.) pass their days in the greatest austerity, and in acts of mortification that are terrible to nature; (see tom. xii. p. 206. tom. xv. p. 211.) who are not allowed, for instance, the use of bread, wine, fish, or flesh, but are obliged to be satisfied with water and vegetables, dressed in the most insipid and disgusting manner, and whose cloathing, with the other circumstances of life, are answerable to their miserable diet. The second cause of this

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ready to receive, as authentic and well attested, the relations that have been given of the intolerable hardships and sufferings that have been sustained by these *Jesuit-Brachmans* in the cause of CHRIST. Many imagine, and not without good foundation, that their austerities are, generally speaking, more dreadful in appearance than in reality; and that while they outwardly affect an extraordinary degree of self-denial, they indulge themselves, privately, in a free

unusual appearance, alledged by the Jesuits, is the situation of these new Christians, by which they are cut off from all communication and intercourse with the Europeans, who are said to have corrupted, by their licentious manners, almost all the other Indian proselytes to Christianity. Add to all this, other considerations, which are scattered up and down in the *Letters* above cited, tom. i. p. 16, 17. tom. ii. p. 1. tom. iii. p. 217. tom. v. p. 2. tom. vi. p. 119. tom. ix. p. 126.—*Madura* is a separate kingdom situated in the midst of the Indian *Peninsula* beyond the *Ganges* *. There is an accurate map of the territory comprehended in the mission of *Madura*, published by the Jesuits in the xvth tome of the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*, p. 60. The French Jesuits set on foot in the kingdom of *Carnate* and in the adjacent provinces, a mission like that of *Madura*, (*Lettres Cur.* tom. v. p. 3. 240. and, towards the conclusion of this century, other missionaries of the same Order formed an enterprise of the same nature in the dominions of the king of *Marava* (tom. ii. p. 1. tom. x. p. 79.) The Jesuits themselves however acknowledge (tom. vi. p. 3. 15. 66. 107.) that this latter establishment succeeded much better than that of *Carnate*. The reason of this may, perhaps, be, that the French Jesuits, who founded the mission of *Carnate*, could not endure with such constancy and patience the austere and mortified manner of living, which an institution of this nature required, nor imitate the rigid self-denial of the *Brachmans*, so well as the missionaries of *Spain* and *Portugal*.—Be that as it may, all these missions that formerly made such a noise in the world were suspended and abandoned, in consequence of a papal mandate issued out, in the year 1744, by BENEDICT XIV, who declared his disapprobation of the mean and perfidious methods of converting the Indians, that were practised by the Jesuits, and pronounced it unlawful to make use of frauds or insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian church. See NORBERT *Memoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales*, tom. i. & iv. MAMMACHIUS has given an account of this matter, and also published the mandate of BENEDICT, in his *Orig. et Antiq. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 245.

* This is a mistake. *Madura* is in the Indian *Peninsula* within *Ganges*, and not beyond it. Its principal produce is rice, which is one of the principal instruments made use of by the rich Jesuits in the conversion of the poor Indians.

and

and even luxurious use of the creatures, have their tables delicately served, and their cellars exquisitely furnished, in order to refresh themselves after their labours.

VIII. The knowledge of Christianity was first conveyed to the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Tong-king*, and *Kochinchina* by a mission of Jesuits under the direction of ALEXANDER of RHODES, a native of *Avignon* [n], whose instructions were received, with uncommon docility, by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of these countries. An account of the success of this spiritual expedition, being brought to ALEXANDER VII, in the year 1658, determined that pontif to commit this new church to the inspection and government of a certain number of bishops, and chose for this purpose some French priests, out of the *congregation of foreign missions*, to carry his orders to the rising community, and to rule over it as his representatives and vice gerents. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors, and scarcely an equal, treated these pious men with the greatest indignity, loaded them with injuries and reproaches, and would not permit them to share their labours, nor to partake of their glory [o]. Hence arose in the court of *Rome*, a long and

In the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Tonquin*, &c.

[n]* See the *Writings* of ALEXANDER DE RHODES, who was undoubtedly a man of sense and spirit, and more especially his *Travels*, which were published in 4to at *Paris*, in the years 1666 and 1682.

[o] There were several Pamphlets and Memorials published at *Paris*, in the years 1666, 1674, and 1681, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-labourers in the conversion of the Indians, relate, in an eloquent and affecting strain, the injuries they had received from that jealous and ambitious Order. The most ample and accurate narration of that kind was published at *Paris*, in the year 1688, by FRANCIS PALLU, whom the pope had created bishop of *Heliopolis*. The same matter is largely treated in the *Gallia Christiana* of the learned Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027, and a concise account of it is also given by URBAN CERRI, in his *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 199. This latter author, though a secretary of the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, yet inveighs with a just severity and

and tedious contest, which served to shew, in the plainest manner, that the Jesuits were ready enough to make use of the authority of the pope, when it was necessary to promote their interests, or to extend their influence and dominion; but that they did not hesitate, on the other hand, to treat the same authority with indifference and contempt in all cases, where it appeared in opposition to their private views, and personal interests. After this, LEWIS XIV. sent a solemn embassy [*p*], in the year 1684, to the king of

and a generous warmth against the perfidy, cruelty, and ambition of the Jesuits, and laments it as a most unhappy thing, that the *Congregation*, now mentioned, has not power enough to set limits to the rapacity and tyranny of that arrogant society. He further observes, towards the end of his *Narrative*, which is addressed to the pope, that he was not at liberty to reveal all the abominations, which the Jesuits had committed during the course of this contest, but, by the order of his Holiness, was obliged to pass them over in silence. His words are *Votre sainteté a ordonné qu'elles demeurassent sous le secret*.—See also on this subject, HELYOT *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 84.

[(*p*)] The French bishops of *Heliopolis*, *Berytus*, and *Metellopolis*, that had been sent into *India* about the year 1663, had prepared the way for this embassy, and by an account of the favourable dispositions of the monarch then reigning at *Siam*, had encouraged the French king to make a new attempt for the establishment of Christianity in these distant regions. A fixed residence had been formed at *Siam* for the French missionaries, together with a seminary for instructing the youth in the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had, all, settlements, or *camps*, as they are called, at the capital. A church was also erected there by the king's permission, in the year 1667, and that prince proposed several questions to the missionaries, which seemed to discover a propensity to inform himself concerning their religion. The bishop of *Heliopolis*, who had gone back to *Europe* on the affairs of the mission, returned to *Siam* in the year 1673, with letters from LEWIS XIV. and Pope CLEMENT IX, accompanied with rich presents, to thank his Siamese majesty for the favours bestowed on the French bishops. In a private audience to which he was admitted, he explained, in answer to a question proposed to him by the king of *Siam*, the motive that had engaged the French bishops to cross so many seas, and the French king to send his subjects to countries so far from home, observing that *a strong desire in his prince, to extend the kingdom of the true God, was the sole reason of their voyage*. Upon this, we are told, that the king of

of *Siam*, whose prime minister, at that time, was ^{CENT.} a Greek Christian named CONSTANTINE FAULKON, a ^{XVII.} man of an artful, ambitious, and enterprizing spirit. The design of this embassy was to engage the Pagan prince to embrace Christianity, and to permit the propagation of the Gospel in his dominions. The ambassadors were attended by a great retinue of priests and Jesuits, some of whom were well acquainted with those branches of science, that were agreeable to the taste of the king of *Siam*. It was only, however, among a small part of the people, that the labours of these missionaries were crowned with any degree of success; for the monarch himself and the great men of his kingdom remained unmoved by their exhortations, and deaf to their instructions [q]. The king, indeed, though he chose to

of *Siam* offered a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built to the honour of LEWIS THE GREAT, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside, and declared afterwards in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all his subjects at liberty to embrace the Romish faith.—All this raised the hopes of the missionaries to a very high pitch, but the expectations they derived from thence of converting the king himself were entirely groundless, as may be seen from a very remarkable declaration of that monarch in the following note. See the *Relations des Missions et des Voyages des Eveques Francois*, passim.]

[(q) When Monsieur DE CHAUMONT, who was charged with this famous embassy, arrived at *Siam*, he presented a long memorial to the monarch of that country, intimating how solicitous the king of *France* was to have his *Siamese* majesty of the same religion with himself. CHAW NARAYA, (for so was the latter named) who seems to have always deceived the French by encouraging words, which administered hopes that he never intended to accomplish, answered this memorial in a very acute and artful manner. After asking who had made the king of *France* believe that he entertained any such sentiments, he desired his minister FAULKON to tell the French ambassador, “ That he left it to his most Christian majesty to judge, whether
“ the change of a religion that had been followed in his dominions
“ without interruption for 2229 years, could be a matter of small importance to him, or a demand with which it was easy to comply;—
“ that, besides, he was much surprized to find the king of *France* concern himself so zealously and so warmly in a matter, which related
“ to

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to persevere in the religion of his ancestors, yet discovered a spirit of condescension and toleration towards the conductors of this mission, and his favourite CONSTANTINE had secretly invited the French to *Siam* to support him in his authority, which was beheld with an envious eye by several of the grantees. So that as long as this prince and his minister lived the French still retained some hopes of accomplishing their purpose, and of converting the inhabitants of *Siam* to their faith. But these hopes entirely vanished in the year 1688, when, in a popular sedition, excited and fomented by some prince of the blood, both king and minister were put to death [r]; and then the missionaries returned home.

“ to *God* and not to *him*, and in which, though it related to *God*, the Deity did not seem to meddle at all, but left it entirely to human discretion.” The king asked at the same time, “ Whether the true *God*, that created heaven and earth, and had bestowed on mankind such different natures and inclinations, could not, when he gave to men the same bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, inspired them with the same religious sentiments, and have made all nations live and die in the same laws ?” He added, “ That since order among men, and unity in religion, depend absolutely on divine providence, who could as easily introduce them into the world as that diversity of sects that prevails in it, it is natural to conclude from thence, that the true *God* takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different modes of religion and worship, as to be glorified by a prodigious number of different creatures, who praise him, every one in his own way.” He moreover asked, “ Whether that beauty and variety, which we admire in the order of nature, be less admirable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming in the wisdom of *God* ?—However that be, (continued the king of *Siam*) since we know that *God* is the absolute master of the world, and that we are persuaded nothing comes to pass contrary to his will, I resign my person and dominions into the arms of his providence, and beseech his eternal wisdom to dispose thereof according to his good will and pleasure.” See TACHARD, *Prem. Voyage de Siam*, p. 218. as also the *Journal of the Abbe CHOISI*, who was employed in that embassy.

[r] An account of this embassy, and of the transactions of both ambassadors and missionaries is given by TACHARD, CHAUMONT, and LA LOUBERT. The relations, however, of the author last mentioned, who was a man of learning and candour, deserve undoubtedly the preference.

IX. *China*

IX. *China*, the most extensive and opulent of all ^{CENT.} the Asiatic kingdoms, could not but appear to the ^{XVII.} missionaries and their constituents an object worthy ^{In China.} of their pious zeal and ghostly ambition. And, accordingly a numerous tribe of *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Capuchins* set out, about the commencement of this century, with a view to enlighten that immense region with the knowledge of the Gospel. All these, however they differ in other matters, agree in proclaiming the astonishing success of their ministerial labours. It is, nevertheless certain, that the principal honour of these religious exploits belongs to the *Jesuits*, who, with a peculiar degree of dexterity and address, removed the obstacles that were the most adapted to retard the progress of Christianity among a people, whose natural acuteness and pride were accompanied with a superstitious attachment to the religion and manners of their ancestors. These artful missionaries studied the temper, character, taste, inclinations, and prejudices of the Chinese with incredible attention; and, perceiving that their natural sagacity was attended with an ardent desire of improvement in knowledge, and that they took the highest pleasure in the study of the arts and sciences, and more especially in the mathematics, they lost no occasion of sending for such members of their Order, as, besides their knowledge of mankind and prudence in transacting business, were also masters of the different branches of learning and philosophy. Some of these learned *Jesuits* acquired, in a very short space of time, such a high degree of credit and influence by their sagacity and eloquence, the insinuating sweetness and facility of their manners, and their surprising dexterity and skill in all kinds of transactions and affairs, that they came, at length, to the knowledge of the emperor, were loaded by him with the most honourable marks of distinction, and were employed in the most secret and important deliberations and affairs of the cabinet.

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net. Under the auspicious protection of such powerful patrons the other missionaries, though of a lower rank and of inferior talents, were delivered from all apprehension of danger in the exercise of their ministry, and thus encouraged to exert themselves with spirit, vigour, and perseverance in the propagation of the Gospel, in all the provinces of that mighty empire.

The progress of
Christianity
in China.

X. This promising aspect of things was clouded for some time, when XUN-CHI, the first Chinese emperor of the Mogol race, died and left a son under age, as his only heir. The grandees of the empire, to whose tuition and care this young prince was committed, had long entertained an aversion to Christianity, and only sought for a convenient occasion of venting their rage and malignity against it. This occasion was now offered and greedily embraced. The guardians of the young prince abused his power to execute their vindictive purposes, and, after using their utmost efforts to extirpate Christianity, wherever it was professed, they persecuted its patrons, more especially the Jesuits, with great bitterness, deprived them of all the honours and advantages they had enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost barbarity and injustice. JOHN ADAM SCHAAL, their chief, whose advanced age and extensive knowledge, together with the honourable place he held at court, seemed to demand some marks of exemption from the calamities that pursued his brethren, was thrown into prison, and condemned to death, while the other missionaries were sent into exile. These dismal scenes of persecution were exhibited in the year 1664; but about five years after this gloomy period, when KANG-HI assumed the reins of government, a new face of things appeared. The Christian cause and the labours of its ministers not only resumed their former credit and vigour, but, in process of time, gained ground, and received such distinguished marks of protection from the throne, that the Jesuits usually date from this period the commencement of the golden

en age of Christianity in *China*. The new emperor, ^{CENT} XVII. whose noble and generous spirit [s] was equal to the uncommon extent of his genius, and to his ardent curiosity in the investigation of truth, began his reign by recalling the Jesuits to his court, and restoring them to the credit and influence which they had formerly enjoyed. But his generosity and munificence did not stop here: for he sent to *Europe* for a still greater number of the members of that Order, such of them particularly as were eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil negociations and transactions of the greatest importance. Others he chose for his private friends and counsellors, who were to assist him with their advice in various matters, and to direct his philosophical and mathematical studies. These private friends and counsellors were principally chosen from among the French Jesuits. Thus the Order was raised, in a little time, to the very summit of favour, and cloathed with a degree of authority and lustre to which it had not hitherto attained. In such a state of things, it is but natural to conclude, that the Christian religion would not want powerful patrons, nor its preachers be left destitute and unsupported. And accordingly a multitude of spiritual labourers from all parts of *Europe* repaired to *China*, allured by the prospect of a rich, abundant, and glorious harvest. And, indeed, the success of their ministry seemed to answer fully the extent of their expectations; since it is well known, that, with very little pains, and still less opposition,

[s] See JOACH. BOUVETI *Icon Regia Monarchæ Sinarum*, translated into Latin by the famous LEIBNITZ, and published, in the year 1699, in the second part of his *Novissima Sinica*. See also DU HALDE's *Description de la Chine*, and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. in which the Jesuits give an account of the success of their missions. In these productions the virtues and talents of this emperor, which seem, indeed, to be universally acknowledged, are described and celebrated with peculiar encomiums.

they

C E N T. they made a prodigious number of converts to the pro-
 XVII. fession of the Gospel. The triumph of Christianity seemed to be compleat, when, in the year 1692, the emperor, from an excessive attachment to the Jesuits, issued out that remarkable edict, by which he declared, that the Christian religion was in no wise detrimental to the safety or interests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended, and by which also he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience and a full permission to embrace the Gospel. This triumph was still further confirmed, when the same prince, in the year 1700, ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits within the precincts of the imperial palace [1].

The Jesuits
 accused of
 fraudulent
 practices.

XI. This surprising success of the Christian cause, was undoubtedly owing to the dexterity and perseverance of the Jesuits, as even the greatest enemies of that artful Order are obliged to acknowledge. But it is quite another question, whether this success was obtained by methods agreeable to the dictates of reason and conscience, and consistent with the dignity and genius of the Christian religion. This latter point has been long debated with great animosity and vehemence, on both sides; and the contention is not yet ended. The adversaries of the Jesuits, whose opposition is as keen, as their numbers are formidable, and more especially the Jansenists and Dominicans, assert boldly, that the success above-mentioned was obtained by the most odious frauds, nay even, in many cases, by the most detestable crimes. They charge the Jesuits with having

given

[1] There is a concise, but interesting account of these revolutions given by DU HALDE, in his *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 128. and by the Jesuit FONTANEY, in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. viii. p. 176.—They are related in a more diffuse and ample manner by other writers. See SUAREZ, *De libertate Religionem Christianam apud Sinas propagandi narratio*, published, in the year 1698, by LEIBNITZ, in the first part of his *Novissima Sinica*. The other authors, who have treated this branch of history, are mentioned by FABRICIUS in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorians*, cap. xxxix. p. 663. See also an *Ecclesiastical History of China*, which I published in German in the year 1748.

given a false exposition, and a spurious account of the ancient religion of the Chinese, and with having endeavoured to persuade the emperor and the Chinese nobility, that the primitive theology of their nation, and the doctrine of their great instructor and philosopher CONFUCIUS, differed almost in nothing from the doctrine of the Gospel. They are further charged with having invented a variety of historical fictions in order to persuade the Chinese (who are vehemently attached to whatever carries the air of a remote antiquity) that JESUS CHRIST had been known and worshipped in their nation many ages ago; and these fictions are supposed to have prejudiced the emperor in favour of Christianity, and to have engaged certain grandees of the kingdom not only to grant their protection and favour to the Jesuits, but even to become members of their society. Nor do the accusations brought against the disciples of LOYOLA end here; for they are said to have entirely lost sight of all the duties and obligations, that are incumbent upon the ministers of CHRIST, and the heralds of a spiritual kingdom, by not only accepting of worldly honours and places of civil authority and power, but even aspiring after them with all the ardor of an insatiable ambition, by boasting, with an arrogant vanity, of the protection and munificence of the emperor, by deserting the simplicity of a frugal and humble appearance, and indulging themselves in all circumstances of external pomp and splendour, such as costly garments, numerous retinues, luxurious tables, and magnificent houses. To all which it is added, that they employed much more zeal and industry in the advancement of human science, especially the mathematics, than in promoting Christian knowledge and virtue; and that they even went so far as to meddle in military matters, and to concern themselves both personally and by their counsels in the bloody scenes of war. While these heavy crimes are laid to the charge of those Jesuits, who by their capacity and talents had been raised to a high degree of credit in the empire, the more obscure members

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members of that same Order, who were appointed more immediately to instruct the Chinese in the truths of the Gospel, are far from being considered as blameless. They are accused of spending in the practice of usury and in various kinds of traffic the precious moments which ought to have been consecrated to the functions of their ministry, and of using low and dishonourable methods of advancing their fortunes, and insinuating themselves into the favour of the multitude. The Jesuits acknowledge, that a part of these accusations are founded upon facts; but they give a specious colour to those facts, and use all their artifice and eloquence to justify what they cannot deny. Other articles of these complaints they treat as groundless, and as the fictions of calumny, that are invented with no other design, than to cast a reproach upon their Order. An impartial inquirer into these matters will, perhaps, find, that if, in several points, the Jesuits defend themselves in a very weak and unsatisfactory manner, there are others in which their misconduct seems to have been exaggerated, by envy and prejudice, in the complaints of their adversaries.

An account
of the prin-
cipal charge
brought a-
gainst the
Jesuits.

XII. The grand accusation that is brought against the Jesuits in *China*, is this: that they make an impious mixture of light and darkness, of Chinese superstition and Christian truth, in order to triumph with the greater speed and facility over the prejudices of that people against the doctrine of the Gospel, and that they allow their converts to retain the profane customs and the absurd rites of their Pagan ancestors. Ricci, who was the founder of the Christian church in that famous monarchy, declared it as his opinion, that the greatest part of those rites, which the Chinese are obliged, by the laws of their country, to perform, might be innocently observed by the new converts. To render this opinion less shocking, he supported and explained it upon the following principle, that these rites were of a *civil*, and not of a *sacred* nature; that they were invented from views of policy, and not for any purposes of religion; and that

that none, but the very dregs of the populace in *Cbina*,^{C E N T. XVII.} considered them in any other light [*u*]. This opinion was not only rejected by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were associated with the Jesuits in this important mission, but also by some even of the most learned Jesuits both in *Cbina* and in *Japan*, and particularly by NICHOLAS LOMBARD, who published a memorial, containing the reasons upon which his dissent was founded [*w*]. This contest, which was long carried on in a private manner, was brought, by the Dominicans, before the tribunal of the pontif in the year 1645, and from that period continued to produce great divisions, commotions, and caballing in the church of *Rome*. INNOCENT X, in the year now mentioned, pronounced in favour of the Dominicans, and highly condemned the indulgence, which the Jesuits had shewn to the Chinese superstitions. But, about eleven years after, this sentence, though not formerly reversed, was nevertheless virtually annulled by ALEXANDER VII, at the instigation of the Jesuits, who persuaded that pontif to allow the Chinese converts the liberty of performing several of the rites to which they had been accustomed, and for which they had discovered a peculiar fondness. This, however, did not hinder the Dominicans from renewing their complaints in the year 1661, and again in 1674, under the pontificate of INNOCENT XI; though the power and credit of the Jesuits seemed to triumph over all their remonstrances. This fatal dispute, which had been suspended for several years in *Cbina*, broke out there again, in the year 1684, with greater violence than ever, and then the victory seemed to incline to the side of the Do-

[*u*] See MAMMACHII *Origin. et Antiquit. Christian.* tom ii. p. 373.

[*w*] See CHR. KORTHOLTI *Præfatio ad Volumen II. Epistolar. Leibnitii*. § vi. p. 18. who has likewise subjoined to this work the pieces composed against the Jesuits by LOMBARD and ANTHONY DE S. MARIA, with the remarks of LEIBNITZ. There is also inserted in this same collection (p. 413.) an ample dissertation on the Chinese philosophy, drawn up by LEIBNITZ, who pleads therein the cause of the Jesuits.

C E N T. minicans in consequence of a decision pronounced, in
 XVII. the year 1693, by CHARLES MAIGROT, a doctor
 of the Sorbonne, who acted as the delegate or vicar
 of the Roman pontif in the province of *Fokien*, and
 who was, afterwards, consecrated titular bishop. This
 ecclesiastic, by a public edict, declared the opini-
 ons and practices of the Jesuits, in relation to the
 affairs of the Chinese mission, absolutely inconsistent
 with the purity and simplicity of the Christian religion.
 But the pope, to whose supreme cognizance and deci-
 sion MAIGROT had submitted this important edict,
 refused to come to a determination on either side,
 before the matter, in debate, had been carefully
 examined, and the reasons of the contending parties
 weighed with the utmost attention; and, therefore,
 in the year 1699, he appointed a congregation of
 chosen doctors to examine and decide this tedious
 controversy. This resolution of the Roman pontif
 was no sooner made public, than all the enemies of
 the Jesuits, in all quarters of the church of *Rome*,
 and more especially those who wished ill to the Or-
 der in *France*, came forth with their complaints,
 their accusations, and invectives, and loaded the
 transactions and reputation of the whole society with
 the most bitter reproaches. The Jesuits, on the
 other hand, were neither silent, nor inactive. They
 attacked their adversaries with vigour, and defended
 themselves with dexterity and spirit [*].— But the con-
 clusion of this critical and momentous contest belongs
 to the history of the following century.

The subject
 of the dis-
 pute be-
 tween the
 Chinese mis-
 sionaries re-
 ducible to
 two great
 points :
 First point.

XIII. If in considering this controversy, which em-
 ployed the ablest pens of the Romish church, we con-
 fine our attention to the merits of the cause, (pass-

[*] DU HALDE, *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 142.—See the
 enumeration of other writers, on the same subject, given by FABRI-
 CIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorients*, cap. xxxix. p. 665.—See
 also VOLTAIRE, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 318.—But the most
 ingenious patron of the Jesuits, on this occasion, was Father DANIEL,
 himself a member of that famous Order: see his *Histoire Apologetique
 de la Conduite des Jesuites de la Chine*, in the third volume of his *Opus-
 cules*, p. 1.

ing

ing over what personally concerns the Jesuits, with ^{CENT.} some other questions of a minute and incidental ^{XVII.} kind) it will appear, that the whole dispute turns essentially upon two great points; the one relating to the *Chinese notion* of the *supreme Being*; and the other to the *nature* of those honours, which that people offered to *certain persons deceased*.

As to the first of these points, it is to be observed that the Chinese call the supreme object of their religious worship TIEN and SHANG-TI, which, in their language, signify the *Heavens*, and that the Jesuits employ the same terms when they speak of the true God, who is adored by the Christians. From hence it is inferred, that they make no sort of distinction between the supreme God of the Chinese, and the infinitely perfect Deity of the Christians, or (to express the same thing in other words) that they imagine the Chinese entertain the same notions concerning their TIEN or *Heaven*, that the Christians do concerning the God they adore. The question then relative to this first point is properly, as follows:

“ Do the Chinese understand by the denominations
 “ abovementioned the *visible and material Heavens*; or
 “ are these terms, on the contrary, employed by them
 “ to represent the *Lord of these Heavens*, i. e. an eternal
 “ and all perfect Being who presides over universal
 “ nature, and, from heaven, the immediate residence of his glory, governs all things with unerring wisdom?” or to express this question in fewer words,
 “ Do the Chinese mean by their TIEN, such a Deity as the Christians adore?” This question the Jesuits answer in the affirmative. They maintain, that the ancient Chinese philosophers, who had an accurate knowledge of the great principles of natural religion, represented the supreme Being, almost, under the very same characters that are attributed to him by Christians; and hence they not only allow their Chinese disciples to employ the terms, already mentioned, in their prayers to the Deity and in their religious discourse, but even use these terms, themselves,

CENT. selves, when they pronounce the name of God in
XVII. their public instructions, or in private conversation.

The adversaries of the Jesuits maintain the negative of this question, regard the ancient philosophy of the Chinese as an impure source of blasphemy and impiety, and affirm, that it confounded the Divine Nature with that of the universe. They assert further, that the famous CONFUCIUS, whose name and writings are held in such veneration by the people of *China*, was totally ignorant of divine truth, destitute of religious principle, and traced the origin of all things that exist from an *internal* and *inevitable necessity*. This contest, concerning the first point that divided the Chinese missionaries, produced a multitude of learned dissertations on the manners, laws, and opinions of the ancient inhabitants of *China*, and gave rise to several curious discoveries. But all these were insufficient to serve the chief purpose they were designed to accomplish, since they were far from giving a satisfactory and clear decision of the matter in debate. It still remained a question, which were most to be believed? the Jesuits or their adversaries? and the impartial inquirer, after long examination, thought it prudent to trust entirely to neither; since if it appeared, on the one hand, that the TIEN or supreme God of the Chinese was much inferior, in perfection and excellence, to the God of the Christians, it was equally evident, on the other, that this Chinese Deity was looked upon by his worshippers, as entirely distinct from the material AETHER and the visible Heavens.

Second
point.

XIV. As to the other great point in dispute, it must be previously observed, that the ancient laws of *China* oblige the natives of that vast region to perform, annually, at a stated time, in honour of their ancestors certain rites, which seem to be of a religious nature. It is to be observed further, that it is a custom among the learned to pay, likewise at stated times, to the memory of CONFUCIUS, whom the Chinese consider as the oracle of all wisdom and knowledge, certain marks of veneration, that have undoubtedly

undoubtedly a religious aspect, and that are, more-^{CENT.}
 over, performed in a kind of temples, erected to ^{XVII.}
 that great and illustrious philosopher. Hence then
 ariseth a second question, which is thus proposed;
 "Are those honours, the Chinese, in general, pay
 "to the memory of their ancestors, and which
 "the learned in particular, offer at the shrine of
 "CONFUCIUS, of a *civil* or *sacred* nature? are they to
 "be considered as *religious offerings*, or are they no
 "more than *political institutions* designed to promote
 "some public good?" The Jesuits affirm, that the
 ancient Chinese lawgivers established these rites with
 no other view than to keep the people in order,
 and to maintain the tranquility of the state; and
 that the Chinese did not pay any religious worship
 either to the memory of CONFUCIUS, or to the depart-
 ed souls of their ancestors, but only declared, by
 the performance of certain rites, their gratitude
 and respect to both, and their solemn resolution to
 imitate their virtues and follow their illustrious ex-
 amples. From hence these missionaries conclude,
 that the Chinese converts to Christianity might be
 permitted to perform these ceremonies according to
 the ancient custom of their country, provided they
 understood their true nature, and kept always in
 remembrance the political views with which they
 were instituted, and the civil purposes they were
 designed to serve. By this specious account of things
 the conduct of the Jesuits is, in some measure, jus-
 tified. But let this representation be true or false,
 it will still remain evident, that in order to render
 the Christian cause triumphant in *China*, some such
 concessions and accommodations as those of the Jesuits
 seem almost absolutely necessary; and they who desire the
end, must submit to the use of the *means* [y]. The neces-

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sity

[(y) True: if the *means* be not either criminal in themselves, per-
 nicious in their consequences, or of such a nature as to defeat, in a
 great measure, the benefits and advantages proposed by the *end*.
 And it is a very nice and momentous question, whether the conces-
 sions

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sity of these concessions arises from this remarkable circumstance, that by a solemn law, of ancient date, it is positively declared, that no man should be esteemed a good citizen, or be looked upon as qualified to hold any public office in the state, who neglects the observance of the rites and ceremonies now under consideration. On the other hand, the Dominicans and the other adversaries of the Jesuits maintain, that the rites, in question, form an important branch of the Chinese religion; that the honours paid by the Chinese to CONFUCIUS, and to the souls of their ancestors are not of a civil, but a religious nature [z]; consequently,

sions pleaded for, in behalf of the Chinese converts, by the Jesuits, are not to be ranked among the means here characterised. See the following note.]

[(z) The public honours paid to CONFUCIUS twice a year, used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple, that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of *Tablet*, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription: *The Throne of the Soul of the most Holy, and the most excellent Chief-teacher CONFUCIUS*. The literati or learned celebrate this famous festival in the following manner. The chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, sub-deacons, and so on. A certain sacrifice, called *Ci*, which consists of wine, blood, fruits, &c. is offered, after the worshippers have prepared themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the *inscription*, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, repeat a great variety of prayers; after which, the priest, taking, in one hand, a cup of wine, and in the other, a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased, and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families, in honour of their deceased parents, are pretty much of the same nature.

Now in order to know, with certainty, whether this festival and these rites be of a *civil* or *religious* nature, we have only to inquire, whether they be the same with those ceremonies that are performed, by the Chinese, in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial *spirits* or *genii*, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned LEIBNITZ * undertook to affirm, that the services, now mentioned, were not of the same kind, and, consequently, that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear

* See *Præf. Novissim. Sinicæ*,
to

ly, that all who perform these rites are chargeable with insulting the majesty of God, to whom alone all divine worship is due, and cannot be looked upon as true Christians. This account of matters is so specious and so probable, and the consequences deducible from it are so natural and just, that the more equitable and impartial among the Jesuits have acknowledged the difficulties that attend the cause they maintain, and taking, at length, refuge in the plea of necessity, alledge, that certain evils and inconveniencies may be lawfully submitted to, when they are requisite in order to the attainment of extensive, important, and salutary purposes.

XV. The ministerial labours of the Romish missionaries, and, more especially, of the Jesuits, were crowned in *Japan*, with surprizing success towards the commencement of this century, and made an incredible number of converts to the Christian religion [a]. But this prosperous and flourishing state

The state of
Christianity
in *Japan*.

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of

to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention. For it is evident, from a multitude of relations every way worthy of credit, and, particularly, from the observations made on the Chinese missions by that learned and candid Franciscan, ANTONIO DE S. MARIA †, not only that CONFUCIUS was worshipped among the *idols* and the *celestial and terrestrial spirits* of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies, observed in honour of him, were perfectly the same with those that were performed as acts of worship to these *idols* and *spirits*. Those that desire a more ample account of this matter, may consult the following authors: BUDÆI *Annal. Histor. Philos.* p. 287. where he treats *De Superstitioso Demortuorum apud Sinenses cultu*.—WOLFII *Not. ad Casaubon.* p. 342.—NIC. CHARMOS, *Annot. ad Maigrotti Historiam cultus Sinensis*—But more especially ARNAUD, *Morale Pratique des Jesuits*, tom. iii. vi. vii. and a collection of historical relations published at *Cologne* in 8vo in the year 1700, under the following title: *Historia cultus Sinensium, seu Varia Scripta de cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos, & P. P. S. J. controversis.*]

[(a) Two peculiar circumstances contributed to facilitate the progress of the Romish religion in *Japan*. The first was the uncharitable severity and cruelty of the Japanese priests or *bonzas* towards the sick and indigent, compared with the humanity, zeal, and beneficence of the missionaries. These *bonzas* represented the poor and infirm, not

as

† See vol. ii. *Epp. Leibnitz.*

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of the church was somewhat interrupted by the prejudices, that the priests and grandees of the kingdom had conceived against the new religion, prejudices, which proved fatal, in many places, both to those who embraced it, and those who taught it. The cause of Christianity did not, however, suffer only from the virulence and malignity of its enemies; it was wounded in the house of its friends, and received, no doubt, some detriment from the intestine quarrels and contentions of those, to whom the care of the rising church was committed. For the same scenes of fraternal discord, that had given such offence in the other Indian provinces, were renewed in *Japan* where the *Domnicans*, *Fran-*

as objects of pity, but as wretches loaded with the displeasure of the Gods, and abandoned to present and future misery, by the judgments of heaven, and inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them. The Christian religion, therefore, which declares that poverty and afflictions are, often, surer marks of the divine favour than grandeur and prosperity, and that the transitory evils, which the righteous endure here, shall be crowned with everlasting glory and felicity hereafter, was every way proper to comfort this unhappy class of persons, and could not but meet with a most favourable reception among them. Add to this, that the missionaries were constantly employed in providing them with food, physic, and habitations. A second circumstance that was advantageous to Christianity (that is, to such a form of Christianity as the popish missionaries preached in *Japan*) was a certain resemblance or analogy between it and some practices and sentiments that prevailed among the Japanese. These Indians look for present and future felicity only through the merits of *Xaca Amida*, and other of their Deities, who, after a long course of severe mortifications, freely undertaken, had voluntarily, also, put an end to their lives. They sainted many melancholy persons, who had been guilty of suicide, celebrated their memories, and implored their intercession and good offices. They used processions, statues, candles, and perfumes in their worship, as also prayers for the dead and auricular confession, and had monasteries founded for certain devout persons of both sexes, who lived in celibacy, solitude, and abstinence. So that the Japanese religion was no bad preparation for popery. Besides these two circumstances, another may be mentioned, which we take from the Letters of the Jesuits themselves, who inform us, that the Maritime princes of *Japan* were so fond of this new commerce with the Portuguese, that they strove who should oblige them most, and encourage the missionaries, less perhaps from a principle of zeal, than from views of interest. See VARENIUS, *Descript. Japon.* lib. iii. cap. vi. x. *Modern Univ. History*, vol. ix. p. 24. edit. 8vo.]

ciscans,

ciscans, and, *Augustinians* were at perpetual variance CENT.
XVII. with the *Jesuits*. This variance produced, on both sides, the heaviest accusations, and the most bitter reproaches. The *Jesuits* were charged, by the missionaries of the three Orders now mentioned, with insatiable avarice, with shewing an excessive indulgence both to the vices and superstitions of the Japanese, with crafty and low practices unworthy of the ministers of CHRIST, with an ambitious thirst after authority and dominion, and other misdemeanours of a like nature. These accusations were not only exhibited at the court of *Rome*, but were spread abroad in every part of *Christendom*. The disciples of *LOYOLA* were, by no means, silent under these reproaches; but, in their turn charged, their accusers with imprudence, ignorance of the world, obstinacy, asperity of manners, and a disgusting rusticity in their way of living, adding, that these circumstances rendered their ministry rather detrimental, than advantageous to the cause of Christianity among a people remarkable for their penetration, generosity, and magnificence. Such then were the contests that arose among the missionaries in *Japan*; and nothing, but the amazing progress that Christianity had already made, and the immense multitude of those that had embraced it, could have prevented these contests from being fatal to its interests. As the case stood, neither the cause of the Gospel, nor its numerous professors received any essential damage from these divisions; and if no other circumstance had intervened to stop its progress, an expedient might have probably been found out, either to heal these divisions, or, at least, to appease them so far as to prevent their noxious and fatal consequences [b].

XVI. But a new and dreadful scene of opposition Its downfall
and extirpa-
tion there. arose, in the year 1615, to blast the hopes of those who wished well to the cause of Christianity in *Japan*. For, in that year, the emperor issued out

[b] See the writers on this subject enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorians*, p. 678. as also CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire du Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xi. p. 57.

against

against the professors and ministers of that divine religion, a persecuting edict, which was executed with a degree of barbarity, unparalleled in the annals of the Christian history. This cruel persecution raged, during the space of many years, with unrelenting fury, and only ended with the total extinction of Christianity throughout that mighty empire. That religion, which had been suffered to make such rapid and triumphant progress in *Japan*, was, at length, considered, as detrimental to the interests of the monarchy, inconsistent with the good of the people, derogatory from the majesty of their high priest, whom they revered as a person descended from the Gods, and, on these accounts, was judged unworthy not only of protection, but even of toleration. This judgment was followed with the fatal Order, by which all foreigners, that were Christians, and, more especially, the Spanish and Portuguese were commanded to depart the kingdom, and the natives, who had embraced the Gospel, to renounce the name and doctrine of CHRIST, on pain of death, presented to them in the most dreadful forms. This tremendous Order was the signal for the perpetration of such horrors, as the most sanguine and atrocious imagination will scarcely be able to conceive. Innumerable multitudes of the Japanese Christians of each sex, and of all ages, ranks, and stations expired, with magnanimous constancy, amidst the most dreadful torments, rather than apostatize from the faith they had embraced, And here it may not be amiss to observe, that both the Jesuits and their adversaries in the missions, expiated, in some measure, if I may so express myself, by the agonies they endured and the fortitude with which they suffered, the faults they had committed in the exercise of their ministry. For it is well known, that the greatest part of them died magnanimously for the cause of CHRIST, by the hands of the executioner, and that some of them even expired with triumphant feelings of satisfaction and joy.

Historians

Historians are not entirely agreed with respect to the real causes of this merciless persecution. The Jesuits consider it, as owing, in part, to the imprudence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; while these latter impute it, in a great measure, to the covetous, arrogant, and factious spirit of the Jesuits [c]. Both parties accuse the English and Dutch of having excited, in the emperor of Japan, a strong prejudice against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and the Roman pontif, to the end that they, alone, might engross the commerce of that vast monarchy, and be unrivalled in their credit among that powerful people. The English and Dutch alledge, on the other hand, that they never attempted to undermine, by any false accusations, the credit of the Roman Catholics, in that kingdom, but only detected the perfidious plots the Spaniards had laid against it. Almost all the Historians, who have given accounts of this country, unanimously inform us, that certain letters, intercepted by the Dutch, and other circumstances of a very striking and alarming kind, had persuaded the emperor that the Jesuits, as also the other missionaries, had formed seditious designs against his government, and that they aimed at nothing less than exciting their numerous disciples to rebellion, with a view to reduce the kingdom

[c] There is a concise and sensible account of this tedious dispute in the sixth *Discourse* that is subjoined to the English edition of KAEMPFER's *History of Japan*, § iv. p. 64. 75.—But it will also be proper to see what is said, on the other side, by an author, who, in his long and circumstantial narration, has not omitted any incident, however minute, that tends, in the least, to disculpate the Jesuits, or to procure them indulgence; that author is CHARLEVOIX; see his *Histoire Generale de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xii. p. 136. The other historians that may be consulted, with utility, on this subject, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. x. p. 678. Add to these the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Mens. Februar.* p. 723. where there is not only a history of the commencement and progress of Christianity in Japan, but also an account of the lives and martyrdom of those, who first suffered for the cause of the Gospel in that kingdom. See likewise MAMMACHI *Origines et Antiquitat. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 376.

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of Japan under the dominion of Spain [d]. A discovery of this nature could not but make the most dreadful impressions upon a prince naturally suspicious and cruel, such as the emperor, then reigning, was; and indeed so it happened; for the moment he received this information, he concluded with equal precipitation and violence, that he could not sit secure on his throne, while the smallest spark of Christianity remained unextinguished in his dominions, or any of its professors breathed under his government. It is from this remarkable period, that we must date the severe edict by which all Europeans are forbidden to approach the Japanese dominions, and in consequence of which all the terrors of fire and sword are employed to destroy whatever carries the remotest aspect, or shadow of the Christian doctrine. The only exception to this universal law is made in favour of an handful of Dutch merchants, who are allowed to import, annually, a certain quantity of European commodities, and have a factory, or rather a kind of prison, allowed them in one of the extremities of the kingdom, where they are strictly watched and rigorously confined from all communication with the natives, but what is essentially necessary to the commerce they are permitted to carry on.

Protestant
missions in
Asia.

XVII. The example of the Roman-Catholic states could not but excite a spirit of pious emulation in protestant countries, and induce them to propagate a still purer form of Christianity among those unhappy nations that lay groveling in the darkness of paganism and idolatry. Accordingly, the Lutherans were, on several occasions, solicited by persons of eminent merit and rank in their communion, to embark in this pious and generous undertaking.

[(d) The discoveries made by the Dutch were against the Portuguese, with whom they were then at war; so that instead of *Spain*, our author should have said *Portugal*. See KAEMPFER *loc. cit.* as also the *Universal Modern History*, vol. ix. p. 145. note (z) edit. 8vo.]

JUSTI-

JUSTINIAN ERNEST baron of WELS, distinguished himself by the zealous appearance he made in this good cause, having formed the plan of a society, that was to be entrusted with the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and that was to bear the name of JESUS, the divine founder of the religion they were to promote [e]. But several circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of this pious design, among which we may reckon, principally, the peculiar situation of the Lutheran princes, of whom very few have either territories, forts, or settlements beyond the limits of *Europe*.

This was, by no means, the case with the princes and states that professed the Reformed religion. The English and Dutch, more especially, whose ships covered the ocean, and sailed to the most distant corners of the globe, and who moreover, in this century, had sent colonies to *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, had abundant opportunities of spreading abroad the knowledge of Christianity among the unenlightened nations. Nor were these opportunities entirely neglected, or misimproved, notwithstanding the reports, that have generally prevailed, of their being much more zealous in engrossing the riches of the Indians than in bringing about their conversion; though it may, perhaps, be granted, that neither of these nations exerted themselves, to the extent of their power, in this salutary undertaking. In the year 1647, the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts was committed by an act of the English parliament to the care and inspection of a society composed of persons of eminent rank and merit. The civil wars that ensued suspended the execution of the plans that were laid for carrying on this salutary work. In the year 1661, under the reign of CHARLES II, the work was resumed, and the

[e] See MOLLER *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 75. as also a German work of the learned ARNOLD, entitled, *Kerchin und Ketzer Historie*, part. II. book xvii. c. xv. § 23, p. 1066. part. III. cap. xv. § 18. p. 150.

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society re-established. In the year 1701, this respectable society received singular marks of protection and favour from King WILLIAM III, who enriched it with new donations and privileges [f]. Since that period even to the present time it has been distinguished by ample marks of the munificence of the kings of *England*, and of the liberality of persons of all ranks and orders, and has been, and continues to be eminently useful in facilitating the means of instruction to the nations that lie in Pagan darkness, and, more especially, to the Americans. Nor are the laudable efforts of the United Provinces, in the advancement and propagation of Christian knowledge, to be passed over in silence; since they, also, are said to have converted to the Gospel a prodigious number of Indians in the Islands of *Ceylon* and *Formosa*, the coasts of *Malabar*, and other Asiatic settlements, which they either had acquired by their own industry, or obtained, by conquest, from the Portuguese [g]. Some historians, perhaps, may have exaggerated, in their relations, the numbers of proselytes made by the Dutch; it is, nevertheless, most certain, that as soon as that nation had got a sufficient footing in the *East-Indies*, they laid with wisdom, and executed, at a great expence, various schemes for instructing the natives of those distant regions in the doctrines of the Gospel [h].

The Afri-
can missions.

XVIII. The inward parts of *Africa* remain still in the darkness of Paganism, as they have been hitherto inaccessible to the most adventurous of the Europeans. But in the maritime provinces of that great *Peninsula*, and more especially in those, where the Portuguese have

[f] See KENNET'S *Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.

[g] See *Epist. de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Orientales ad Johan. Leusdenium scriptas et Ultrajecti*. 1699, in 8vo. editas.

[h] See BRAUN'S *Veritable Religion des Hollandois*, p. 71. 267, &c. This *Treatise*, which was published at *Amsterdam* in the year 1675, was designed as an answer to a malignant libel, of one STROUP, entitled, *La Religion des Hollandois*, in which that writer proposed to persuade the world that the Dutch had almost no religion at all.

have their settlements, there are several districts in ^{CENT.} which the religion of *Rome* has prevailed over the ^{XVII.} savage superstitions of that barbarous region. It is, nevertheless, acknowledged by the more ingenuous historians, even among the Roman-Catholics, who have given accounts of the African colonies, that of the proselytes made there to the Gospel, a very small number deserve the denomination of Christians; since the greatest part of them retain the abominable superstitions of their ancestors, and the very best among them dishonour their profession by various practices of a most vicious and corrupt nature. Be that as it may, whatever progress Christianity made in these parts must be chiefly attributed to the zealous labours of the Capuchin missionaries, who, in this century, suffered the most dreadful hardships and discouragements in their attempts to bring the fierce and savage Africans under the Christian yoke. These attempts succeeded so far as to gain over to the profession of the Gospel the kings of *Benin* and *Awerri* [i], and also to engage the cruel and intrepid ANNA ZINGHA, queen of *Metamba*, and all her subjects, to embrace, in the year 1652, the Christian faith [k]. The African missions were allotted to this austere Order by the court of *Rome*, and by the society *de propaganda fide*, for wise reasons; since none were so proper to undertake an enterprize attended with

[i] Called by some *Ouverne*,

[(k) For a more ample account of this Queen and her conversion Dr. MOSHEIM refers the reader (in his note [r]) to URBAN CERRI's *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 222. and to the third and fourth volumes of Father LABAT's *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*, in the former of which he tells us, there is a French translation of ANT. GAVAZZI's account of *Africa*. All these citations are inaccurate. CERRI makes no mention of ZINGHA nor of METAMBA; nor does LABAT, in any of the five volumes of his *Historical Relation*, here quoted; nor is GAVAZZI's account translated in that work.—In general it may be observed, that the missions in *Africa* were greatly neglected by the Portuguese, and that the few missionaries, sent thither, were men absolutely void of learning and destitute almost of every qualification that was necessary to the carrying on such an important undertaking. See LABAT's Preface to his *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*; as also the *Modern Universal History*, vol. xiv. p. 10, 11. edit. 8vo.]

such.

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such dreadful hardships, difficulties, and perils, as a sett of men, whose monastic institute had rendered familiar to them the severest acts of mortification, abstinence, and penance, and thus prepared them for the bitterest scenes of trial and adversity. The *Capuchins* also seem to have been, alone, honoured with this sacred, but arduous commission; nor does it appear, that the other Orders beheld, with the smallest sentiment of envy, their dear-bought glory.

The American
missions.

XIX. The extensive continent of *America* swarms with colonies from *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *France* [1], all which profess the Christian religion, as it has been disfigured by the church of *Rome*. But it is abundantly known, that these colonists, more especially the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, are the most worthless and profligate sett of men that bear the Christian name; and this fact is confirmed by the testimonies of several Roman-catholic writers of great merit and authority, who cannot be suspected of partiality in this matter. Nay the clergy, themselves, are not excepted in this general condemnation, but, as we learn from the same credible testimonies, surpass even the idolatrous natives in the ridiculous rites, which they perform in the worship of God, as well as in the licentiousness of their manners, and the enormity of the crimes they commit without reluctance. Those of the ancient inhabitants of *America*, who, either have submitted to the European yoke, or live near their colonies, have imbibed some faint knowledge of the *Romish* religion from the *Jesuits*, *Franciscans*, and other ecclesiastics; but these feeble rays of instruction are totally clouded by the gloomy suggestions of their native superstition, and the corrupt influence of their barbarous customs and manners. As to those *Indians*, who live more remote from the European settlements, and want

[1] See the authors mentioned by *FABRICIUS*, in his *Lux Evangelii orbem Terrarum collustrans*, cap. xlviii, xlix. p. 769.—There is a curious account of the state of the *Romish* religion, in that part of *America* which is possessed by the European Roman-catholics, in *URBAN CERRETI's Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine* p. 245.

der about in the woods without any fixed habitation, they are absolutely incapable either of receiving or retaining any adequate notions of the Christian doctrine, unless they be previously reclaimed from that vagrant manner of life, and civilized by an intercourse with persons, whose humane and insinuating manners are adapted to attract their love and excite their imitation. This the Jesuits and other ecclesiastics of different Orders in the church of *Rome*, who have been sent in later times to convert these wandering savages, have found by a constant and uniform experience [m]. Hence the former have erected cities, and founded civil societies, cemented by government and laws, like the European states, in several Indian provinces both in *South* and *North-America*; and it is on this account that they discharge the double functions of magistrates and doctors among these their new subjects and disciples, whose morals and sentiments, it is said, they endeavour to preserve pure and uncorrupted by permitting few or no Europeans to approach them [n]. These arduous and difficult attempts have furnished to the disciples of LOYOLA ample matter of boasting, and a lucky occasion of extolling the zeal, the dexterity and industry of their Order. But it has appeared from relations worthy of credit, that these exploits of the Jesuits, in the internal and more inaccessible provinces of *America*, are not so much carried on with a view to the propagation of Christianity, as with an intention to gratify their own insatiable avarice and boundless ambition. And, accordingly, they are reported to send yearly to the members of their Order, in *Europe*, immense quantities of gold drawn from several American provinces, where they have power

[m] A great variety of facts are alledged as a proof of this in the *Letters*, in which the French Jesuits give their Friends, in *Europe*, an account of the success and fruits of their mission, and which are regularly published at *Paris*.

[(n) That this was, by no means, the only nor even the principal reason of cutting off all communication between the Indians and Europeans, will appear evident from the contents of the following note.]

and property, but chiefly from *Paraguay*, which belongs to them alone [o].

XX. The cause of Christianity was promoted with more wisdom, and consequently with better success, in those parts of *America* where the English formed settlements

[o] While Father LABAT was at *Rome*, Father TAMBURINI, at that time general of the Jesuits, asked him several questions, relating to the progress of Christianity in *America*; to which, with equal courage and candour, he gave immediately this general answer, "that the gospel had made little or no real progress in that country; that he had never met with one adult person among the Americans, who could be esteemed a true proselyte to Christianity; and that the missionaries could scarcely pretend to any other exploits (*of a spiritual kind*) than the having baptized some children at the point of death *." He added, at the same time, "that in order to make the Americans Christians, it was previously necessary to make them men." This bold Dominican, who had been himself a missionary in the American islands, had a great mind to give TAMBURINI some seasonable advice concerning the immense wealth and authority, that the Jesuits had acquired in these parts of the world; but the cunning old man artfully eluded this part of the conversation, and turned it upon another subject. LABAT gave, upon another occasion, a still greater proof of his undaunted spirit and presence of mind; for when, in an audience granted him by CLEMENT XI, that pontif praised, in pompous terms, the industry and zeal of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in promoting the salvation of the Americans, and reproached the French with inactivity and indifference in a matter of such high importance, our resolute Dominican told him plainly, "that the Spaniards and Portuguese boasted of the success of their labours without any sort of foundation; since it was well known, that, instead of converts, they had only made hypocrites, all their disciples among the Indians having been forced, by the dread of punishment and the terrors of death, to embrace Christianity;" adding moreover, "that such as had received baptism continued as open and egregious idolaters as they had been before their profession of Christianity *." To this account we might add the relations of a whole cloud of witnesses, whose testimonies are, every way, worthy of credit, and who declare, unanimously, the same thing. See, among others, a remarkable piece, entitled, *Memoire touchant l'Etablissement considerable des Peres Jesuites dans les Indes d'Espagne*, which is subjoined to FREZIER's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 577. See also *Voyage aux Indes Occidentales*, par FRANC. COREAL, tom. ii. p. 67. 43. and MAMMACHIUS, *Orig. et Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 337. There is a par-

* See LABAT *Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. viii. p. 7.

† See LABAT *Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. viii. p. 12.

settlements during this century; and though it had the CENT. XVII. greatest ignorance, stupidity, and indolence to conquer, made, in a little time, a considerable progress. The English *Independants*, who retired to *America* on account of their dissension from the established religion of their country, claimed the honour of carrying thither the first rays of divine truth, and of beginning

ticular account of the Jesuits of *Paraguay* given by Don ULLOA, in his *Voyage d'Amerique*, tom. i. p. 540. but this account is partial in their favour. They are also zealously and artfully defended, in an account of the mission of *Paraguay*, published by MURATORI in the year 1743.—[When Dr. MOSHEIM wrote this note, the important discovery that placed the ambitious, despotic, and rebellious proceedings of the Jesuits in *Paraguay* in the plainest and most striking light, had not been yet made. The book of MURATORI, which was published at *Venice* in the year 1743, and re-published, in a French translation, at *Paris* in 1754, deceived, for some time, the over credulous, nay, induced even the enemies of the Jesuits to suspect that their conduct at *Paraguay* was not so criminal as it had been represented. So that, notwithstanding the accusations that had been brought against these missionaries by the writers mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM; notwithstanding a memorial sent to the court of *Spain*, in the year 1730, by DON MARTIN DE BARUA, at that time the Spanish governor of *Paraguay*, in which the Jesuits are charged with the most ambitious projects and the most rebellious designs, and represented as setting up an independent government, of carrying on a prodigious trade, and other things of the same nature; and notwithstanding the circumstantial evidence of various known facts that supported these accusations in the strongest manner: notwithstanding all this, the public was more or less deceived. The illusion, however, did not last long. In the year 1750, the courts of *Madrid* and *Lisbon* entered into a treaty for fixing the limits of their respective dominions in *South-America*. The Jesuits, who had formed an independent Republic in the heart of these dominions, composed of the Indians, whom they had gained by the insinuating softness and affected mildness, humility and generosity of their proceedings, were much alarmed at this treaty. It was one of the fundamental laws of this new state (which was founded under the mask of a Christian mission) that neither bishop, governor, nor any other officer civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nay, nor even any individual Spaniard or Portuguese should be admitted into its territories, to the end that the proceedings and projects of the Jesuits might still remain an impenetrable secret. The members of their Order were alone to be instructed in this profound and important mystery. The use of the Spanish language was prohibited throughout the extent of this new territory, in order to prevent more effectually all communication between the Indians

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and

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ning a work that has been since continued with such pious zeal and such abundant fruit; and indeed this claim is founded in justice. Several families of this sect, that had been settled in *Holland*, removed from thence into *America* [p], in the year 1620, in order, as they alledged, to transmit their doctrine pure and undefiled to future ages; and there they laid the foundations of a new state [q]. The success, that attended this first emigration, engaged great numbers of the people called *Puritans*, who groaned under the oppressions of the bishops, and the severity of a court, by which this oppression was authorized, to follow

and that nation. The Indians were trained to the use of arms, furnished with artillery, instructed in the art of war, taught to behold the Jesuits as their sovereigns and their Gods, and to look upon all *white* people, except the Jesuits, as demoniacs, atheists, and, moreover, as their barbarous and mortal enemies. Such was the state of things, when, in the year 1752, when, the united troops of *Spain* and *Portugal* marched towards the eastern borders of the river *Uragai* to make the exchanges of certain villages that had been agreed upon in the treaty above-mentioned. Upon this the Jesuits, not being sufficiently prepared for their defence, demanded a delay of the execution of the treaty, under various pretexts. This delay was granted. But as the Spanish general *Gomez Freire Andrada* perceived that these *Holy Fathers* employed this delay in arming the Indians and confirming them in their rebellion, he wrote to his court and received new orders from thence to proceed to the execution of the treaty. A war ensued between the Spanish and Portuguese on one side, and the Indians, animated by the Jesuits, on the other, in which the Spanish general lost his life, and of which the other circumstances are well known. This was the real and original cause of the disgrace of the Jesuits at the court of *Portugal*. Those who desire a more particular account of this matter will find it in a famous pamphlet, drawn from an authentic memorial, published by the court of *Lisbon*, and printed at the *Hague*, in the year 1758, under the following title: *La Republique des Jesuits au Paraguay renversée, ou Relation Authentique de la Guerre que ces Religieux ont osé soutenir contre les Monarques d'Espagne et de Portugal en Amerique, pour y defendre les domaines dont ils avoient usurpé la Souveraineté au Paraguay, sous pretexte de Religion.*]

[p] This colony settled in that part of *America*, that was afterwards called *New Plymouth*.

[q] See NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol ii. p. 128.—As also a German work, entitled, ANT. WILH. BOHM *Englische Reformationen Histoire*, b. vi. c. v. p. 807.

the

the fortunes of these religious adventurers [r]; and this produced a second emigration in the year 1629. But notwithstanding the success, that, in process of time, crowned this enterprize, its first beginnings were unpromising, and the colonists, immediately after their arrival, laboured under such hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilds of this new region, that they could make but little progress in instructing the Indians: their whole zeal and industry being scarcely sufficient to preserve the infant settlement from the horrors of famine. But towards the year 1633 [s], things put on a better aspect: the colony began to flourish, and the new comers, among whom the Puritans MAYHEW, SHEPPARD, and ELLIOT made an eminent figure, had the leisure, courage, and tranquillity of mind that were necessary to the execution of such an important and arduous design. All these devout exiles were remarkably zealous, laborious, and successful in the conversion of the Indians; but none acquired such a shining reputation, in this pious career, as JOHN ELLIOT, who learned their language, into which he translated the Bible and other instructive and edifying books, gathered together the wandering savages, and formed them into regular congregations, instructed them in a manner suited to the dulness of their comprehension, and the measure of their respective capacities; and, by such eminent displays of his zeal, dexterity, and indefatigable industry, merited, after his death, the honourable title of the *Apostle of the Indians*. [t].

[r] See MATHER'S *History of New England*, p. 126.—NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 208.

[(s) Dr. MOSHEIM says in the year 1623, but this is, probably, an error of the press; since it is well known, that the emigration of Sheppard and Elliot happened between 1631 and 1634.]

[t] HORNBECKIUS, *De Conversione Indorum et Gentil.* lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 260.—CRESCENTII MATHERI *Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales ad Job. Leusdenium, Traject.* 1699, in 8vo.

The unexpected success, that attended these pious attempts towards the propagation of Christian knowledge, drew the attention of the parliament and people of *England*; and the further advancement of this good cause appeared an object of sufficient importance to employ the deliberations, and to claim the protection of the great council of the nation. Thus was formed that illustrious society, which derives its title from the great purpose of its institution, even the *Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts*, and which in proportion to the increase of its number, influence, revenues, and prerogatives, has still renewed and augmented its efforts for the instruction of the Pagans in all parts of the world, particularly those on the American continent. It is true, that, after all its efforts, much is yet to be done; but it is also true, and must be acknowledged by all that have examined these matters with attention and impartiality, that much has been done, and that the pious undertakings of this respectable society have been followed with unexpected fruit. With respect to the province of *Pensilvania*, which receives in its bosom, without distinction, persons of all sects and all opinions, we shall have occasion to speak of its religious state in another place. The American provinces, that were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch under the command of Count MAURICE of *Nassau*, became immediately an object of the pious zeal of their new masters, who began with great ardor and remarkable success, to spread the light of the Gospel among the wretched inhabitants of those benighted regions [u]. But this fair prospect was afterwards clouded, in the year 1644, when the Portuguese recovered the territories they had lost. As to the Dutch colony, that is settled at *Surinam*, we cannot say much; having never received

[u] JO, HENR. HOTTINGERI *Topographia Ecclesiastica*, p. 47.—
JANICON, *Etat Present des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 396.—The
same author gives an account of *Surinam*, and of the state of religion
in that colony, chap. xiv. p. 407.

received the smallest informations of any attempts made by them to instruct the neighbouring Indians in the knowledge of Christianity [w].

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The ene-
mies of
Christianity
in England.

XXI. Religion, in general, and the Christian religion, in particular, had many enemies to encounter in this century; though their number has been studiously diminished in the accounts of some, and greatly exaggerated in the representations of others. The English complain of the reign of CHARLES II, as the fatal period, when corruption of manners, and vice, in the most licentious and profligate forms, over-ran their nation, engendered a spirit of scepticism and infidelity, and formed a set of unhappy men, who employed all the wantonness of inconsiderate wit, all the sallies of imagination, and even all the force of real talent and genius to extinguish a sense of religion in the minds of mankind. That this complaint is far from being groundless, appears, on the one hand, from the number of those writers among the English, whose productions were levelled either against all religion, or designed to confine the belief of men to natural religion alone; and, on the other, from the still superior number of learned and ingenious treatises, in which the divinity, dignity, and intrinsic excellence of the Gospel were demonstrated and displayed in the most striking and conspicuous manner. But nothing is more adapted to confirm the accounts that have been given of the progress of infidelity and licentiousness at the period now under consideration, than the famous *Lectures*, founded by that illustrious ornament of religion and humanity, Mr. ROBERT BOYLE, who, in the year 1691, consecrated a considerable part of his large fortune to the service of Christianity, by leaving in his last will a sum to be distributed, successively, to a number of learned divines, who were to preach, in their turns, eight sermons every year, in defence

[w] There are three churches in that settlement for the use of the colonists; but no attempt has been made to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among the natives.

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defence of natural and revealed religion [x]. This pious and honourable task has been committed always to men of the most eminent genius and abilities, and is still undertaken with zeal, and performed with remarkable dignity and success. The discourses, that have been delivered in consequence of this admirable institution, have been always published, and they form, at this day, a large and important collection, which is known throughout all *Europe*, and has done eminent service to the cause of religion and virtue [y].

Hobbes, Rochester, &c.

XXII. The leader of the impious band in *England*, which, so early as the reign of CHARLES II, attempted to obscure the truth and to dissolve the solemn obligations of religion, was THOMAS HOBBS of *Malmesbury*, a man whose audacious pride was accompanied with an uncommon degree of artifice and address, whose sagacity was superior to his learning, and whose reputation was more owing to the subtilty and extent of his genius, than to any progress he had made either in sacred or profane erudition [z]. This man, notwithstanding the pernicious nature and tendency of his principles, had several adherents in *England*; and, not only so, but has found, in foreign countries, more than one apologist, who, though they acknowledge that his sentiments were erroneous,

[x] SEE RICOTIER'S *Preface* to his French translation of Dr. CLARKE'S *Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God*. For an account of the pious, learned, and illustrious Mr. BOYLE, see BUDGELL'S *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the illustrious Family of the BOYLE'S*, published in 8vo at *London* in the year 1737.—See also the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xii. p. 144.

[y] There is a compleat list of these learned discourses in the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. xv. part. II. p. 416.—The late Reverend Mr. GILBERT BURNET published in 4 volumes in 8vo, a judicious, comprehensive, and well-digested *Abridgment* of such of the BOYLE'S *Lectures* as had been preached before the year 1737. This abridgment, which has been translated into the French and German languages, comprehends the discourses of Bentley, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harris, Bradford, Blackball, Stanhope, Clarke, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Leng, J. Clarke, Gurdon, Burnet, Berriman.

[z] See BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article of HOBBS.—WOOD'S *Albana Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 641. last edition.

erroneous, yet deny that he went such an impious length CENT. XVII.
 as to introduce the disbelief, or to overturn the worship
 of a supreme Being [a]. But if it should be granted,
 on the one hand, that HOBBS was not totally destitute
 of all sense of a Deity, nor of all impressions of religion
 yet it must be allowed, on the other, by all who peruse his
 writings, with a proper degree of attention, that his tenets
 lead, by natural consequences, to a contempt of religion;
 and of divine worship, and that, in some of his pro-
 ductions, there are visible marks of an extreme aversion
 to Christianity. It has, indeed, been said of him, that
 being advanced in years he returned to a better mind,
 and condemned publicly the opinions and tenets he had
 formerly entertained [b]; but how far this recantation
 was

[a] Among the patrons and defenders of HOBBS, we may reckon
 NIC. HIER. GUNDLINGIUS, in his *Observationes Selectæ*, tom. i. n.
 ii. p. 30. and in his *Gundlingiana*, p. XIV. p. 304. as also ARNOLD,
 in his German work entitled, *Kirchen-und Ketzzer Historie*, p. II. b.
 xvii. c. xvi. § 25. p. 1082.—These writers are refuted by the learned
 EUDÆUS, in his *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p. 187.

[b] This recantation of HOBBS depends upon the testimony of
 WOOD in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 646. This writer informs
 us, that HOBBS composed an apology for himself and his writings,
 in which he declared, that the opinions, he had published in his *Levi-
 athan*, were, by no means, conformable to his real sentiments: that
 he had only proposed them as a matter of debate to exercise his mind in
 the art of reasoning; that after the publication of that book he had never
 maintained them either in public or in private, but had left them entirely
 to the judgment and decision of the church: more especially, that the te-
 nets, in this and his other writings, that seemed inconsistent with the
 doctrines concerning God and religion that are commonly received, were
 never delivered by him as *truths*, but proposed as *questions*, that were to
 be decided by divines and ecclesiastical judges endued with a proper
 authority.—Such is the account that WOOD gives of the *apology*
 now under consideration; but he does not tell us the year in which it
 was published, which is a proof, that he, himself, had never seen it, nor
 does he inform us whether it appeared during the life of HOBBS,
 or after his death. As indeed it is placed in the catalogue of his writ-
 ings, with a date posterior to the year 1682, it is natural to suppose
 that it was not published during his life, since he died in the year 1679,
 It is therefore, no easy matter to determine what stress is to be laid up-
 on this recantation of HOBBS, or what sentiments we are to form concern-
 ing his supposed repentance. That the *apology*, under consideration, exists,
 we do not pretend to deny; but it may possibly have been composed by
 some of his friends to diminish the *odium*, that it was natural to think,
 his licentious principles would cast on his memory. But should it be
 granted,

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was sincere we shall not pretend to determine, since the reality of his repentance has been greatly questioned.

The same thing cannot be said of JOHN WILMOT, earl of ROCHESTER, who had insulted the majesty of God, and trampled upon the truths of religion and the obligations of morality with a prophane sort of frenzy, that far surpassed the impiety of HOBBS, but whose repentance and conversion were also as palpable as had been his folly, and much more unquestionable than the dubious recantation of the philosopher of *Malmesbury*. ROCHESTER was a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, of a fine genius, and an elegant taste; but these natural talents were accompanied with the greatest levity and licentiousness, and the most impetuous propensity to unlawful pleasures. So that as long as health enabled him to answer the demands of passion, his life was an uninterrupted scene of debauchery [c]. He was, however so happy, in the last years of a very short life, as to see the extreme folly and guilt of his past conduct, in which salutary view he was greatly assisted by the wise and pathetic reasonings and exhortations of doctor BURNET, afterwards bishop of *Sarum*. This conviction of his guilt produced a deep contrition and repentance, an ardent recourse to the mercy of God as is manifested in the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST, and a sincere abhorrence of the offences he had committed against the best
of

granted, that it was drawn up and published by HOBBS himself, even this concession would contribute but little to save, or rather to recover, his reputation; since it is well known, that nothing is more common among those, who by spreading corrupt principles and pernicious opinions have drawn upon themselves the just indignation of the public, than, like HOBBS, to deceive the world by insidious and insincere declarations of the soundness of their belief, and the uprightness of their intentions. It is thus that they secure themselves against the execution of the laws that are designed to fence religion, while they persevere in their licentious sentiments, and propagate them, wherever they can do it with security.

[c] See an account of his life and writings in WOOD's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 654.—His poetical genius is justly celebrated by VOLTAIRE in his *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxxiv. vol. iv. of his works.

of Beings. In these pious sentiments he departed this CENT. XVII. life in the year 1680 [d].

In this list we may also place ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, earl of SHAFTESBURY, who died of a consumption at *Naples*, in the year 1703; not that this illustrious writer attacked openly and professedly the Christian religion, but that the most seducing strokes of wit and raillery, the most enchanting eloquence, and the charms of a genius, in which amenity, elegance, copiousness, and elevation were happily blended, rendered him one of its most dangerous, though secret enemies; nay, so much the more dangerous, because his opposition was carried on under a mask. His works have been published, and have passed through several editions. They are remarkable for beauty of diction, and contain very noble and sublime sentiments; but ought to be read with the utmost caution, as extremely dangerous to unexperienced, youthful, and unwary minds [e].

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[d] Bishop BURNET has given a particular account of this last and very affecting scene of the life of this nobleman in a pamphlet written expressly on that subject, and entitled. *Some passages of the Life and death of John earl of Rochester, written at his desire, on his Death-bed*, by GILBERT BURNET, D. D. *Containing more amply their Conversations on the great Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion.*

[e] His works were first collected and published under the title of *Characteristicks*, in three volumes in 8vo in the year 1711, and since that time, have passed through several editions. See LE CLERC's account of them in his *Bibliothèque Choise*, tom. xxiii. The learned and ingenious LEIBNITZ's critical reflexions on the philosophy of Lord SHAFTESBURY, were published by DES MAIZEAU, in the second volume of his *Recueil des diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie*, p. 245.—There are some writers, who maintain that this noble philosopher has been unjustly charged, by the greatest part of the clergy, with a contempt for Revealed Religion; and it were to be wished that the arguments they employ to vindicate him from this charge were more satisfactory and solid than they really are. But, if I am not much mistaken, whoever peruses his writings, and more especially his famous letter concerning *Enthusiasm*, will be inclined to adopt the judgment that has been formed of him by the ingenious Dr. BERKLEY, late bishop of *Cloyne*, in his *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher*, vol. i. p. 200.—Nothing is more easy than to observe, in the writings of Lord SHAFTESBURY, a spirit of raillery, mingling itself with even those of his reflexions upon religious subjects that seem to be delivered with the greatest seriousness and gravity. But, at the same time, this un-
seemly

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The brutal rusticity and uncouth turn of JOHN TOLAND, a native of *Ireland*, who, towards the conclusion of this century, was rendered infamous by several injurious libels against Christianity, must naturally appear doubly disgusting, when compared with the amiable elegance and specious refinement of the writer now mentioned. However, as those writers, who flatter the passions by endeavouring to remove all the restraints that religion imposes upon their excessive indulgence, will never want patrons

seemly mixture of the solemn and the ludicrous renders it difficult for those, that are not well acquainted with his manner, to know whether the man is in jest or in earnest. It may be also added, that this author has perniciously endeavoured to destroy the influence and efficacy of some of the great motives that are proposed, in the Holy Scriptures, to render men virtuous, by representing these motives as mercenary, and even turning them into ridicule. He substitutes, in their place, the intrinsic excellence and beauty of virtue, as the great source of moral obligation, and the true incentive to virtuous deeds. But, however alluring this sublime scheme of morals may appear to certain minds of a refined, elegant, and ingenuous turn, it is certainly little adapted to the taste, the comprehension and character of the multitude. Take away from the lower orders of mankind the prospect of reward and punishment, that leads them to virtue and obedience by the powerful suggestions of hope and fear; and the great supports of virtue, and the most effectual motives to the pursuit of it, will be then removed with respect to them.

[Since Dr. MOSHEIM wrote this note, the very learned and judicious Dr. LELAND published his *View of the principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England during the last and present Century*, &c. in which there is a full account of the Free-thinkers and Deists mentioned by our historian, and a review of the writings of the earl of SHAFTESBURY. This review merits a particular attention, as it contains an impartial account, an accurate examination, and a satisfactory refutation of the erroneous principles of that great man. Lord SHAFTESBURY, like all other eminent innovators, has been misrepresented both by his friends and his enemies. Dr. LELAND has steered a middle course between the blind enthusiasm of the former, and the partial malignity of the latter. He points out, with singular penetration and judgment, the errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions of that illustrious author, does justice to what is good in his ingenious writings, separates carefully the wheat from the chaff, and neither approves nor condemns in the lump, as too many have done. In a more particular manner he has shewn, with his usual perspicuity and good sense, that the being influenced by the hope of the reward promised in the gospel has nothing in it *disingenuous* and *flavish*, and is so far from being inconsistent with loving virtue *for its own sake*, that it tends,

patrons among the licentious part of mankind; so this^{CENT. XVII.} man, who was not destitute of learning, imposed upon the ignorant and unwary; and, notwithstanding the excess of his arrogance and vanity, and the shocking rudeness and ferocity of his manners, acquired a certain measure of fame [f]. It is not necessary to mention

other tends, on the contrary, to heighten our esteem of its *amiableness* and *worth*.—The triumphant manner in which the learned Dr. WARBURTON has refuted SHAFTESBURY's representation of raillery and ridicule as a test of truth, is too well known to be mentioned here. See also Dr. BROWN's *Three Essays on the Characteristicks*, in which that sensible author treats of *Ridicule*, considered as a *Test of Truth*: of the obligations of men to virtue, and of the necessity of religious Principle, and of Revealed Religion and Christianity.]

[(f) Dr. MOSHEIM quotes here, in a short note, an account he had given of the *Life and Writings of Toland*, prefixed to his confutation of the NAZARENUS of that contemptible author. He also quotes a life of TOLAND, prefixed to his Posthumous Works, printed in 8vo at London, in 1726, by DES MAIZEAUX.—Dr. MOSHEIM says, that this man *was not destitute of learning*. Should that be granted, it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that this learning lay quite indigested in his head, and that the use he made of it in his works was equally injudicious and impudent. His conference with M. BEAUSOBRE, concerning the *Authenticity* of the Holy Scriptures, which was held at *Berlin*, in the year 1701, in presence of the queen of *Prussia*, and in which he made such a despicable figure, is a proof of the former, and his writings to all but half-scholars and half-thinkers will be a proof (as long as they endure) of the latter.—It is remarkable, that, according to that maxim of JUVENAL, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, TOLAND arrived only gradually, and by a progressive motion at the summit of infidelity. His first step was Socinianism, which appeared in his book, intitled, *Christianity not Mysteriorious*. This book procured him hard treatment from the Irish parliament; and was answered by Mr. BROWN, afterwards bishop of *Cork*, who, unhappily, did not think good arguments sufficient to maintain a good cause, unless they were seconded by the secular arm, whose ill-placed succours he solicited with ardor. The second step, that TOLAND made, in the devious wilds of irreligion, was in the publication of his *Amyntor*, which, in appearance, was designed to vindicate what he had advanced in his life of MILTON, to prove that King CHARLES I. was not the real author of the *Eikon Basilike*, but, in reality, was intended to invalidate the *Canon of the New Testament*, and to render it uncertain and precarious. This piece, in as far as it attacked the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, was answered in a triumphant manner by Dr. CLARKE, in his *Reflections on that part of the Book called AMYNTOR, which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers*, and the *Canon of the New Testament*; by Mr. RICHARDSON, in his learned and judicious *Vindication of the Canon of the New Testament*; and by Mr. JONES,

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other authors of this class, who appeared in *England*, during this century, but are long since consigned to oblivion; the reader may, however, add to those, that have been already named, Lord HERBERT of CHERBURY, a philosopher of some note, who, if he did not absolutely deny the divine origin of the Gospel, [g], maintained,

JONES, in his *New and full method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*. These learned writers have exposed, in the most striking manner, the dissimulatio, the blunders, the false quotations, the insidious fictions and ridiculous mistakes of TOLAND, who, on various accounts, may pass for one of the most harmless writers against the Christian religion. For an account of the *Adeisidemon*, the *Nazareus*, the *Letters to Serena*, the *Pantheisticon*, and the other irreligious works of this author, with the excellent answers that have been made to them; see his Life in the *General Dictionary*, or rather in CHAUFFEPED's Supplement to BAYLE's *Dictionary*, entitled, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, as this author has not only translated the articles added to BAYLE's *Dictionary* by the English editors of that work, but has augmented and improved them by several interesting anecdotes drawn from the Literary History of the Continent.]

[(g) Lord HERBERT did not pretend to deny the divinity of the Gospel; he even declared, that he had no intention to attack Christianity, which he calls, in express terms, the *Best Religion*, and which, according to his own confession, tends to establish the five great articles of that universal, sufficient and absolutely-perfect religion, which he pretends to deduce from reason and nature. But notwithstanding these fair professions, his lordship loses no occasion of throwing out insinuations against all Revealed Religion, as absolutely uncertain and of little or no use. But this same Deist, who was the first and, indeed, the least contemptible of that tribe in *England*, has left upon record one of the strongest instances of fanaticism and absurdity that perhaps has ever been heard of, and of which he, himself, was guilty. This instance is preserved in a manuscript-life of Lord HERBERT, drawn up from memorials penned by himself, which is now in the possession of a gentleman of distinction, and is as follows: That lord having finished his book *de Veritate*, apprehended that he should meet with much opposition, and was, consequently, dubious for some time, whether it would not be prudent to suppress it. "Being thus doubtful, says his lordship, in my chamber (at Paris, where he was ambassador in the year 1624) one fair day in the summer, my chamber being open towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book, *de Veritate*, in my hands, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words: O thou eternal God, author of this light that now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations; I do beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make: I am not satisfied enough, whether I shall publish this book: if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some SIGN FROM HEAVEN; if not, I shall suppress it."

What

tained, at least, that it was not essentially necessary to the salvation of mankind [b]; and CHARLES BLOUNT, who composed a book, entitled, *The Oracles of Reason*, and, in the year 1693, died by his own hand [i].

XXIII. Infidelity and even Atheism shewed themselves also on the continent during this century. In France JULIUS CÆSAR VANINI, the author of two books, the one, entitled, *Vanini, Rugger, Leszynski, Knutzen.*

What does the reader now think of this corner-stone of Deism, who demands a *supernatural Revelation* from heaven in favour of a book that was designed to prove *all Revelation uncertain and useless*? But the absurdity does not end here, for our Deist not only *sought* for this Revelation, but also *obtained* it, if we are to believe him. Let us, at least, hear him. “I had no sooner, *says he*, spoken these words, but “a loud, though yet gentle noise came forth from the heavens (for it “was like nothing on earth) which did so cheer and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted.” Rare credulity this in an unbeliever! but these gentlemen can believe like their neighbours when it answers their purpose. His lordship continues, “This, however “strange it may seem, I protest before the eternal God is true; neither am I superstitiously deceived herein,” &c. See LELAND’S *View of the Deistical Writers*, &c. vol. i. p. 470, &c.]

[b] This is sufficiently known to those who have perused Lord HERBERT’S book *De causis errorum*, as also his celebrated work *De religione Gentilium*. This author is generally considered as the chief and founder of the sect or society that are called *Naturalists* from their attachment to Natural Religion alone. See ARNOLDI *Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæret.* part. II. p. 1083.—The peculiar tenets of this famous Deist have been refuted by MUSÆUS and KORTHOLT, two German divines of eminent learning and abilities.—[GASSENDI also composed an answer to Lord HERBERT’S book *De Veritate*. In England it was refuted by Mr. RICHARD BAXTER in a treatise, entitled, *More reasons for the Christian Religion, and no reason against it*. M. LOCKE; in his *Essay on Human Understanding*, shews, with great perspicuity and force of evidence, that the *Five Articles of natural Religion* proposed by this noble author, are not, as he represents them, *Common Notices*, clearly *inscribed* by the hand of God in the minds of *all men*, and that a Divine Revelation is necessary to indicate, develop, and enforce them. Dr. WHITBY has also treated the same matter amply in his learned work, entitled, *The Necessity and Usefulness of the Christian revelation, by reason of the Corruptions of the Principles of Natural Religion among Jews and Heathens*, 8vo. 1705.

[i] See CHAUFFEPÉD, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.* though this author has omitted the mention of this gentleman’s unhappy fate, out of a regard no doubt to his illustrious family. [Mr. CHAUFFEPÉD has done no more than translate the article CHARLES BLOUNT from that of the English continuators of BAYLE.]

titled, *The Amphitheatre of Providence* [k], and the other *Dialogues concerning Nature* [l], was publicly burnt at *Tholouse*, in the year 1629, as an impious and obstinate Atheist. It is nevertheless to be observed, that several learned and respectable writers consider this unhappy man rather as a victim to bigotry and envy than as a martyr to impiety and Atheism, and maintain, that neither his life nor his writings were so absurd or blasphemous as to entitle him to the character of a despiser of God and religion [m]. But if VANINI had his apologists, this was, by no means, the case of COSMO RUGGERI, a native of *Florence*, whose Atheism was as impudent, as it was impious, and who died, in the most desperate sentiments of irreligion at *Paris* in the year 1615, declaring that he looked upon all the accounts that had been given of the existence of a supreme Being and of evil spirits as idle dreams [n]. CASIMER LESZYNSKI, a Polish

[(k) This book was published at *Lyons* in the year 1615, was approved by the clergy and magistrates of that city, and contains many things absolutely irreconcilable with atheistical principles; its title is as follows: *Amphitheatrum æternæ Providentiæ, Divino-Magicum, Christiano-Physicum, Astrologico-Catholicum, adversus veteres Philosophos, Atheos, Epicureos, Peripateticos, Stoicos, &c.* This book has been esteemed innocent by several writers, impious by others; but, in our judgment, it would have escaped reproach, had VANINI published none of his other productions, since the impieties it may contain, according to the intention of its author, are carefully concealed. This is by no means the case of the book mentioned in the following note.]

[(l) This book concerning the *Secrets of Queen Nature the Goddess of Mortals* was published with this suspicious title at *Paris*, in the year 1616, and contains glaring marks of impiety and atheism. And yet it was published with the king's permission and the approbation of the *Faculty of Theology* at *Paris*. This scandalous negligence or ignorance is unaccountable in such a reverend body. The Jesuit GARASSE pretends that the Faculty was deceived by VANINI, who substituted another treatise in the place of that, which had been approved. See a wretched book of GARASSE, entitled, *Doctrine Curieuse*, p. 998. as also DURAND, *Vie de Vanini*, p. 116.]

[m] See BUDÆUS's *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, p. 120. The author of the *Apologia pro VANINO*, which appeared in *Holland* in the year 1712, is PETER FREDERICK ARP, a learned lawyer, who, in his *Feriæ æstivales seu Scriptorum suorum Historia*. p. 28. has promised a new edition of this Apology with considerable additions. We may also place among the defenders of VANINI, the learned ELIAS FREDERICK HEISTER, in his *Apologia pro Medicis*, sect. xviii. p. 93.

[n] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article RUGGERI.

a Polish knight was capitally punished, suffered death CENT.
XVII. at *Warsaw*, in the year 1689, for denying the Being and Providence of God; but whether or no this accusation was well founded, can only be known by reading his trial, and examining the nature and circumstances of the evidence that was produced against him [o]. In *Germany*, a senseless and frantic sort of a man called MATTHEW KNÜTZEN, a native of *Holstein*, attempted to found a new sect, whose members, laying aside all consideration of *God* and *Religion*, were to follow the dictates of *reason* and *conscience* alone, and from thence were to assume the title of *Conscientiarists*. But this wrong-headed sectary was easily obliged to abandon his extravagant undertakings, and thus his idle attempt came to nothing [p].

XXIV. The most acute and eminent of the Atheists, of this century, whose system represented the supreme author of all things, as a Being bound by the external and immutable laws of necessity or fate, was BENEDICT SPINOZA, a Portuguese Jew. This man, who died at the *Hague* in the year 1677, observed, in his conduct, the rules of wisdom and probity, much better than many who profess themselves Christians, nor did he ever endeavour to pervert the sentiments or to corrupt the morals of those with whom he lived, or to inspire, in his discourse, a contempt of religion or virtue [q]. It is true,

[o] See the German work of ARNOLD, entitled, *Kirchen en Ketzer Historie*, p. 1077.—There was formerly in the famous library of UFFENBACH a complete collection of all the papers relating to the trial of LESZYNSKY, and a full account of the proceedings against him.

[p] See MOLLER *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 304. & *Isagoge ad Historiam Chersones. Cimbr.* part II. cap. vi. & viii. p. 164.—LA CROZE, *Enquêtes sur divers sujets d'Histoire*, p. 400.

[q] The Life of SPINOZA has been accurately written by COLERUS, whose performance was published at the *Hague* in 8vo in the year 1706. But a more ample and circumstantial account of this singular man has been given by LENGLET DU FRESNOY, and is prefixed to BOULAINVILLIERS's Exposition of the doctrine of SPINOZA, which was published at *Amsterdam*, under the title of *Brussels*, in 12mo in the year 1731. See also BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article of

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true, indeed, that in his writings, more especially in those that were published after his death, he maintains openly, that *God* and the *Universe* are one and the same Being, and that all things happen by the eternal and immutable law of *nature*, i. e. of an all-comprehending and infinite Being, that exists and acts by an *invincible necessity*. This doctrine leads directly to consequences equally impious and absurd; for if the principle now mentioned be true, each individual is his own God, or, at least, a *part* of the universal Deity, and is, therefore, impeccable and perfect [r]. Be that as it may, it is evident

SPINOZA. [LENGLET DU FRESNOY republished the Work of COLERUS, and added to it several anecdotes and circumstances, borrowed from a *Life of Spinoza*, written by an infamous profligate whose name was LUCAS, and who practised physic at the *Hague*. See below the notes [x] and [y].

[r] The learned FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. v. part. III. p. 119. and JENICHEN, in his *Historia Spinozismi Lehnbofiani*, p. 58—72. have given us an ample list of the writers, who have refuted the system of SPINOZA. The real opinion, which this subtle sophist entertained concerning the Deity, is to be learned in his *Ethicks*, that were published after his death, and not in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which was printed during his life. For in this latter *Treatise* he reasons like one, who was persuaded, that there exists an *eternal Deity*, distinct from *matter* and the *universe*, who has sent upon earth a religion designed to form men to the practice of benevolence and justice, and has confirmed that religion by events of a *wonderful* and *astonishing* though not of a *supernatural* kind. But, in his *Ethicks*, he throws off the mask, explains clearly his sentiments, and endeavours to demonstrate, that the *Deity* is nothing more than the *universe*, producing a series of necessary movements or acts in consequence of its own *intrinsic, immutable, and irresistible energy*. This diversity of sentiments, that appears in the different productions of SPINOZA, is a sufficient refutation of those, who, forming their estimate of his system from his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* alone, pronounce it less pernicious and its author less impious than they are generally supposed to be. But, on the other hand, how shall this diversity be accounted for? Are we to suppose that SPINOZA proceeded to atheism by gradual steps, or is it rather more probable, that, during his life, he prudently concealed his real sentiments? Which of these two is the case, it is not easy to determine; it appears, however, from testimonies, every way worthy of credit, that, he never, during his whole life, either made, or attempted to make, converts to irreligion, never said any thing in public that tended to encourage disrespectful sentiments of the supreme Being, or the worship that is due to him; nay, it is well

evident that SPINOZA was seduced into this monstrous ^{C E N T.} system by the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a ^{XVII.} passionate admirer, and which was the perpetual subject of his meditation and study. Having adopted that general principle, about which philosophers of all sects are agreed; *that all realities are possessed by the Deity in the most eminent degree*; and having added to this principle, as equally evident, the opinion of DESCARTES, *that there are only two realities in nature, thought and extension, the one essential to spirit, and the other to matter* [s]; the natural consequence of this was, that he should attribute to the Deity both these realities, even *thought* and *extension* in an eminent degree, or, in other words, should represent them as *infinite* and *immense* in God. Hence the transition seemed easy enough to that enormous system, which confounds *God* with the *Universe*, represents them as one and the same Being, and supposes only one *substance* from whence all things proceed and into which they all return. It is natural to observe here, what even the friends of SPINOZA are obliged to acknowledge, that this system is neither attended with that luminous perspicuity, nor that force of evidence, that are proper to make profelytes. It is too dark, too intricate to allure men from the belief of those truths, relating to the Deity, which the works of nature and the plainest dictates of reason are perpetually enforcing upon the human mind. Accordingly, the followers of SPINOZA tell us without hesitation, that

well known, on the contrary, that, when subjects of a religious nature were incidentally treated in the course of conversation where he was present, he always expressed himself with the utmost decency on the occasion, and often with an air of piety and seriousness that was more adapted to edify than give offence. See DES MAIZEAUX *Vie de M. de S. Evremond*, p. cxvii. tom. i. of his works. This appears also evident from the *Lettres* that are published in his posthumous works.

[(s) The hypothesis of DES CARTES, is not perhaps represented with sufficient accuracy and precision, by saying that he looked upon *thought* as *essential to spirit*, and *extension* as *essential to matter*; since it is well known, that this philosopher considered *thought* as the very *essence* or *substance* of the *soul*, and *extension* as the very *essence* and *substance* of *matter*.]

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it is rather by the suggestions of a certain *sense*, than by the investigations of reason, that his doctrine is to be comprehended, and that it is of such a nature, as to be easily misunderstood even by persons of the greatest sagacity and penetration [1]. The disciples of SPINOZA assume the denomination of Pantheists, choosing rather to derive their distinctive title from the nature of their doctrine, than from the name of their master [u]. The most

[1] There is certainly no man so little acquainted with the character of BAYLE, as to think him void of discernment and sagacity; and yet this most subtle metaphysician has been accused by the followers of SPINOZA of misunderstanding and misrepresenting the doctrine of that Pantheist, and consequently of answering it with very little solidity. See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article SPINOZA. This charge is brought against BAYLE, with peculiar severity, by L. MEIER, in his Preface to the Posthumous Works of SPINOZA, in which, after complaining of the misrepresentations that have been given of the opinions of that writer, he pretends to maintain, that his system was, in every point, conformable to the doctrines of Christianity. BOULAINVILLIERS, also, another of SPINOZA's commentators and advocates, declares, in his Preface to a book whose perfidious title is mentioned below in note [y], that all the antagonists of that famous Jew either ignorantly misunderstood or maliciously perverted his true doctrine; his words are: *Les Refutations de Spinoza m'ont induit à juger, ou que leurs Auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une evidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue*, p. 153.—But now, if this be true, if the doctrine of SPINOZA be not only far beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, but also difficult to be understood, and liable to be mistaken and misrepresented by men of the most acute parts and the most eminent abilities, what is the most obvious conclusion deducible from this fact? It is plainly this, that the greatest part of the Spinofists, whose sect is supposed by some to be very numerous in Europe, have adopted the doctrine of that famous Atheist, not so much from a conviction of its truth, founded on an examination of its intricate contents, as from the pleasure they take in a system, that promises impunity to all transgressions, that do not come within the cognizance of the civil laws, and thus lets loose the reins to every irregular appetite and passion. For it would be senseless, in the highest degree, to imagine, that the pretended multitude of the Spinofists, many of whom never once dreamed of exercising their minds in the pursuit of truth, or accustoming them to philosophical discussion, should, all, accurately comprehend a system, which, according to their own accounts, has escaped the penetration and sagacity of the greatest geniuses.

[u] TOLAND, unable to purchase himself a dinner, composed and published, in order to supply the sharp demands of hunger, an infamous and impious book under the following title: *Pantheisticon, sive Formula celebranda Societatis Socraticæ in tres Particulas divisæ*, quæ

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most noted members of this strange sect, were, a physician, whose name was LEWIS MEIER [w], a certain person called LUCAS [x], Count BOULAINVILLIERS [y], and

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PANTHEISTARUM, *five sodalium continent*, 1. *Mores et Axiomata*. II. *Numen et Philosophiam*. III. *Libertatem et non fallentem legem neque fallendam*, &c. The design of this book, which was published in 8vo, at London, in the year 1720, appears by the title. It was intended to draw a picture of the licentious morals and principles of his brethren the *Pantheists* under the fictitious description of a *Socratical* society, which they are represented as holding in all the places where they are dispersed. In the *Socratical*, or rather *Bacchanalian* society described in this pernicious work, the president and members are said to converse freely on several subjects. There is also a *Form* or *Liturgy* read by the president, who officiates as priest, and is answered by the assembly in suitable *responses*. He recommends earnestly to the members of the society the care of truth, liberty, and health, exhorts them to guard against superstition, that is, religion, and reads aloud to them, by way of *Lessons*, certain select passages out of CICERO and SENECA, which seem to favour irreligion. His colleagues promise solemnly to conform themselves to his injunctions and exhortations. Sometimes the whole fraternity is so animated with enthusiasm and joy, that they all raise their voices together, and sing certain verses out of the ancient Latin poets, that are suitable to the principles of their sect. See DES MAIZEAUX *Life of John Toland*, p. 77.—*Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. viii. part. II. p. 285. If the *Pantheistical* community be really such, as it here represented, it is not so much the duty of wise and good men to dispute with or refute its members, as it is the business of the civil magistrate to prevent such licentious and turbulent spirits from troubling the order of society, and seducing honest citizens from their religious principles and the duties of their respective stations.

[w] This MEIER was the person, who translated into Latin the pieces that SPINOZA had composed in the Dutch language, who assisted him in his last moments after having attempted, in vain, to remove his disorder, and who published his *Posthumous Works* with a *Preface*, in which, with great impudence and little success, he endeavours to prove that the doctrine of SPINOZA differs, in nothing, from that of the Gospel. MEIER is also the author of a well known treatise, thus entitled, *Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres*, Eleutheropoli, 1666, in 4to. in which the merit and authority of the sacred writings are examined by the dictates of philosophy, that is to say, of the philosophy of Mr. MEIER.

[x] LUCAS was a physician at the *Hague*, and was as famous for what he called his *Quintessences*, as he was infamous on account of the profligacy of his morals. He left behind him a *Life of Spinoza*, from whence LENGLET DU FRESNOY took all the additions that he made to the *Life* of that Atheist written by COLERUS. He also composed a work, which is still handed about and bought, at an extravagant price,

CENT. XVII. [y] and some others equally contemptible on account of their sentiments and morals.

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by those in whose judgment rarity and impiety are equivalent to merit. This work is entitled, *L'Esprit de Spinoza*, and surpasses infinitely in atheistical profaneness, even those productions of SPINOZA, that are looked upon as the most pernicious; so far has this miserable writer lost sight of every dictate of prudence, and triumphed even over the restraints of shame.

[y] This fertile and copious, but paradoxical and inconsiderate writer is abundantly known by his various productions relating to the History and Political State of the French Nation, by a certain prolix Fable, entitled, *The Life of Mahomet*, and by the adverse turns of fortune that pursued him. His character was so made up of inconsistencies and contradictions, that he is almost equally chargeable with superstition and atheism. For, though he acknowledged no other Deity than the universe, or nature, yet he looked upon MAHOMET as authorized by a divine commission, to instruct Mankind; and he was of opinion, that the fate of nations and the destiny of individuals could be foreknown by an attentive observation of the stars. Thus the man was, at the same time, an atheist and an astrologer. Now this medley of a man was greatly concerned, in consequence, forsooth, of his ardent zeal for the *public good*, to see the *admirable* doctrine of SPINOZA, so generally misunderstood, and, therefore, he formed the *laudable* design of expounding, illustrating, and accommodating it, as is done in books of piety, to ordinary capacities. This design, indeed, he executed; but not so fortunately for his master as he might fondly imagine; since it appeared most evidently, from his own account of the system of SPINOZA, that BAYLE and the other writers, who had represented his doctrine as repugnant to the plainest dictates of reason, and utterly destructive of all religion, had judged rightly, and were neither misled by ignorance nor temerity. In short, the book of BOULAINVILLIERS set the atheism and impiety of SPINOZA in a much more clear and striking light than ever they had appeared before. This infamous book, which was worthy of eternal oblivion, was published by LANGLET DU FRESNOY, who, that it might be bought with avidity and read without reluctance, prefixed to it the attracting, but perfidious title of *A Refutation of the Errors of Spinoza*, adding, indeed, to it some separate pieces, to which this title may, in some measure, be thought applicable; the whole title runs thus: *Refutation des Erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza, par M. de Fenelon, Archevêque de Cambray, par le Pere Lami Benedictin, et par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers, avec la Vie de Spinoza, écrite par Jean Colerus ministre de l'Eglise Lutherienne de la Haye, augmentée de beau coup de particularités tirées d'une Vie Manuscrite de ce Philosophe, faite par un de ses Amis* (this friend was LUCAS the atheistical physician mentioned in the preceding note) *à Bruxelles chez Francois Foppens, 1731, in 12mo.* Here we see the poison and the antidote joined together; but the latter perfidiously distributed in a manner and measure every way insufficient to remove the noxious effects of the former;

XXV. The progressive and flourishing state of the arts and sciences in the seventeenth century is abundantly known; and we see the effects and enjoy the fruits of the efforts then made for the advancement of learning. No branch of literature seemed to be neglected. Logic, philosophy, history, poetry, and rhetoric, in a word, all the sciences that belong to the respective provinces of reason, experience, observation, genius, memory, and imagination, were cultivated and improved with remarkable success throughout the Christian world. While the learned men of this happy period discovered such zeal for the improvement of science, their zeal was both enflamed and directed by one of the greatest and rarest geniuses that ever arose for the instruction of mankind. This was FRANCIS BACON, Lord VERULAM, who, towards the commencement of this century, opened the paths, that lead to true philosophy, in his admirable works [z]. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the rules, he prescribes to direct the researches of the studious, are not all, practicable, amidst the numerous prejudices and im-

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cultivated
and impro-
ved.

mer: in a word, the wolf is shut up with the sheep. The account and defence of the philosophy of SPINOZA, given by BOULAINVILLIERS under the insidious title of a *Refutation*, takes up the greatest part of this book, and is placed first, and not last in order, as the title would insinuate. Besides, the whole contents of this motley collection are not enumerated in the title; for at the end of it we find a Latin Treatise, entitled, *Certamen Philosophicum propugnatae Veritatis divinæ et naturalis adversus JO. BREDENBURGII principia, in fine annexa*. This *philosophical controversy* contains a defence of the doctrine of SPINOZA, by BREDENBURG; and a *Refutation* of that defence by ISAAC OROBIO, a learned Jewish physician at *Amsterdam*, and was first published in 8vo. in the year 1703.

[z] More especially in his Treatise *De dignitate et augmentis Scientiarum*, and in his *Novum Organum*. See the Life of that great man, that is prefixed to the last edition of his Works, published by Millar in four volumes *in folio*.—*Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xv. p. 128. —In Mr. MALLET's Life of BACON there is a particular and interesting account of his noble attempt to reform the miserable philosophy that prevailed before his time. See also VOLTAIRE *Melange de Litterature*, &c. in the fourth volume of his Works, chap. xiv. p. 225.

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pediments, to which the most zealous inquirers are exposed in the pursuit of truth; and it appears, plainly, that this great man, to whose elevated and comprehensive genius all things seemed easy, was, at certain times, so far carried away by the vastness of his conceptions, as to require from the application and abilities of men more than they were capable of performing, and to desire the *end* without always examining whether the *means* of attaining it were possible. At the same time it must be confessed, that a great part of the improvements in learning, and of the progress in science that were made in *Europe*, during this century, was owing to the counsels and directions of this extraordinary man. This is more especially true of the improvements that were made in natural philosophy, to which noble science BACON did such important service, as is, alone, sufficient to render his name immortal. He opened the eyes of those who had been led blindfold by the dubious authority of traditionary systems, and the uncertain directory of hypothesis and conjecture. He led them to nature, that they might consult that oracle directly and near at hand, and receive her answers; and by the introduction of experimental inquiry he placed philosophy upon a new and solid basis. It was thus, undoubtedly, that he removed the prejudices of former times, which led men to consider all human knowledge as circumscribed within the bounds of Greek and Latin erudition, and an acquaintance with the more elegant and liberal arts; and thus in the vast regions of nature he opened scenes of instruction and science, which, although hitherto unknown or disregarded, were infinitely more noble and sublime, and much more productive of solid nourishment to the minds of the wise, than that kind of learning that was in vogue before his time.

More especially the
mathematics.

XXVI. It is remarkable, in general, that the science of *natural philosophy*, *mathematics*, and *astronomy* were carried, in this century, in all the nations of *Europe*, to such a high degree of perfection, that they seemed to rise, all of a sudden, from the puny weakness of infancy
to

to a state of full maturity. There is, certainly, no sort^{CENT.} of comparison between the philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former look like pigmies, when compared with the gigantic stature of the latter. At the head of these latter appears GALILEI, the ornament of natural science in *Italy*, who was encouraged, in his astronomical researches and discoveries, by the munificence and protection of the Grand Dukes of *Tuscany*, [a]. After this arose, in *France*, DESCARTES and GASSENDI, who left behind them a great number of eminent disciples; in *Denmark*, TYCHO BRAHE; in *England* BOYLE and NEWTON; in *Germany* KEPLER, HEVELIUS and LEIBNITZ; and in *Switzerland* the two BERNOULLI. These philosophers of the first magnitude, if I may use that expression, excited such a spirit of emulation in *Europe*, and were followed by such a multitude of admirers and rivals, that, if we except those countries that had not yet emerged from a state of ignorance and barbarism, there was scarcely any nation, that could not boast of possessing a profound mathematician, a famous astronomer, or an eminent philosopher. Nor were the dukes of *Tuscany*, however distinguished by their hereditary zeal for the sciences and their liberality to the learned, the only patrons of philosophy at this time; since it is well known, that the monarchs of *Great Britain* and *France*, CHARLES II, and LEWIS XIV, honoured the sciences and those that cultivated them with their protection and encouragement. It is to the munificence of these two princes, that the *Royal Society of London*, and the *Academy of Sciences at Paris*, owe their origin and establishment, their privileges, honours, and endowments; and that we, of consequence, are indebted for the interesting discoveries that have been made by these two learned bodies, the end of whose institution is the study and investigation of nature, and the culture of all those arts and sciences, that lead to

[a] See HEUMAN'S *Acta Philosoph.* part. XIV. p. 261. part. XV. p. 467. part. XVII. p. 803.

truth,

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truth, and are useful to mankind [b]. These establishments, and the inquiries they were so naturally adapted to encourage and promote, proved not only beneficial, in the highest degree, to the civil interests of mankind, but were, also, productive of inestimable advantages to the cause of true religion. By these inquiries, the empire of superstition, which is always the bane of genuine piety, and often a source of rebellion and calamity in sovereign states, was greatly shaken; by them the fictitious prodigies, that had so long held miserable mortals in a painful state of servitude and terror, were deprived of their influence; by them natural religion was built upon solid foundations, and illustrated with admirable perspicuity and evidence; as, by them, the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being were demonstrated with the utmost clearness and force, from the frame of the universe in general, and also from the structure of its various parts.

History.

XXVII. The improvements made in History, and, more especially, the new degrees of light that were thrown upon the ancient History of the church, were of eminent service to the cause of genuine Christianity. For thus the original sources and reasons of many absurd opinions and institutions, which antiquity and custom had rendered sacred, were discovered and exposed in their proper colours; and innumerable errors, that had possessed and perplexed the anxious spirits of the credulous and superstitious multitude, were happily deprived of their authority and influence. Thus, of consequence, the chearful light of truth, and the calm repose and tranquillity that attend it, arose upon the minds of many, and human life was delivered

[b] The History of the *Royal Society of London*, was published by Dr. SPRAT, in 4to in the year 1722 *. See the *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. xi. p. 1. The History of the *Academy of Paris* has been composed by FONTENELLE. The reader will find a comparison between these two learned bodies in the fourth volume of the Works of VOLTAIRE, entitled, *Melanges de Litterature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxvi p. 317.

[* A much more interesting and ample History of this respectable society has lately been composed and published by Dr. BIRCH, its learned secretary.]

from

from the crimes, that have been sanctified by superstition, and from the tumults and agitations in which it has so often involved unhappy mortals. The advantages that flowed from the improvement of historical knowledge are both innumerable and inestimable. By this many pious and excellent persons, whom ignorance or malice had branded with the ignominious title of *Heretics*, were delivered from reproach, recovered their good fame, and thus were secured against the malignity of superstition. By this it appeared, that many of those religious controversies, which had divided nations, friends, and families, and involved so often sovereign states in blood-shed, rebellion, and crimes of the most horrid kind, were owing to the most trifling and contemptible causes, to the ambiguity and obscurity of certain theological phrases and terms, to superstition, ignorance, and envy, to ghostly pride and ambition. By this it was demonstrated, with the fullest evidence, that many of those religious rites and ceremonies, which had been long considered as of divine institution, were derived from the most inglorious sources, being either borrowed from the manners and customs of barbarous nations, or invented, with a design to deceive the ignorant and credulous, or dictated by the idle visions of senseless enthusiasm. By this the ambitious intrigues of the bishops and other ministers of religion, who by perfidious arts had encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, usurped a considerable part of its authority and revenues, and held princes in subjection to their yoke by terrors of the church, were brought to light. And, to mention no more instances, it was by the lamp of History, that those councils, whose decrees had so long been regarded as infallible and sacred, and revered as the dictates of celestial wisdom, were exhibited to the attentive observer, as assemblies, where an odious mixture of ignorance and knavery very frequently presided. Our happy experience, in these latter times, furnishes daily instances of the salutary effects of these important discoveries on the state of the Christian church, and on the condition of all its members. Hence flow that lenity and moderation

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moderation that are mutually exercised by those who differ from one another in their religious sentiments; that prudence and caution that are used in estimating opinions and deciding controversies; that protection and support that are granted to men of worth, when attacked by the malice of bigotry; and that visible diminution of the errors, frauds, crimes, and cruelties, with which superstition formerly imbittered the pleasures of human life, and the enjoyments of social intercourse.

The study of
eloquence
and the lan-
guages.

XXVIII. Many of the doctors of this century applied themselves, with eminent success, to the study of Hebrew and Greek literature, and of the Oriental languages and antiquities. And as their progress in these kinds of erudition was rapid, so, in many instances, was the use, they made of them, truly excellent and laudable. For by these succours they were enabled to throw light on many difficult passages of the sacred writings, that had been ill understood, and injudiciously applied, and which some had employed in supporting erroneous opinions, and giving a plausible colour to pernicious doctrines. Hence it happened, that many patrons and prompters of popular notions and visionary and groundless fancies were deprived of the fallacious arguments by which they maintained their errors. It cannot also be denied, that the cause of religion received considerable benefit from the labours of those, who, either endeavoured to preserve the purity and elegance of the Latin language, or who, beholding with emulation the example of the French, employed their industry in improving and polishing the languages of their respective countries. For it must be, evidently, both honourable and advantageous to the Christian church to have always, in its bosom, men of learning, qualified to write and discourse upon theological subjects with precision, elegance, ease, and perspicuity, that so the ignorant and perverse be allured to receive instruction, and also be able to comprehend with facility the instructions they receive.

XXIX. The

XXIX. The rules of morality and practice, which C E N T were laid down in the sacred writings, by CHRIST XVII. and his apostles, assumed an advantageous form, received new illustrations, and were supported, upon The law of nature is studied with attention. solid principles, when that great system of law, that results from the constitution of nature, and the dictates of right reason, began to be studied with more diligence, and investigated with more accuracy and perspicuity, than had been the case in preceding ages. In this sublime study of the *law of nature*, the immortal GROTIUS led the way in his excellent book *Concerning the Rights of War and Peace*; and such was the dignity and importance of the subject, that his labours excited the zeal and emulation of men of the most eminent genius and abilities [c], who turned their principal attention to this noble science. How much the labours of these great men contributed to assist the ministers of the Gospel, both in their discourses and writings concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, may be easily seen by comparing the books of a practical kind that have been published since the period, now under consideration, with those, that were in vogue before that time. [There is scarcely a discourse upon any subject of Christian morality, how inconsiderable soever it may be, that does not bear some marks of the improvement, which was introduced into the science of morals by those great men, who studied that science in the paths of nature, in the frame and constitution of rational and moral beings, and in the relations by which they are rendered members of one great family under the inspection and government of one common and universal [d] Parent.] It is unquestionably certain, that since this period the dictates of natural law and the duties of Christian

[c] See ADAM. FRID. GLAFEY, *Historia Juris Naturæ*, to which is subjoined his *Bibliotheca Juris Naturæ et Gentium*.

[(d) This sentence, beginning with *There is scarcely a discourse*, and ending with *Universal Parent*, is added by the translator.]

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morality have been more accurately defined; certain evangelical precepts, whose nature and foundations were but imperfectly comprehended in the times of old, more clearly illustrated; the superiority, which distinguishes the morality of the Gospel from that course of duty that is deducible from the mere light of nature, more fully demonstrated; and those common notions and general principles, which are the foundations of moral obligation, and are, every way, adapted to dispel all doubts that may arise, and all controversies that may be started concerning the nature of evangelical righteousness and virtue, established with greater evidence and certainty. It may also be added, that the impiety of those infidels, who have had the effrontery to maintain, that the precepts of the Gospel are contrary to the dictates of sound reason, repugnant to the constitution of our nature, inconsistent with the interests of civil society, adapted to enervate the mind, and to draw men off from the business, the duties and enjoyments of life, has been much more triumphantly refuted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than in any other period of the Christian church.

The state of
the Aristote-
lian and Pa-
scholastic
philosophy.

XXX. To these reflexions upon the state of learning and science in general, it may not be improper to add a particular and separate account of the progress and revolutions of philosophy in the Christian schools. At the beginning of this century almost all the European philosophers were divided into two classes, one of which comprehended the *Peripatetics*, and the other the *Chemists* or *Fire-philosophers*, as they were often styled. These two classes contended warmly for many years, which should have the pre-eminence, and a great number of laboured and subtle productions were published during the course of this philosophical contest. The *Peripatetics* were in possession of the professorships in almost all the schools of learning, and looked upon all such as presumed, either to reject or even amend the doctrines of ARISTOTLE, as objects of indignation, little less criminal than

than traitors and rebels. It is however observable, CENT. XVII. that the greatest part of these supercilious and persecuting doctors, if we except those of the academies of *Tubingen*, *Altorf*, *Juliers*, and *Leipsic*, were less attached to ARISTOTLE himself than to his modern interpreters and commentators. The *Chemists* spread themselves through, almost, all *Europe*, and assumed the obscure and ambiguous title of *Rosacruzian Brethren* [e], which drew, at first, some degree of respect, as it seemed to be borrowed from the arms of LUTHER, which were a *cross* placed upon a *rose*. They inveighed against the Peripatetics with a singular degree of bitterness and animosity, represented them as corrupters both of religion and philosophy, and published a multitude of treatises a-

[e] The title of *Rosacruzians* evidently denotes the *chemical* philosophers, and those who blended the doctrines of religion with the secrets of chymistry. The denomination, itself, is drawn from the science of chemistry, and they only, who are acquainted with the peculiar language of the chemists, can understand its true signification and energy. It is not compounded, as many imagine, of the two words *rosa* and *crux*, which signify *rose* and *cross*, but of the latter of these words, and the Latin word *ros*, which signifies *dew*. Of all natural bodies *dew* is the most powerful dissolvent of gold. The *cross*, in the chemical style, is equivalent to *light*, because the figure of the cross  exhibits, at the same time, the three letters of which the word *lux*, i. e. *light*, is compounded. Now *lux* is called, by this sect, the *seed* or *menstruum* of the red dragon, or, in other words, that gross and corporeal light, which when properly digested and modified, produces gold. From all this it follows, that a *Rosacruzian* philosopher is one, who, by the intervention and assistance of the dew, seeks for light, or, in other words, the substance called the *Philosopher's stone*. All other explications of this term are false and chimerical. The interpretations, that are given of it by the chemists, who love, on all occasions, to involve themselves in intricacy and darkness, are invented merely to deceive those who are strangers to their mysteries. The true energy and meaning of this denomination of *Rosacruzians* did not escape the penetration and sagacity of GASSENDI, as appears by his *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddanæ*, § xv. tom. iii. opp. p. 261. It was, however, still more fully explained by RENAUDOT, a famous French Physician, in his *Conferences Publiques*, tom. iv. p. 87. There is a great number of materials and anecdotes relating to the fraternity, rules, observances, and writings of the *Rosacruzians* (who made such a noise in this century) to be found in ARNOLDI's *Kirchin und Ketzer Historie*, part. II. p. 1114.

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against them, which discovered little else than their folly and their malice. At the head of these fanatics were ROBERT FLUDD [*f*], a native of *England*, and a man of surprizing genius; JACOB BEHMEN, a shoe-maker. who lived at *Gorlitz*; and MICHAEL MAYER [*g*]. These leaders of the sect were followed by JOHN BAPTIST HELMONT, and his son FRANCIS, CHRISTIAN KNORRIUS DE ROSENROTH, KUHLMAN, NOLLIUS, SPERBER, and many others of various fame. An uniformity of opinion and a spirit of concord seem scarcely possible in such a society as this. For as a great part of its doctrine is derived from certain internal feelings, and certain flights of imagination, which can neither be comprehended nor defined, and is supported by certain testimonies of the external senses, whose reports are equally illusory and changeable; so it is remarkable, that, among the more eminent writers of this sect, there are scarcely any two who adopt the same tenets and sentiments. There are, nevertheless, some common principles, that are generally embraced, and that serve as a center of union to the society. They all maintain, that the dissolution of bodies, by the power of fire, is the only way through which men can arrive at true wisdom, and come to discern the first principles of things. They all acknowledge a certain analogy and harmony between the powers of nature and the doctrines of religion, and believe that the Deity governs *the kingdom of grace* by the same laws, with which he rules the *kingdom of nature*; and hence it is, that they employ chemical denominations to express the

[*f*] See, for an account of this singular man, from whose writings JACOB BEHMEN derived all his mystical and rapturous doctrine, WOOD's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 610. & *Hist. et Antiqq. Academiæ Oxoniensis*, lib. ii. p. 390.—For an account of HELMONT, father and son, see HEN. WITTE, *Memor. Philosoph.*—JOACH. FRID. FELLER, in *Miscellan. Leibnitian.*—Several writers, besides ARNOLDI, have given an account of JACOB BEHMEN.*

[*g*] See MONLERI *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. i. p. 376.

* See, for a further account of JACOB BEHMEN, SECT. II. PART. II. CHAP. I. § XL. of this History.

truths

truths of religion. They all hold, that there is a fort^{C E N T.} of *divine energy* or *soul* diffused through the frame ^{XVII.} of the universe, which some call *Archæus*, others the *Universal Spirit*, and which others mention under different appellations. They all talk in the most obscure manner, of, what they call, the *signatures of things*, of the power of the stars over all corporeal beings, and their particular influence upon the human race, of the efficacy of magic, and the various ranks and orders of demons. In fine, they all agree in throwing out the most crude, incomprehensible notions and ideas, in the most obscure, quaint, and unusual expressions.

XXXI. This controversy between the *Chemists* and *Peripatetics* was buried in silence and oblivion as soon as a new and more seemly form of philosophy was presented to the world, by two great men, who reflected a lustre upon the French nation, GASSENDI and DES CARTES. The former, whose profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was accompanied with the most engaging eloquence, and an acquaintance with all the various branches of solid erudition and polite literature, was canon of *Digne*, and professor of mathematics at *Paris*. The latter, who was a man of quality and bred a soldier, surpassed the greatest part of his cotemporaries in acuteness, subtilty, and extent of genius; though he was much inferior to GASSENDI in point of learning. In the year 1624, GASSENDI attacked ARISTOTLE and the whole sect of his commentators and followers with great resolution and ingenuity [b]; but the resentment and indignation which he drew upon himself, from all quarters, by this bold attempt, and the sweetness of his natural temper, which made him an enemy to dissension and contest, engaged him to desist, and to suspend an en-

The Philo-
sophy of
Gassendi.

[(b) The title of his book against the Aristotelians is as follows: *Exercitationum paradoxicarum adversus Aristoteleos Libri VII, in quibus præcipua totius Peripateticæ doctrinæ fundamenta excutiuntur, opiniones vero, aut novæ aut ex vetustioribus obsoleta, stabiliuntur.*]

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terprize, that, by opposing the prejudices, was so adapted to inflame the passions of the learned. Hence no more than two books of the work, he had composed against the Aristotelians, were made public; the other five were suppressed [i]. He also wrote against FLUDD, and by refuting him, refuted at the same time, the *Rosacruzian Brethren*; and here the Aristotelians seemed to behold his labours with a favourable eye. After having overturned several false and visionary systems of philosophy, he began to think of substituting something more solid and satisfactory in their place, and, in pursuance of this design, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection and caution. He recommended to others, and followed himself, that wise method of philosophical investigation, which, with a slow and timorous pace, rises from the objects of sense to the discussions of reason, and arrives at truth by assiduity, experiment, and an attentive observation of the laws of nature; or, to express the same thing in other words, GASSENDI struck out that judicious method, which by an attention to facts, to the changes and motions of the natural world, leads by degrees to general principles, and lays a solid foundation for rational inquiry. In the application of this method he had recourse chiefly, to mathematical succours, from a persuasion that demonstration and certainty were the peculiar fruits of that accurate and luminous science. He drew no assistance from the science of metaphysics, which he overlooked from an opinion that the greatest part of its rules and decisions were too precarious to satisfy a sincere enquirer animated with the love of truth [k].

[i] See BOUGERELLE, *Vie de GASSENDI*. p. 17 & 23.

[k] See GASSENDI's *Institutiones Philosophiæ*, a diffuse production, which takes up the two first volumes of his works, and in which his principal design is to shew, that those opinions of both the ancient and modern philosophers, which are deduced from metaphysical principles, have little solidity, and are generally defective in point of evidence and perspicuity.

XXXII. DES CARTES followed a very different method in his philosophical researches. He abandoned the mathematics, which he had, at first, looked upon as the tree of knowledge, and employed the science of abstract ideas or metaphysics in the investigation of truth. Having, accordingly, laid down a few plain, general principles, which seemed to be deduced immediately from the nature of man, his first business was to form *distinct notions* of Deity, matter, soul, body, space, the universe and the various parts of which it is composed. From these notions, examined with attention, compared and combined together according to their mutual relations, connexions, and resemblances, and reduced into a kind of system, he proceeded still further, and made admirable use of them in reforming the other branches of philosophy, and giving them a new degree of stability and consistence. This he effected by connecting all his branches of philosophical reasonings in such a manner, that *principles* and *consequences* followed each other in the most accurate order, and that the latter seemed to flow from the former in the most natural manner. This method of pursuing truth could not fail to attract the admiration of many; and so indeed it happened; for no sooner had DES CARTES published his discoveries in philosophy, than a considerable number of eminent men, in different parts of *Europe*, who had long entertained a high disgust against the inelegant and ambiguous jargon of the schools, adopted these discoveries with zeal, declared their approbation of the new system, and expressed their desire that its author should be substituted in the place of the Peripatetics, as a philosophical guide to the youth in the public seminaries of learning. On the other hand, the Peripatetics or Aristotelians, seconded by the influence of the clergy, who apprehended that the cause of religion was aimed at and endangered by these philosophical innovations, made a prodigious noise, and left no means unemployed to prevent the downfall of their old system, and to diminish the growing reputation of the new philosophy. To execute

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this invidious purpose with the more facility, they not only accused DES CARTES of the most dangerous and pernicious errors, but went so far, in the extravagance of their malignity, as to bring a charge of Atheism against him. This furious zeal of the Aristotelians will not appear so extraordinary when it is considered, that they contended not so much for their philosophical system, as for the honours, advantages, and profits they derived from it. The *Theosophists*, *Rosacruzians*, and *Chemists*, entered into this contest against DES CARTES, but conducted themselves with more moderation than the Aristotelians, notwithstanding their persuasion that the Peripatetic philosophy, though chimerical and impious, was much less intolerable than the Cartesian system [1]. The consequences of this dispute were favourable to the progress of science; for the wiser part of the European philosophers, although they did not all adopt the sentiments of DES CARTES, were, nevertheless, encouraged and animated by his example to carry on their inquiries with more freedom from the restraints of tradition and personal authority, than they had formerly done, and to throw resolutely from their necks that yoke of servitude under which ARISTOTLE and his followers had so long kept them in subjection.

Gassendi, the
chief adversary of Des
Cartes.

XXXIII. The most eminent contemporaries of DES CARTES applauded, in general, the efforts he made towards the reformation of philosophy, and that noble resolution with which he broke the shackles of magisterial authority, and struck out new paths in which he proceeded without a guide, in the search after truth. They also approved of his method of arising, with caution and accuracy, from the most simple and, as it were, the primary dictates of reason and nature, to truths and propositions of a more complex and intricate kind, and of admitting nothing as truth, that was not *clearly and distinctly* apprehended as such. They went still further; and unanimously acknowledged, that he

[1] See BAILLET, *Vie de DES CARTES*.—As also the *General Dictionary*, at the article DES CARTES.

had

had made most valuable and important discoveries in philosophy, and had demonstrated several truths, which, before his time, were received upon no other evidence, than that of tradition and conjecture. But these acknowledgements did not hinder some of those, who made them with the greatest sincerity, from finding several essential defects in the philosophy of this great man. They looked upon his account of the causes and principles of natural things to be, for the most part, hypothetical, founded on fancy, rather than experience. Nay, they attacked the fundamental principles, upon which the whole system of his philosophy was built, such as ideas of the Deity, of the universe, of matter and spirit, of the laws of motion, and other points that were connected with these. Some of these principles they pronounced uncertain; others of a pernicious tendency, and adapted to engender the most dangerous errors; others, again, directly contrary to the language of experience. At the head of these objectors, was his own fellow-citizen GASSENDI, who, had made war, before him, upon the Aristotelians and Chemists; who, in genius, was his equal; in learning, by much, his superior, and whose mathematical knowledge was most uncommon and extensive. This formidable adversary directed his first attacks against the metaphysical principles, which supported the whole structure of the Cartesian philosophy. He then proceeded still further; and, in the place of the physical system of DES CARTES, substituted one that resembled, not a little, the natural philosophy of EPICURUS, though far superior to it in solidity, much more rational, consistent and perfect, being founded not on the illusory visions of fancy, but on the testimony of sense and the dictates of experience [m]. This new and sagacious observer of nature had not

[m] See his *Disquisitio Metaphysica, seu Dubitationes et Instantiæ adversus Cartesii Metaphysicam et Responsa*, which are published in the third volume of his works, p. 283.—BERNIER; a celebrated French physician, has given an accurate view of the philosophy of GASSENDI, in his Abridgment of it published, in French at Lyon, in the year

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not many followers, and his disciples were much less numerous than those of DES CARTES. But what he wanted in number was sufficiently compensated by the merit and reputation of those, who adopted his philosophical system; for he was followed by some of the most eminent men in *Europe*, by persons distinguished in the highest degree, by their indefatigable application, and their extensive knowledge both of natural philosophy and mathematics. It is also observable, that he had but few disciples in his own country; but among the English, who, in his time, were remarkable for their application to studies of a physical and mathematical kind, a considerable number adopted his philosophical system. Nay, it is remarkable, that even those eminent philosophers and divines, such as WHICHCOT, GALE, CUDWORTH, and MORE, who entered the lists with HOBBS (whose doctrine came nearer to the principles of GASSENDI than to the system of DES CARTES) and revived ancient Platonism in order to crush, under its weight, the philosopher of *Malmesbury*, placed GASSENDI and PLATO in the same class, and explained the sentiments of the latter in such a manner as to make them appear quite agreeable to the principles of the former [n].

Two leading philosophical sects, viz. The Mathematical and Metaphysical.

XXXIV. From this period must be dated that famous schism, that divided the philosophical world into two great sects, which, though almost agreed concerning those points that are of the greatest utility and importance in human life, differ widely about the principles of human knowledge and the fundamental points from whence the philosopher must proceed in his search of

1684, in eight volumes in 12mo. This abridgment will give the reader a clearer account of this philosophy, than even the works of GASSENDI himself, in which his meaning is often expressed in an ambiguous manner, and which are, besides, loaded with superfluous erudition. The life of GASSENDI, accurately written by BOUGERELLE, a priest of the oratory, was published at *Paris* in 1737.—See *Biblioth. Francoise*, tom. xxvii. p. 353.

[n] See the *Preface* to the Latin translation of CUDWORTH'S *Intellectual System*; as also the *Remarks* that are added to that translation. [Dr. MOSHEIM is the author of that *Translation* and of these *Remarks*.]

truth.

truth. Of these sects the one may be properly called C E N T. XVII. *Metaphysical*, and the other *Mathematical*. The *Metaphysical* sect follows the system of DES CARTES; the *Mathematical* one directs its researches by the principles of GASSENDI. The former looks upon truth as attainable by abstract reasoning; the latter seeks after it by observation and experience. The follower of DES CARTES attributes little to the external senses, and much to meditation and discussion. The disciple of GASSENDI, on the contrary, places little confidence in metaphysical discussion, and has principally recourse to the reports of sense and the contemplation of nature. The *former* from a small number of abstract truths deduces a long series of propositions in order to arrive at a precise and accurate knowledge of God, and nature, of body and spirit; the *latter* admits these metaphysical truths, but, at the same time denies the possibility of erecting, upon their basis, a regular and solid system of philosophy, without the aid of assiduous observation, and repeated experiments, which are the most natural and effectual means of philosophical progress and improvement. The *one*, eagle-like, soars, with an intrepid flight, to the first fountain of truth, and to the general relations and final causes of things, and descending from thence explains, by them, the various changes and appearances of nature, the attributes and counsels of the Deity, the moral constitution and duties of man, the frame and structure of the universe. The *other*, more diffident and cautious, observes with attention, and examines with assiduity, the objects that are before his eyes, and arises gradually from them to the first cause and the primordial principles of things. The *Cartesians* suppose, that many things are known by man, with the utmost certainty; and hence their propensity to form their opinions and doctrines into a regular system. The followers of GASSENDI consider man, as in a state of ignorance with respect to an immense number of things, and, consequently, think it incumbent upon them to suspend their judgment, in a multitude of cases, until time and experience dispel their darkness; and hence it is also that

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they consider a *system*, as an attempt of too adventurous a nature, and, by no means, proportioned to the narrow extent of human knowledge, or, at least, they think, that the business of *system-making* ought to be left to the philosophers of future times, who, by joining together the observations and experience of many ages, shall have acquired a more satisfactory and accurate knowledge of nature, than has been yet attained.

These dissensions and contests, concerning the first principles of human knowledge, produced various debates upon other subjects of the utmost moment and importance, such as the *nature of God*, the *essence of matter*, the *elements* or constituent principles of *bodies*, the *laws of motion*, the *manner* in which the divine providence exerts itself *in the government of the world*, the *frame and structure* of the universe, the *nature, union, and joint operations* of *soul and body*. If we consider attentively the profound and intricate nature of these subjects, together with the limits, debility, and imperfections of the human understanding, we shall see too much reason to fear, that these contests will last as long as the present state of man [o]. The wise and the good, sensible of this, will carry on such debates with a spirit of mildness and mutual forbearance, and, knowing that differences in opinions are inevitable, where truth is so difficult of access, will guard against that temerity with which too many disputants accuse their antagonists of irreligion and impiety [p].

[o] VOLTAIRE published, in the year 1740, at *Amsterdam*, a pamphlet entitled, *La Metaphysique de Newton, ou Parallele des Sentimens de Newton et de Leibnitz*, which, though superficial and inaccurate, may, nevertheless, be useful to those readers who have not application enough to draw from better sources, and are, nevertheless desirous to know how much these two philosophical sects differ in their principles and tenets.

[p] It is abundantly known, that DES CARTES and his Metaphysical followers were accused, by many, of striking at the foundation of all religion; nor is this accusation entirely withdrawn even in our time. See in the miscellaneous works of Father HARDOUIN, his *Atheists detected*. Among these pretended Atheists DES CARTES, with his two famous disciples ANTHONY LE GRAND and SILVAN REGIS, hold the first rank; nor is Father MALEBRANCHE, though he seems rather

XXXV. All those who had either adopted, without exception, the principles of DES CARTES, or who, without going so far, had approved of the method and rules laid down by him for the investigation of truth, employed all their zeal and industry in correcting, amending, confirming, and illustrating the Metaphysical species of philosophy; and the number of its votaries was prodigious, particularly in *France* and in the United Provinces. But as among the members of this philosophical sect, there were some who aimed at the destruction of all religion, more especially SPINOZA, and others, who like BALTHASAR BECKER, [q], made use of the principles of DES CARTES, to overturn some doctrines of Christianity, and to pervert others; this circumstance proved disadvantageous to the whole sect, and brought it into disrepute in many places. The Me-

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rather chargeable with fanaticism than atheism, exempted from a place in this odious list. It is true, HARDOUIN, who gives so liberally a place in the atheistical class to these great men, was, himself, a visionary dreamer, whose judgment, in many cases, is little to be respected; but it is also true, that in the work, now under consideration, he does not reason from his own whimsical notions, but draws all his arguments from those of the followers of ARISTOTLE and GASSENDI, who have opposed, with the greatest success and acuteness, the Cartesian system. Even VOLTAIRE, notwithstanding the moderation with which he expresses himself, seems plainly enough to give his assent to the accusers of DES CARTES. On the other hand, it must be observed, that these accusers are censured in their turn, by several modern metaphysicians. GASSENDI, for example, is charged by ARNAULD with overturning the doctrine of the soul's immortality in his controversy with DES CARTES and by LEIBNITZ with corrupting and destroying the whole system of natural religion. See DES MAIZEAUX, *Recueil de diverses pieces sur la Philosophie*, tom. ii. p. 166*. LEIBNITZ has also ventured to affirm, that Sir ISAAC NEWTON and his followers rob the Deity of some of his most excellent attributes, and sap the foundation of natural religion. In short, the controversial writings, on both sides, are filled with rash and indecent reproaches of this kind.

[(q) See for a further account of the particular tenets and opinions of BECKER, Sect. II. Part II. Chap. II. § XXXV. of this century.]

[* If Dr. MOSHEIM refers to the second edition of DES MAIZEAUX *Recueil*, the page is inaccurately quoted; for it is at page 155. of the volume above-mentioned, that GASSENDI is censured by LEIBNITZ. It may be further observed, that the censure is not conveyed in such strong terms as those employed by our historian. LEIBNITZ says, that GASSENDI appeared to hesitate and waver too much concerning the nature of the soul, and the principles of natural religion.]

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— metaphysical philosophy fell, however, afterwards into better hands, and was treated with great wisdom and acuteness by MALEBRANCHE, a man of uncommon eloquence and subtilty; and by LEIBNITZ, whose name is consigned to immortality as one of the greatest geniuses that have appeared in the world [r]. Neither of these great men, indeed, adopted all the principles and doctrines of DES CARTES, but they, both approved, upon the whole, of his philosophical method, which they enlarged, amended, and improved by several additions and corrections, that rendered its procedure more luminous and sure. This is more especially true of LEIBNITZ, who, rejecting the suggestions of fancy, seemed to follow no other guides than reason and judgment; for MALEBRANCHE, having received from nature a warm and exuberant imagination, was too much ruled by its dictates, and was thus often imperceptibly led into the visionary regions of enthusiasm.

The progress
of the Ma-
thematical
sect.

XXXVI. The Mathematical philosophy, already mentioned, was much less studied and adopted than the Metaphysical system, and its followers in *France* were very few in number. But it met with a favourable reception in *Britain*, whose philosophers perceiving, in its infant and unfinished features, the immortal lines of VERULAM'S wisdom, snatched it from its cradle, in a soil where it was ready to perish, cherished it with parental tenderness, and have still continued their zealous efforts to bring it to maturity and perfection. The Royal Society of *London*, which may be considered as the philosophical seminary of the nation, took it under

[r] For an ample and interesting account of MALEBRANCHE and his philosophy, see FONTENELLE'S *Eloges des Academiciens de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, tom. i. p. 317. and for a view of the errors and defects of his Metaphysical system, see HARDOUIN'S *Atheists Unmasked*, in his *Oeuvres Melées*, p. 43.—FONTENELLE has also given an account of the life and philosophical sentiments of LEIBNITZ in the work already quoted, vol. ii. p. 9. but a much more ample one has been published in German by CHARLES GUNTHER LEWIS, in his history of the *Leibnitian Philosophy*. However the genius and philosophy of this great man are best to be learned from his letters to KORTOLT, published at *Leipsick* in three volumes.

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their protection, and have neither spared expence nor C E N T. XVII. pains to cultivate and improve it, and to render it subservient to the purposes of life. It owed, more especially, a great part of its progress and improvement to the countenance, industry and genius of that immortal protector of science, the pious and venerable Mr. BOYLE, whose memory will be ever precious to the worthy and the wise, the friends of religion, learning and mankind. The illustrious names of BARROW, WALLIS, and LOCKE, may also be added to the list of those who contributed to the progress of natural knowledge. Nor were the learned divines of the English nation (though that Order has often excited the complaints of philosophers, and been supposed to behold with a jealous and suspicious eye the efforts of philosophy as dangerous to the cause of religion) less zealous than the other patrons of science in this noble cause. On the contrary, they looked upon the improvement of natural knowledge, not only as innocent, but as of the highest utility and importance, as admirably adapted to excite and maintain in the minds of men a profound veneration for the Supreme creator and governor of the world, and to furnish new supports to the cause of religion, and also as agreeable both to the laws and spirit of the Gospel, and to the sentiments of the primitive church. And hence it was, that those doctors, who, in the lectures founded by Mr. BOYLE, attacked the enemies of religion, employed in this noble and pious attempt, the succours of philosophy, with the most happy and triumphant success. But the immortal man, to whose immense genius and indefatigable industry philosophy owed its greatest improvements, and who carried the lamp of knowledge into paths of nature that had been unexplored before his time, was Sir ISAAC NEWTON [s], whose name was
revered

[s] Mr. HUME's account of this great man is extremely just, and contains some peculiar strokes that do honour to this elegant painter of minds. "In NEWTON, *says he*, this island may boast of "having produced the greatest and rarest genius, that ever arose for "the ornament and instruction of the species. Cautious, in admitting

C E N T. XVII. revered and his genius admired, even by his warmest adversaries. This great man spent, with uninterrupted assiduity, the whole of a long life in correcting, digesting, and enlarging the new philosophy, and in throwing upon it the light of demonstration and evidence both by observing the laws of nature, and by subjecting them to the rules of calculation; and thus he introduced a great change into natural science, and brought it to a very high degree of perfection [1]. The English look upon it, as an unquestionable proof of the solidity and excellence of the Newtonian philosophy, that its most eminent votaries were friends to religion, and have transmitted to posterity shining examples of piety and virtue; while, on the contrary, the Cartesian or Metaphysical system has exhibited, in its followers, many flagrant instances of irreligion, and some of the most horrid impiety.

Of the philosophers who adapt neither of these systems

XXXVII. The two famous philosophical sects, now mentioned, deprived, indeed, all the ancient systems of natural science, both of their credit and their disciples; and hence it might have been expected that they would have totally engrossed and divided between them

“ting no principles, but such as were founded in experiment; but
 “resolute to adopt every such principle, however new and unusual:
 “From modesty ignorant of his superiority above the rest of mankind;
 “and thence, less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common
 “apprehensions: More anxious to merit than acquire fame: He was,
 “from these causes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation,
 “at last, broke out with a lustre, which scarce any writer, during his
 “own life-time, had ever before attained. While NEWTON seemed
 “to draw off the veil from some of the mysteries of nature, he showed,
 “at the same time, the imperfections of the mechanical philosophy;
 “and thereby restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity, in
 “which they ever did and ever will remain.”

[1] The *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, as also the other writings, whether philosophical, mathematical, or theological, of this great man, are abundantly known. There is an elegant account of his life, and his literary and philosophical merit given by FONTENELLE, in his *Eloges des Academiciens de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, tom. ii. p. 293—323.—See also the *Biblioth. Angloise* tom. xv. part. II. p. 545. and *Biblioth. Raisonnee*, tom. vi. part. II. p. 478. [See more especially the late learned and ingenious Mr. MACLAURIN's *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries*.

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the suffrages of the learned. But this was not the case; ^{CENT.} the liberty of thinking being restored by DES CARTES ^{XVII.} and NEWTON, who broke the fetters of prejudice, in which philosophical superstition had confined, in former times, the human understanding, a variety of sects sprung up. Some trusting in their superior genius and sagacity, and others, more remarkable for the exuberance of their fancy, than for the solidity of their judgment, pretended to strike out new paths in the unknown regions of nature, and new methods of investigating truth; but the number of their disciples was small, and the duration of their inventions transitory, and therefore it is sufficient to have barely mentioned them. There was another sort of men, whom mediocrity of genius, or an indolent turn of mind indisposed for investigating truth by the exertion of their own talents and powers, and who terrified, at the view of such an arduous task, contented themselves with borrowing from the different sects such of their respective tenets as appeared most remarkable for their perspicuity and solidity, more especially those concerning which all the different sects were agreed. These they compiled and digested into a system, and pushed their inquiries no further. The philosophers of this class are generally termed *Eclectics*. From these remarkable differences of sentiment and system that reigned among the jarring sects some persons, otherwise distinguished by their acuteness and sagacity, took occasion to represent truth as unattainable by such a short-sighted being as man, and to revive the desperate and uncomfortable doctrine (shall I call it, or jargon) of the Sceptics, that had long been buried in that silence and oblivion, it so justly deserved. The most eminent of these cloudy philosophers were SANCHES, a physician of *Toulouse* [u], DE LA

[u] There is still extant a famous book of this writer, entitled, *De eo, quod nihil scitur*, which, with the rest of his works and an account of his life, was published, in 4to at *Toulouse*, in the year 1636.—See BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article SANCHES; as also VILLEMANDI *Scepticismus debellatus*, cap. iv. p. 32.

CENT. MOTHE LE VAYER [*w*], HUET, bishop of *Avanches* to whom we may add, without temerity, the famous BAYLE [*x*], who, by the erudition and wit that abound in his voluminous works, has acquired such a distinguished reputation in the Republic of Letters.

[*w*] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article VAYER.

[*x*] Every thing relating to the life and sentiments of BAYLE is abundantly and universally known. His life, composed by DES MAIZEAUX, was published, in the year 1732, at the *Hague*, in two volumes 8vo.—The scepticism of this insidious and seducing writer was unmasked and refuted with great learning and force of argument by the late Mr. CROUSAZ, in a voluminous French work, entitled, *Traité du Pyrrhonisme*, of which Mr. FORMEY has given an elegant and judicious abridgment under the title of, *Triomphe de l'Evidence*.



The End of the THIRD VOLUME.

